Stopping War: Analyzing Anti-War Movements
Syllabus for Spring 2016
Instructor: Sam Diener
Schwartz 103 (Mondays 6:30-9:30 pm)

Course Summary:

This course focuses on the theories and practices of stopping war, with a focus on anti-war movements in the United States. We’ll briefly review theories and evidence about the roots and history of war, as well as social movement theory. After a brief overview of peace efforts worldwide, we will delve into the foundational ideas of religious and secular European peace advocates, since these provide most of the ideological basis of anti-war movements in the United States.

The course then applies these theories and ideas to case studies of anti-war movements. The focus will be on select examples of anti-war movements in the United States, though the course will also make reference to anti-war movements around the world as well. The course concludes with analysis about the future of peace movements.

Throughout the course, students will practice some of the skills that peace movement practitioners have used and continue to utilize. The course is interdisciplinary, in that it will draw on the research, perspectives, and ethical insights of historians, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, social movement theorists, peace researchers, conflict resolution theorists and practitioners, artists, poets, writers, singers, and activists, as well as bringing in the students’ own critical reflections.

Learning Goals:

1) Students will gain an understanding of the intellectual and ethical groundings of anti-war movements, particularly in the U.S.
2) Students will gauge the successes and failures of anti-war movements.
3) Students will practice skills required of peace movement practitioners, including: conflict resolution, organizational development, and strategic peace-building.
4) Students will develop ideas about how to make anti-war movements of the future more effective.
Course Outline

I. War and Social Movement Theories
   A. Peace Studies – why study war and anti-war movements?
   B. The roots of war, the roots of peace
   C. Social change movement theories

II. Foundational ideas of Western Peace Movements
   A. European religious definitions of peace: Las Casas, Erasmus, Luther, Spinoza, Quaker Peace Testimony, Clarkson.
   B. European Secular definitions/arguments for peace: La Boetie, Wollstonecraft, Kant.

III. Case Studies in US History
   A. Iroquois Women Gain Power to Veto Wars
   B. European and Native North American coexistence in the Americas? The case of Merrymount
   C. Resistance to US Expansionism: the Mexican-American and Spanish American Wars
   D. Interlude: the Sweden-Norway 1905 War-that-Wasn’t
   E. Resistance to World War I
   F. Resistance to WWII: Nonviolent resistance to Nazism, WWII conscientious objectors in the U.S. and their legacies: post-war social movements
   G. Resistance to the U.S. War in Vietnam
   H. Anti-war activism after the Vietnam War

IV. Recent (and Future) Global Movements
   A. Movements to remove the causes of war: movements for positive peace (human rights, anti-racism, feminism, solidarity economics, green movements, public health, etc.).
   B. Feminist Anti-Militarist Organizing
   C. The future of peace movements

V. Skills of Peace Movement Practitioners
   (This theme will be woven in throughout the course; see the week-by-week descriptions.)
   A. Communication skills
   B. Conflict resolution and conflict transformation skills
   C. Organizational development skills (e.g. leadership development, fundraising.)
   D. Nonviolent direct action skills
   E. Social movement strategic planning skills (campaign-, coalition-, and movement-building)
   F. Sustaining activists and movements over the long-term
Course Requirements:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>% of Final Grade</th>
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<tr>
<td>Forum Entries (5)</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Book Response Assignments (4) (see chart below)</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Class Participation (see the description on page 11)</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Take Home Final Exam</td>
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<tr>
<th>Book Response Assignments (descriptions of each assignment will be passed out in class).</th>
<th>% of Final Grade</th>
<th>Assignment Due</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Peace: A World History, Case Study of an Idea</em></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Week 4, 2/8</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Using The Peace Reform in American History, and Conscience in America, Case Study of a War</em></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Week 7, 3/7</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>The War Within, Case Study of a Campaign</em></td>
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<td>Week 11, 4/11</td>
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<td><em>From Where We Stand</em></td>
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<td>Week 14, 5/2</td>
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Course Books

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<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Book Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antony Adolf</td>
<td><em>Peace: A World History</em></td>
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<td>Charles DeBenedetti</td>
<td><em>The Peace Reform in American History: Ideals and Activism</em></td>
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<td>Lillian Schlissel</td>
<td><em>Conscience in America: A Documentary History of Conscientious Objection in America: 1757-1967</em></td>
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<td>James Tracy</td>
<td><em>Direct Action: Radical Pacifism from the Union Eight to the Chicago Seven</em></td>
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<td>Tom Wells</td>
<td><em>The War Within: America’s Battle Over Vietnam</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cynthia Cockburn</td>
<td><em>From Where We Stand: War, Women’s activism and Feminist Analysis</em></td>
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Section 1 – War, Anti-War Movements, and Social Movement Theories

Week 1, 1/20 – Introduction to War, Anti-War Movements, and Peace Studies

Introductions to each other, to the course, to the syllabus, to peace, war, peace studies, and anti-war movements.

