Required Reading: (books and coursepack are available at Shaman Drum)
1. Course pack

Some Recommended Websites: (These sites describe current nonviolent actions worldwide, provide news updates, link to classic and current texts on nonviolent theory and practice, and suggest volunteer opportunities in the US and abroad. These are just a sampling of the thousands of sites on peace and social justice activism)

Peacework  http://www.afsc.org/peacework/
Nonviolence.org  http://www.nonviolence.org/
Peace Activism  http://www.angelfire.com/mt/peaceresources/activism.html
Resource Center for Nonviolence  http://www.rcnv.org/
Fellowship of Reconciliation  http://www.forusa.org/
Tikkun  http://www.tikkun.org/
Catholic Worker Movement  http://www.catholicworker.org/
Muslim Peace Fellowship  http://www.mpfweb.org/salam.html
School of the Americas Watch  http://www.soaw.org/new/

Books about War, Peace Activism, and/or “Human Nature” (Required: Your choice of one book – save the others for summer reading). These books range from personal accounts to history and autobiography to novels.

traditional Arab cultures, and challenges to peace building and conflict resolution within the Islamic world.

Addams, Jane (1922; 2002) Peace and Bread in Time of War. Urbana, IN: University of Illinois Press. A chronicle of the peace movement that arose at the beginning of WWI. Jane Addams, an early social activist, Progressive reformer, and author of many books, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. “Addams’s unyielding pacifism during the Great War drew criticism from politicians and patriots who deemed her the ‘most dangerous woman in America.’”

Al-Radi, Nuha (1998; 2003). Baghdad Diaries: A Woman’s Chronicle of War and Exile. New York: Vintage Books. An artist and intellectual speaks personally to people in the West about what it feels like to be the target of international aggression, even while suffering under a dictatorship. Her account of daily frustrations, family relationships, ridiculous and sometimes tragic incidents diminishes the distance between “us and them.” What to do with all that meat in your freezer now that the electricity has been cut off? How will your favorite dog behave, now that walls and fences have been destroyed and everyone’s pets are running wild in the orchard? How can you use your art to express your disgust for war?

Caputo, Philip (1996). A Rumor of War. New York: Henry Holt & Co. A young, idealistic, marine turned journalist remembers his growing horror and disillusionment with the Vietnam war. Many who served in that war appreciate this book: “I was there... it’s true!” is a common reaction. From an “Amazon” review: “Its all right there-booby traps, mines, trip wires, leeches, foot blisters, jungle rot, constant shelling, dysentery, pigs eating corpses and cold C Rations. As a Vietnam vet, I was surprised the author never mentions RATS!, but we both know they were there too. (THEY were everywhere).” Caputo wants readers to see, feel, and experience the ways that ordinary men were gradually demoralized and brutalized by their environment, the pettiness of military bureaucracy, and the emotional and moral distance of political leaders who sent young men to die for a questionable cause.


Easwaran, Eknath (1999). Nonviolent Soldier of Islam: Badshah Khan, A Man to Match His Mountains. Tomales, CA: Nilgiri Press. The story of a contemporary and friend of Mahatma Gandhi who challenged 100,000 Pathans, traditional warriors in India’s Northwest Frontier province, to stand unarmed against injustice. An account of an important but little-known story of how “human nature” can change under the right conditions.
Forest, Jim (1986). *Love is the Measure: A Biography of Dorothy Day*. Mahwah, JY: Paulist Press. Very readable account of the founder of the Catholic Worker movement “and one of the most extraordinary and prophetic voices in the American Catholic church.” An ardent pacifist, and outspoken feminist who never “curbed her tongue” as women were admonished in those days, Dorothy Day (1897-1980) challenged consciences within the church and society with her total opposition to war and commitment to voluntary poverty. Day was jailed innumerable times for her activism, started a radical newspaper, spent a month in Cuba writing about the revolution, picketed with Cesar Chavez, and was barely missed by a bullet during the Civil Rights Movement.


Grossman, Dave (1995). *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. Lieutenant Colonel Grossman shows how military and police recruits, most of whom are loathe to kill, are transformed by systematic training. An excellent analysis of the psychology of wartime behavior and its aftereffects. For another view, see Hedges (below).

