DECONSTRUCTING WAR, BUILDING PEACE

Happiness lies in conquering one’s enemies, in driving them in front of oneself, in taking their property, in savoring their despair, in outraging their wives and daughters.

Genghis Khan

Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to befoul the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of statesmanship of the day.

Theodore Roosevelt, 1906

The battle...has to begin here. In America. The only institution more powerful than the U.S. government is American civil society. The rest of us are subjects of slave nations. We are by no means powerless, but you have the power of proximity. You have access to the Imperial Palace and the Emperor’s chambers. Empire’s conquests are being carried out in your name.

Arundhati Roy

It always seems impossible until it’s done.

Nelson Mandela

...But there come times—perhaps this is one of them—when we have to take ourselves more seriously or we die; when we have to pull back from the incantations, rhythms we’ve moved to thoughtlessly, and disenthrall ourselves, bestow ourselves to silence, or a severer listening....

Adrienne Rich

Peace is a virtue
War is a loss.
That’s my opinion,
But I ain’t the boss.

Owen Fagan, age 10

The problems we face today...are human-created problems which can be resolved through human effort, understanding and the development of a sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. We need to cultivate a universal responsibility for one another and the planet we share.

The Dalai Lama
Until about twenty-three years ago, the nuclear threat and the Cold War defined much of the consciousness of thoughtful people about war. In the early 1980s, President Reagan declared that nuclear war might be necessary and that this country would survive it. Due to peace movements here and in Europe, Gorbachev’s decision to end Soviet domination of the former “satellites” in Eastern Europe, and the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union, the threat abated, even though it is not over. The US is now the only “superpower” in the world. Nationalism, racism, ethnicity, terrorism, religion, climate change, immigration, and issues like size of government, welfare, poverty, “crime,” and “family values” are replacing the Cold War as loci of opposition and hatred in the world.

In Sept. 11, 2001, terrorism struck the US in an unprecedented way. Is terrorism part of war? A form of war? Something other than war? A continuation of war? Can we understand its meaning and figure out how to move past it, or are we doomed to eternal vigilance, frequent military actions to curb or stop terrorism, and chronic attacks from shadowy terrorist organizations and individuals? What uses does our government make of the terrorist threat and why? What lies behind terrorism and our government’s response to it? Are governments, including ours, terrorists under certain circumstances? If so, why is that so widely ignored?

Have war and violence always been part of human society, or are they historically limited and possible only under certain conditions? What of aggression and “human nature”? Is peace only a pipe-dream? Is ending terrorism, whether initiated by ad hoc groups or governments, only a wistful wish? Is there only one viable world view?

In the field of peace studies, a distinction is made between “negative peace,” or absence of war, and “positive peace,” the end of structural conditions (such as imperialism, social class, racism, sexism, and environmental degradation) that promote violence on many levels and that prevent most people on our planet from living full and gratifying lives.

Another useful distinction is between “war culture” and “peace culture.” The former refers to all cultural elements, material and otherwise, that assume and support the war paradigm, the assumption that war is a permanent part of human existence. “Peace culture” is all cultural elements, material and otherwise, that assume and support a peace paradigm, the assumption that war is not inevitable and that peace is possible.

The course will consider the state of war in the world now and will explore structural conditions that perpetuate misery and discontent and will also examine social psychological and gender issues that help explain the persistence of war. It suggests that fundamental changes are possible in how societies are organized and how conflicts are addressed. The basic method we will pursue is “paradigm shift analysis,” which will unfold early in the semester.

Format of the course

The class will meet as a whole twice a week for 80 minutes (Tuesday and Friday, 11:00-
Lecture and discussion will be combined, and there will be some videos, an occasional guest speaker, and possibly a project at the end. We will ordinarily analyze as fully and critically as we can the reading for the week and related topics.

There will be a TA-led discussion section of an additional hour each week to examine course materials, reactions, etc. more fully than is possible in class. Students will have several options as to when to take this section.

The class is asked to engage in “cooperative learning,” with students working in groups of two or more to study, write, and prepare together. See below for a fuller discussion of the problems and virtues of cooperative learning.

Practicum

For the first time, this course will offer a practicum. Students opting to take it will earn two course credits. It will be led by one or more TAs, with some participation by the professor. It will meet one hour per week beyond regular class and discussion section and is to involve three more hours per student per week in practicum work. The one hour meeting will be at 1 on Tuesdays.