In class, you will post questions to our online forum on anti-war movements (and then respond to these questions – perhaps with more questions) before day 2 of class. We will be posting questions in class from time to time throughout the course, so please bring a smartphone or laptop to class if you have one.

By Sunday at 6 pm, please post two or more comments to our Forum page (posting #1). Your comments should respond to at least one of the questions and at least one of the responses posted by your classmates. In your comments, you’ll draw from and respond to the readings and our activities in class above. Ideally, responding won’t mean trying to provide a definitive answer. Instead, share emotions, ideas, conjectures, historical or sociocultural parallels, possible directions for research, personal experiences, books, poems, videos, or artwork that come to mind, online resources that might cast light on the issue, similar or differing perspectives, opinions, and so on. Please feel free to disagree with one another vigorously while voicing respect for each other as people.

Skill of the week: Communication skills for peacemakers (and for constructive pedagogical participation).

Week 2, 1/25 – History of War-making and Peace-making

Before today's class, read:

- *Peace: A World History*, Chapters 1-5
- “Peace Studies: a Ten Points Primer,” a lecture by Johan Galtung;
- A summary of social movement theories, 1 page handout, by Sam Diener
- “Thinking About Strategy” by David S. Meyer, 33 pages, *UC-Irvine* and Suzanne Staggenborg
- “The Tactic Star,” 1 page handout by Matthew Smucker and Beyond the Choir.
- “Anger Works Best...” from *Beautiful Trouble*, pp. 96-97

Skill of the week: Conflict resolution skills, Part 1

Suggested reading:

- Barbara Deming, “On Anger”
- For a different perspective, see the equally controversial but fascinating website on Peaceful Societies, [http://www.peacefulsocieties.org/facts.html](http://www.peacefulsocieties.org/facts.html).
Section 2: Foundational Ideas of Western Peace Movements

Week 3 – 2/1, Religious Roots of European Peacemaking Ideas

Before today's class, read:

- Selections from the work of Las Casas, Luther, Erasmus, Spinoza, the Quaker Peace Testimony, and Clarkson.
- John Woolman on War Tax Resistance during the Seven Years War, 1757, *Conscience in America*, pp. 28-38.

Skill of the week: Conflict resolution skills, Part 2: mediation.

Suggested Reading:

- Browse a couple of topics on the useful “Beyond Intractable Conflicts” knowledge base of conflict transformation concepts ([http://www.beyondintractability.org/library/essay-browse-tree](http://www.beyondintractability.org/library/essay-browse-tree)).
- If you’re interested in Just War Theory and its application, an intellectually riveting book of interviews with theologians and activists with divergent views (reacting to the war in Vietnam in particular), is James Finn’s *Protest: Pacifism and Politics, Some Passionate Views on War and Nonviolence*.

Week 4, 2/8 – Secular Roots of European Peacemaking Ideas.

First book response paper due.

Before today's class, read:

- The remaining chapters of *Peace: A World History*
- Scan and read the ending of a little-known classic of secular nonviolence theory, “The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude” by Étienne de la Boétie, from the 1550s.
- Selections from Kant on “Perpetual Peace” from 1795. The origins of Democratic Peace theory.
- “The Psychology of Tyranny” by Barbara Andrews on Wollstonecraft, Woolf, and feminist theories of war
- “Allying” - 2 pages, by Sam Diener
- “Take Leadership from the Most Impacted” (pp. 180-181) and “Anti-Oppression, (pp. 212-213) from *Beautiful Trouble*.
- the MAPIT model (1 page) and the research base of the MAPIT model (2 pages) by Sam Diener

Skill of the week: Allying against oppression.
Suggested Reading:
- Virginia Woolf – *Three Guineas*
- Virginia Woolf – “Notes Under Fire” (Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid Shelter, 1940)

By Sunday 2/21, at 6 pm, post, to our Forum page, two or more comments (posting #2). Your comments should respond to at least one of the questions posed in class and at least one of the responses posted by your classmates.