Gourevitch, Philip (1998). *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories From Rwanda*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. A New Yorker reporter’s account of the massacre, by ordinary civilians, of 800,000 of their neighbors and co-workers at the behest of their government. Yet the world community did too little, too late, to stop the genocide. This book, along with Samantha Powers’ classic “A Problem from Hell,” presents the case for armed humanitarian intervention.

Hanley, Charles, Choe, Sang-Hun, and Martha Mendoza ((2001). *The Bridge at No Gun Ri: A Hidden Nightmare From the Korean War*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. An unforgettable account of the massacre of Korean civilians by U.S. troops uncovered by three Pulitzer Prize winning journalists. Tells the story from both sides: the Korean families who were caught between North Korean and U.S. troops while trying to flee their ancestral villages, and the young U.S. soldiers of the “good time” army in Japan who came to view all Koreans as the enemy.

Five: Halt Arms Trade and Militarism. Six: Build Sustainable Just Economies. Seven: 

A foreign correspondent who has covered the news in El Salvador, Guatemala, 
Colombia, Nicaragua, Sudan, Yemen, Algeria, the West Bank and Gaza, the Punjab, Iraq, 
and many other areas of combat, describes himself as addicted to war. He says, “The 
chance to exist for an intense and overpowering moment, even if it meant certain 
oblivion, seemed worth it in the midst of war – and very stupid once the war ended.” His 
conclusion: “The enduring attraction of war is this: Even with its destruction and carnage 
it can give us what we long for in life. It can give us purpose, meaning, a reason for 
living... It gives us resolve, a cause. It allows us to be noble…” An important addition to 
the psychology of war.

Hochschild, Adam (1994). *The Unquiet Ghost: Russians Remember Stalin*. Boston: 
Houghton Mifflin. Why did Russians suffer silently through Stalin’s murderous regime 
that killed twenty million of their countrymen? A U.S. journalist talks to gulag survivors, 
retired concentration camp guards, and ordinary Russians who for the first time are 
reviving and confronting their memories of that era.

Nagler, Michael (2001; 2004). *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*. Makawao, Maui, HI: 
Inner Ocean Publishing. Passionate, controversial, naïve, practical, annoying, inspiring, 
visionary or hopelessly idealistic – you decide. This reader-friendly book by the founder 
of UC Berkeley’s Peace Studies program lays out what it will take to create a world 
without war, prisons, racism, dire poverty, or destruction of the earth. Former Vice 
President Al Gore called it courageous and knowledgeable. I found it all of the above.

Japanese officer hides out from U.S. Occupation forces on the lookout for suspected war 
criminals at the end of World War II. Though demoralized and humiliated, Takuya 
questions whether his own crimes, small in comparison with the atomic bombing of 
civilians that ended the war, can really be considered morally wrong. From a prize 
winning Japanese author.

**Introduction**

Over the past hundred years, nonviolent action by ordinary people has accomplished 
massive social change, toppling dictators, overthrowing colonial governments, ending 
participation in unjust wars, rewriting oppressive laws, reconciling victims and 
perpetrators, and healing families and communities. Nonviolent action requires 
leadership, intelligence, creativity, moral and physical courage, self discipline, and 
brilliant strategy. Why then, do so many people believe that a nonviolent response to 
injustice or attack is unworkable, or “too idealistic”? Every major religion: Buddhism, 
Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Judaism, counsels its followers to sanctify human life 
and treat all human beings as family. Why, then, do we continue to train young people to 
kill, maim, and terrorize others? Why do we support a military budget that is three times 
that of our major adversaries combined? Why do we call our country’s aggression “just”
and “noble,” and our enemies’ aggression “unjust,” “mindless,” and “evil”? Why do we caricature and dehumanize people of other races as a prelude to our aggression against them? Why are we so reluctant to investigate the root causes of violence: poverty, oppression, ignorance, and fear?