Here is our design for the practicum. (It is possible at their first meeting, practicum students will through discussion suggest viable ways to amend or change this plan.)

All practicum students will be required to attend the Friday 20 minute peace vigil every week. All other students in the course will be urged to do likewise. Practicum students will also be required to attend the November workshop on Compassionate Listening. And they will take part in a weekend 30th anniversary celebration on Oct. 6 of a peace and nonviolence community in Hardwick, Mass., called AGAPE (see http://www.agapecommunity.org/)

Practicum students will be asked to attend three or more nonviolent demonstrations—at least two of them off campus—on peace-related issues of concern to them. They will be asked to observe and reflect on uses of and problems with nonviolence in demonstrations. (See nonviolence scholar Gene Sharp’s 198 methods of nonviolent action: http://aeinstein.org/organizations/org/198_methods-1.pdf and other links to Sharp’s 198 methods.) What methods are used in the demonstrations you attended? With what effects? Students will be asked to observe a campus protest closely and analyze it or alternatively, to organize a protest on some issue dear to them and related to war and/or structural violence and analyze the planning and execution of it. It is quite possible that the upcoming presidential election will provide relevant materials for some of these considerations.

Practicum students will be asked to report in writing their reactions and reflections on the assignment immediately above and the assignments below. These reports will be due biweekly and will be commented on by one or more TAs facilitating the practicum.

Foci for the practicum. Depending on the number of students enrolled, one or more of these ideas are to be engaged:
1) Plan and carry out a campus wide program questioning whether war is necessary. This might best take the form of a discussion with a panel of faculty and students and/or a power point exploring the issues. There will be breakout groups after the discussion, to be led by practicum students.

2) Organize a campus-wide nonviolence training. Publicize and promote heavily the idea of nonviolence as a growing tool for political change and have an experienced trainer lead a training lasting at least three hours. Work closely with the trainer ahead of time and take active part in conducting parts of the training.

3) Bring compassionate listening and/or nonviolence ideas and training to dorms and to school children in Waltham. Brandeis has links to the Waltham Chill Zone (http://www.city.waltham.ma.us/recreation-department/pages/chill-zone) which offers Friday and Saturday activities for local Waltham middle schoolers.

Practicum students will be assigned some additional readings on nonviolence in theory and practice. They will also be asked to find on their own a book on a topic or example they believe to be important in understanding the nature and effectiveness of nonviolence. They will be asked to present and discuss this book in weekly meetings with the other practicum students and to examine it further in their weekly reflection papers.

Students in the practicum will be graded on the conscientiousness and fullness of their participation in the practicum, their mastery of the additional readings, the rigor and quality of their reports and reflections, and their follow through in the projects they undertake. Near the end of the semester, practicum students will present their projects and reflections to the entire class.

Since it is not for us to create a plan for the future that will hold for all time, all the more surely what we contemporaries have to do is the uncompromising critical evaluation of all that exists, uncompromising in the sense that our criticism fears neither its own results nor the conflict with the powers that be.

Karl Marx

Written and other requirements. ALL REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COURSE, WRITTEN AND OTHERWISE, MUST BE COMPLETED IN ORDER TO PASS THE COURSE.

1) Response papers. These will be 3 of these during the semester. They are to be rather short (3-5 pages) and to deal with issues raised in the readings, class sessions, media, etc. What is expected in these papers and their due dates appears later in this syllabus.

2) Cooperative learning. We will try to create mutuality within our classroom and discussion sections. Toward this end, students will be required to write papers in groups of two or more. If this is a new experience, so be it. TAs and the instructor
will do their best to help facilitate this way of working. Students will be required also to write final papers in groups of two or more. If you are convinced you cannot learn to, or bear to, write with others, please do not take this course.

3) Teach-in. If the class so chooses, we will organize, with each section doing a piece of the work, a teach-in for the Brandeis community, on some major aspect of our learning this semester. Sections or the class as a whole might choose some other issue, such as involvement in some action in Waltham, as a project.

4) There will be a final, take-home discussion covering the topics and materials of the course, in an effort to integrate them and to explore the student’s relationship with them. Although it will not require non-assigned reading and can include anything beyond the reading list that students deem relevant, the final work is to focus primarily on the texts and ideas of the course. Students must write these papers in cooperative learning groups.

5) There will be many extra-curricular programs on campus related to the topic of the course. Students are required to attend at least three of them and, as part of the final assignment, to submit a paragraph describing each event, your assessment of it, and what you learned from it.

6) Students, TAs, and the professor are asked to commit themselves to attend class regularly, keep up with the assignments, and work with each other to improve the course where any of them find it lacking.

7) The course challenges many preconceptions about war, peace, oneself, and society. As we want to cover much and work well together, attendance in class and in discussion group meetings is most strongly urged and expected, as are preparation and participation. If you find the class dissatisfying in any ways, please take the responsibility to let the instructor and/or TAs know, so that we can try to address your concerns.

Every breath his senses shall draw, every act and every shadow and thing in all creation, is a mortal poison, or is a drug, or is a signal or symptom, or is a teacher, or is a liberator, or is liberty itself, depending entirely upon his understanding; and understanding, and action proceeding from understanding and guided by it, is the one weapon against the world’s bombardment, the one medicine, the one instrument by which liberty, health, and joy may be shaped or shaped toward, in the individual and in the race.

James Agee

Required readings

BOOKS


David Swanson, *War Is a Lie* (self published), see http://davidswanson.org/warisalie

**CHAPTERS AND ARTICLES**, on LATTE or links on syllabus


Smedley Butler, *War is a Racket*. Can be downloaded free: http://ia600308.us.archive.org/16/items/WarIsARacket/WarIsARacket.pdf

Mark Twain, “The War Prayer” Can be downloaded free: http://warprayer.org/

**Schedule of Readings** [RP = response paper due. Say what you want to say in any way that makes sense to you, shows real struggle with our course materials, and is intelligible to readers.] A few films will be added later, some on class and some to view on LATTE.

Week 1, F 8/31 First class. Introduction to the course

Please read a page or two of Thich Nhat Hanh, *Peace is Every Step* every day throughout the course. We will periodically talk about what you find of value in TNH and what you find problematic.
Ambivalence toward war

Week 2:  T 9/4  Hedges, Introduction and chs. 1-3  Film First Kill  
F 9/7  Hedges, chs. 4-7  
Holmes and Gan (H & G), Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, pp. 23-40

Theoretical perspective

Week 3:  T 9/11  Fellman, Foreword and Parts I and II (The film analyses are illustrative; ignore them if they do nothing for you.)  
F 9/14  Fellman, Part IV. Skim Part V.

Week 4:  T 9/18  NO CLASS  
H & G, Thoreau, “Civil Disobedience,” pp. 48-63  
H & G, Nonviolence as a political tool, pp. 247-260

RP #1, on weeks 1-4. Please write your own questions for response papers. Please cover Hedges, Fellman, Thoreau, Twain, Butler and the film First Kill in this one. Due 9/25.

The spinning of war

Week 5:  T 9/25  Swanson, Introd., chs. 1-4  
H & G, Mohandas Gandhi on Satyagraha, pp. 77-84  
We will not discuss these texts until 10/2. Today we will meet at the Rose Art Museum to view an exhibit on war and nonviolence and meet with a Palestinian peace worker  
F 9/28  No Class.

Week 6:  T 10/2  Swanson, chs. 5-8  
Thursday 10/4, 7 PM Film Jai Bhim Comrade, on untouchables in India. This will be a major example of “structural violence,” a central and crucial concept in the course. Attendance required.  
F 10/5  Swanson, chs. 9-14  
H & G, Martin Luther King, Jr. “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” pp. 101-113

Week 7:  T 10/9  no class  (Brandeis Monday)

RP #2, on wks 5-7. See if you can include Gandhi and King (H & G) articles in your discussion of Swanson. Due 10/12.

Violence and non-violence

F 10/12  Machiavelli, chs. 14-20
Week 8:  T 10/16  Gene Sharp, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
H & G, Women and nonviolence. Pp. 119-135
F 10/19  Marshall Rosenberg, *Nonviolent Communication*

Week 9:  T 10/23  Fry,  ch. 1-8
F 10/26  Fry,  chs. 12-16

Week 10: T 10/30  Kurlansky, entire.
H & G, animal rights, pp. 291-294 and 299-304
SUNDAY NOV. 3, DAY LONG WORKSHOP ON COMPASSIONATE
LISTENING. REQUIRED FOR PRACTICUM STUDENTS,
STRONGLY URGED FOR OTHERS.

RP#3. Consider connecting or contrasting Machiavelli and Kurlansky. Where do Adams and Fry
connect with them? Due 11/6.