My own philosophy of nonviolence – and how it applies to you:
My pacifism is rooted in Quaker peace testimony, my alarm at my country’s response to the events of 9-11, and my development work in India, West Africa, and impoverished U.S. communities. You can find a full explanation of my thinking, my talks to various communities, and my other courses on my website at www.umich.edu/~hfox. While this course advocates peace activism, you will not be graded down for arguing in favor of war or violence in specific instances or even in general, as long as you show that you acknowledge and understand opposing points of view. Likewise, you will not be given higher grades for advocating nonviolence without deep reflection about its difficulties and complexities. This course is an opportunity for you to question yourself, your prior learning, your action (or lack of action), and the influence of authorities – parents, government, teachers, media, religious instruction – in your life. Show me your thinking, both in your writing and in your contributions to class discussion; let me reflect with you through my questions and comments and through individual conversations that you initiate – breakfast, lunch, and coffee times are usually great; Amer’s on Church is my local hang-out. Please make appointments on line or before/after class.

Course Goals
• to understand some of the philosophies that motivate nonviolent action, including many religious traditions
• to learn how nonviolent social movements have worked in countries around the world
• to learn and practice some of the methods and strategies of nonviolent action
• to learn to respond to arguments that justify war and aggression
• to practice nonviolent action in the community, teach peace, and/or contribute to a nonviolent social movement

Writing
• Reading Journal: I will assign ten, 2-3 page (typed) reading journals (including Final Reflection, below) to help you think through specific questions or issues raised in the texts and class discussion and to let me know you’ve read and listened carefully. Please refer to specific texts with titles and page numbers and/or quotes so I know which articles you’ve been thinking about. The style I’m looking for is personal, thoughtful, and intellectual (not synonymous with unintelligible). You can achieve this by discussing your ideas with classmates (or with yourself) before writing, making your ideas clear, using a personal voice (“I think,” “I wonder,” “This makes me think about...” etc.), and editing your finished text carefully. Stream-of-consciousness writing, notes, or private musings can be helpful for your own thinking but they do not communicate enough to the reader or work out ideas thoroughly enough to be useful for this kind of assignment. Please be sure to
make appointments with me to talk about how to improve your writing if you have any doubts or concerns about it.

- **Letter** to a character or author of the book you chose: “What I’ve learned from you about activism, war, and/or peace, and my questions that remain.” (4-5 pages in two or more drafts). Although this letter is not meant to be sent, you’ll start by addressing the author personally (Dear Art Gish…). The purpose of the letter format is to encourage you to connect with the author’s feelings, beliefs, experiences, and convictions; to use ordinary, conversational language, to express your honest reactions and ask your most pressing questions.

- **Dialogue** with an adversary about the power of nonviolence (5-7 pp in two or more drafts). In this paper, you’ll create two characters who disagree about any of the questions of violence or nonviolence that we’ve tackled in class or that have come up for you in our readings or discussions. You may want to begin the paper with a few sentences that give the context of the conversation (e.g. “Karin and her roommate Joanna are watching TV when a news alert informs them that a demonstration against the World Bank has just turned violent…” etc.) The purpose of writing this in dialogue form is to understand opposing views well enough to make them sound credible and reasonable; to respond to those arguments in a convincing way; and to practice having more informed conversations that you might have tried to have in the past with no luck.

- **Report** of your community project (explanation and analysis of what you did, what the challenges were, how you dealt with them, and how the project could be improved) (4 or more pages). FULL DETAILS will be important here. Imagine your audience to be a supervisor in a neighborhood peace and justice organization who has been too busy with other projects to put her mind to yours. She is intensely interested in what you tried to accomplish and in what ways it was successful or unsuccessful. She does not expect miracles; your salary depends on effort and energy at this stage of project development, not results.

- **Final reflection** (3-4 pages) How have your ideas about peace activism been shaped, changed, strengthened, complicated, and/or challenged – and what questions remain with you, now that the course is almost over?

### Assessment of writing assignments

Your writing assignments will not be graded in the usual way; I feel that grades often stifle the critical thinking, creativity and risk-taking that are necessary to the writing process. I will comment extensively on your work, and will be happy to meet with you in conference about your writing and discuss your progress in the course if you ask me. To ensure careful reading and thinking about the course texts and discussions, I will mark your reading journals with ++ (you’ve impressed me); + (okay, but some deeper thinking, more accurate editing, and/or significant details would improve it); or RW – a mandatory re-write after careful consideration of my comments and an individual writing conference if we both think it would be helpful. You may endlessly revise (and I will endlessly comment on) any or all of the assignments.
Portfolio Assessment
You are responsible for organizing all of your written work, including ALL DRAFTS of your writing assignments in a cardboard binder and handing it in on the last day of class. It is UP TO YOU to KEEP A RECORD of the assignments and make sure they are all included in your final portfolio.