**What does masculinity have to do with it?**

Week 11: T 11/6  Ducat, Preface, Introduction, and chs. 1-3
  F 11/9  “  , chs. 4-5

Week 12: T 11/13  Ducat, chs. 6-7
  F 11/16  “  , ch. 8
  H & G, Nonviolent resistance against the Nazis in Norway and Holland,
  pp. 332-335

**The role of a foundational Western narrative in war**

Week 13: T 11/20  H & G, Nonviolence and the end of apartheid in South Africa, pp. 328-331
  F 11/23  no class (Thanksgiving holiday)

Week 14: T 11/27  Quinn, pp. 1-91
  F 12/30  Quinn, pp. 95-184

Week 15  T 12/4  Quinn, pp. 187-263
  F 12/7  film TBA

Week 16  T 12/11  Conclusion

*There will be no response paper for weeks 11-16; rather, the texts assigned will be covered in
the take-home final assignment.*
THE FINAL PAPER WILL BE DUE FRIDAY, DEC. 14 BY 5 PM. SEND ELECTRONICALLY TO THE PROFESSOR AND TO EACH TA AS THEY SPECIFY. SEE DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS NEAR THE END OF THE SEMESTER.

GRADING STANDARDS

The course assumes serious interest in its topic and does not assume background in the subject, sociology, social psychology, or peace studies. The premium is on understanding and working with the concepts and readings of the course and on thinking creatively with them. It is assumed that real learning involves risk and re-thinking assumptions and familiar paradigms (with no preordained or “right” outcome of this process) as well as learning new information. We will pay attention to such matters as involvement, keeping up with the reading, attendance, and particularly in discussion sections, participation. All students are encouraged to take active part in the larger class, but we respect that some people are reluctant to do so.

A—mastery of readings, concepts, and exercises; full participation, engagement, risk-taking, and growth; grappling with the course and coming to your own insights about its issues, its implications, its relation to yourself.

B—clear understanding of course materials and conscientious participation but little evidence of risk-taking and growth or grappling with the course toward one's own insights.

C—fuzzy, incomplete, lethargic relationship with course materials, minimal involvement of self in course, little risk-taking and growth, no insights of one’s own.

D—same as C but moreso.

E—trying to wing it by leaning too much on others’ understanding, not writing papers fully germane to the readings and central concepts of the course, erratic participation, not completing all course requirements, etc.

RESPONSE PAPERS

A course goal is to have a conversation going among all of us—students, TAs, and professor. One way to do this is through written reflections on course materials. Toward that end, we ask you to work together in groups or two or more. Here is what we have in mind:

1. It is well to learn to write succinctly. Practice getting to the point quickly and saying what you mean. The papers should be held to about 3-5 pages, although if you really get caught up in something and wish to do so, negotiate for more.

2. If you find the reading difficult, summarizing it to get ahold of it can be useful. This means you are asking if your interpretation of the author makes sense to the reader. Do not restate what the author said. Quotations may be used to illustrate a point or ask a question, and we urge you to work directly from the texts, but do not just repeat the author or quote.
3. Remember that all reading is interpretation. We never focus on it all, we never comprehend it all, and we do not know exactly what the author had in mind. Nor does that matter. What matters is what the reader makes of what is read.

4. If you are comfortable with the reading, explore your questions, your critical reactions, your hesitations, reservations, etc. And most important: your own insights. Strive to make connections among readings with central ideas and issues in the course, with your own understanding of the world, and your reactions to what you see in society and in your own life.

5. The premium is on showing the reader that you are grappling with the course materials, have opened yourself up to the possibility that there is something in them for you, and can think creatively with them. The premium also is on integrating what may seem like disparate materials, and struggling to make sense of them in your reality as a citizen and a thinking, feeling, viable actor in society as well as in your reality as a student taking a course.

6. In response papers, you may work with class discussions, professor's and TAs' views, world events, whatever, but always in the context of the readings. I.e., no riffing from the top of your head on interesting things that may be relevant to the course. That is, of course, easy to do in sociology classes but is not helpful. We are looking for real struggle with course materials.

7. Pay attention to the process of working together, and work with your section, your TA, and/or the professor on any problems you have in cooperative learning. This comes easily to some people and with very great difficulty to others. Accept where you begin and struggle on from there, drawing on help if, when, and as you wish it. Cooperative learning is meant to be a part of peace culture.

If you are a student with a documented disability on record at Brandeis University and wish to have a reasonable accommodation made for you in this class, please see the instructor immediately.