Community Action
In small groups, you will decide on nonviolent action projects you want to pursue in the community. This might involve a specific project with a UM student organization or a neighborhood peace group, peace education of children or teens in a school or religious institution, a peace art project, a publication you write or solicit writing for; a discussion series you set up, advertise, and facilitate; a film festival, a skit or play, or some other creative way of learning and practicing peace activism. Please note: Near the end of the course you will be asked to reflect on your contributions to your project, your attendance, your cooperation with other group members, the ways you have assumed responsibility, and so on. You will also have the opportunity to comment on the attitudes and contributions of other group members. Both your self assessment and the comments of others in your group about your participation will be taken into consideration in the assignment of your final grade in the course.

Grading
Your grade and/or RC evaluation will be based on the quality and depth of your writing and thinking, your attendance and involvement in class, the quantity and quality of your contributions to class discussion, and your contributions to your community project (see above).

Attendance Policy
Because all classes are discussion-intensive and practical, attendance and active participation is a must. Arrival no later than ten minutes past the hour is expected. More than two absences (with the exception of religious holidays) will result in a significant lowering of your grade. Please try to inform me by e-mail if you know you will be absent.

CALENDAR (Subject to change, depending on students’ interests and needs. Any changes to the schedule will be posted on the blackboard at the beginning of each class session)

Week 1 (Sept. 6, 8) Introductions, working together, definitions, questions.
Week Two (Sept. 13, 15) Reasons for war and terrorism.
Week Three (Sept. 20, 22) Reasons, continued. Just and unjust war. Choose your book about war, peace activism, and/or human nature (see list) and start reading.
Week Four (Sept. 27, 29) Genocide and its prevention. What is peace activism? Start community projects.
Week Six (Oct. 11, 13) Religious traditions, continued.

**Study Break**

Week Seven (Oct. 20) Discussion of your chosen books on war, peace activism and/or human nature. First draft: “Letter to author or character” DUE Oct. 20

Week Eight (Oct. 25, 27) Case Studies: India, Chile (videos: India: Defying the Crown; Chile: Defeat of a Dictator)

Week Nine (Nov. 1, 3) Case Studies: United States (videos: African Americans: No Easy Walk; Chicanos: Struggle in the Fields)

Week Ten (Nov. 8, 10). Case Studies: Poland, South Africa (videos: Poland: We’ve Caught God by the Arm; South Africa: Freedom in our Lifetime)


Week Twelve (Nov. 22) Nonviolent methods and peacemaking experiences. Video: Long Night’s Journey into Day (South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission).

**Thanksgiving Holiday**


Week Fourteen (Dec. 6, 8) Visions of the future, continued. Oral reports of community projects. Write-up of community project DUE Dec. 6

Week Fifteen (Dec. 13) Portfolios DUE. Your final reflection paper should appear as the first piece in your portfolio.

**Readings in Order** (* means reading is in a required book; all others in course pack or on CTools Resources)

**Introduction**
- Boston Globe: Annan, Teens, Rebuke Grown-ups for Strife
- Lao Tse: From the Tao Te Ching
- Fox: Interview With A Pacifist
- Fox: The Right to a World Without War

**Reasons for War**
- C.K. Williams: Fear (poem)
- Hedges: The Myth of War (In Hedges: “War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning”)
- Cho: The Dark Side of Dr. Seuss (on CTools Resources)
- Morin: Axis of Evil (political cartoon)
- Baraka: Somebody Blew Up America (poem)
- Ehrenreich: War: Disease of our Making (L.A. Times Opinion)
- Wink: The Myth of Redemptive Violence
- Reitman: Surviving Fallujah (NY Times Magazine)
Are Some Wars Better Than Others?
- New Yorker: Unconventional War
- US Conference of Catholic Bishops: Statement on Iraq
- Zinn: Just and Unjust War (In “Howard Zinn On War”)
- Eisenhower: War Turned Invasion’s Overall Commander Into A Pacifist
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: Genocide Convention (1948, 1951)
- Weisman: Powell Says Rapes and Killings in Sudan Are Genocide

What is Peace Action?
- Bartlett: Ground Zero Worker for Peace
- Wimsatt: Inside the Union Square Vigil (In: “Another World Is Possible”)
- Hanh: Love in Action. (In Hanh: Love in Action)
- Addams: Personal Reactions During the War (Jane Addams: “Peace and Bread in Time of War”)
- The Works of Mercy versus the Works of War (Biography of Dorothy Day)
- *Yoors-Peeters: Daring to be Human (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 258)
- *Smiley: How Nonviolence Works (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 54)
- Nonviolent Civic Resistance Key (In CTools Resources)
- Guardian: We Won’t Deny Our Consciences
- McAllister: You Can’t Kill the Spirit (In Zunes et al: “Nonviolent Social Movements”)
- Kidder: The Candle and the Closet
- Lizter: An Extraordinary View of the World
- Independent: Groundswell of Dissent Encircles the Globe
- A Protest a Day Keeps the Doctor Away? (Reuters Health)
- *Sharp: Disregarded History. (In Wink: “Peace in the Way” p. 231)
- Chatfield: Nonviolent Social Movements in the United States (In Zunes: Nonviolent Social Movements)
- Lakey: Nonviolent Action as “The Sword That Heals”
What do Religious Traditions Say About Nonviolence?

- *Smith-Christopher: Subverting Hatred

Nonviolent Social Movements

- Salsa.net: The Great Peace March: A Timeline of Peace and Justice Events
- *Ackerman and Duvall: Introduction in: A Force More Powerful
- *Ackerman and Duvall: A Force More Powerful. Ch. 2 India: Movement for Self-Rule
- *Ackerman and Duvall: A Force More Powerful. Ch 7 Argentina and Chile: Resisting Repression
- *King: My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p.64)
- *Ackerman and Duvall: A Force More Powerful: Ch. 8 The American South: Campaign for Civil Rights
- King: Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam
- *Chavez: People Are Willing To Sacrifice Themselves (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 227)
- *Ackerman and Duvall: A Force More Powerful: Ch. 3 Poland: Power from Solidarity
- *Ackerman and Duvall: A Force More Powerful: Ch. 9 South Africa: Campaign Against Apartheid
- Lebanon Demonstrations (in CTools Resources)
- Palestine Chronicles (in CTools Resources)
- Ukrainian Nonviolent Revolution (in CTools Resources)

Nonviolent Methods

- Buddha: Let a Man Overcome Anger by Love
- Love Makes a Family: The LARA Method
- Hanh: What I Would Say to Osama Bin Laden
- *Samuel: The Violence in Ourselves (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p.240)
- Orbaker: How to Talk to “Middle America” about Progressive Issues
- Bageant: The Covert Kingdom: Thy Will be Done, On Earth as it is in Texas
- Koranic Duels Ease Terror (Christian Science Monitor)
- Abu-Nimer: Social, Political, and Cultural Applications of Nonviolent Strategies in Muslim Communities (In “Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam”)
- Albert and Shalom: Ten Q and A On Antiwar Organizing
- Swaim: Grading the Peace Movement: Did Activists Stop a World War?
- Solnit: Acts of Hope (Orion Online)
- *Hassler: An Aspiration, Not An Achievement (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 82)
- *Muste: The Pacifist Way of Life (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 30)

Peacemaking Experiences

- *Willson: The Road to Transformation (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 269)
- *Mosley: Baghdad After the War (In Wink: “Peace is the Way” p. 273)
Nagler: No Power to Describe (In “The Search for a Nonviolent Future”)
King, Jr.: Letter from a Birmingham Jail
huwaidaa: Successful non-violent action
Davey: Un-Volunteering: Troops Improvise to Find a Way Out (NY Times)
*Chacham: Breaking Ranks

**Visions of the Future**
Boulding: A Journey Into the Future (Peace and Conflict Studies)
*King, Jr.: Facing the Challenge of the New Age (in Wink: “Peace is the Way”)
Kucinich: Peace and Nuclear Disarmament
Pogge: Priorities of Global Justice (on CTools Resources)
Zinn: The Optimism of Uncertainty (The Nation)
Berry: Thoughts in the Presence of Fear