**Section 3 – Case Studies of Peace Movements in U.S. History**

**Week 5, 2/22 – Case Study: Resistance to War in the U.S., Part I.**

Before today's class, read:
- “Iroquois Women Gain the Veto Over War-making”
- Excerpts from “The New English Canaan” by Thomas Morton re Merrymount
- *The Peace Reform in American History*, Preface through Chapter 3
- “William Lloyd Garrison and the Problem of Non-resistance”
- “Conflict Transformation,” a summary article by John Paul Lederach

Skill of the week: Conflict transformation and strategic peace-building

Suggested additional reading:

**Week 6, 2/29 – Resistance to U.S. Imperial Expansion – Mexico and the Philippines**

Before today's class, read:
- *The Peace Reform in American History*, Chapter 4
- Henry David Thoreau’s “Civil Disobedience” from 1849.
- “Women's Anti-Imperialism, 'The White Man's Burden,' and the Philippine-American War” by Erin Murphy
- “War is Kind” poem by Stephen Crane
- “A Lament from Kentucky” by an anonymous mother (from *We Who Dared to Say No to War*)
- “The Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism” by William Jennings Bryan (from *We Who Dared to Say No to War*)
- “Making Decisions by Consensus” by Seeds of Change, and “Consensus is a Means, Not an End,” pp. 116-117 from *Beautiful Trouble*.
- Meeting Facilitation: The No Magic Method, by Berit Lakey

Skill of the week: Leadership Development, Part 1, consensus and facilitation.
Suggested reading:
- Bertram Wyatt-Brown, “Honor and America’s Wars: From Spain to Iraq,” (how US political leaders’ ideas about masculine honor were used to justify and promote US warfare).
- On Conflict and Consensus, by Amy Rothstein and C. T. Butler

Week 7 3/7, – The War that Wasn't, and Resistance to World War I in the U.S.
Second Book Response Paper Due

Before today's class, read:
- “1905: The War That Never Took Place,” by Jørgen Johansen
- The Peace Reform in American History, Chapter Five
- Conscience in America: Part IV, documents, pp. 128-174
- Excerpt from Jailed for Peace, by Stephen M Kohn
- Eugene Victor Debs' Canton, Ohio Anti-War Speech, June 16, 1918.
- “Enable, Don't Command,” p. 132, and “Pedagogy of the Oppressed,” pp. 246-7 from Beautiful Trouble.
- “Idiosyncratic Definitions of Liberatory Pedagogies,” 1 page handout by Sam Diener

Skill of the week: Leadership Development, Part 2, Teaching and participatory pedagogies, Training Trainers


Week 8, 3/14 – Nonviolent Resistance to WWII

Read, before today's class:
- The Peace Reform in American History, chapter six and seven.
- Read, from Direct Action, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2
- The Union Theological Seminary Eight’s 1940 statement, “Why We Refused to Register.”
- Conscience in America, documents from Part VI on WWII. pp. 214-253.
- On nonviolent resistance to the Nazis, the debate between Michael Stratford and Brian Martin

Skill of the week: Resource mobilization, development, and fundraising.

Optional:
Watch Kim Klein's presentation on fundraising for social change, a 1:40:00 minute video.

Suggested additional reading:
Week 9, 3/21 – Legacies of WWII Conscientious Objectors: Post-War Social Movements

Post to online forum (posting #3)

Read, before today's class:

- *Direct Action*, rest of book
- “Interview with Julian Bond and Walter Neagle” about World War II resister, March on Washington in 1963 chair, and gay black activist, Bayard Rustin, and his many legacies.
- “Going to Scale: The Challenge of Replicating Social Programs,” by Jeffrey Bradach (8 pages)

Suggested additional reading:

David Dellinger’s autobiography, *From Yale to Jail.*

*Time on Two Crosses: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin* by Bayard Rustin and Devon Carbado

Skill of the week: Organizational development and replication of organizing models.

For more on the history of organizational development approaches, see “Organization Development and Change: A Reflection on Where We Came From” by Dale Zand (2009). For more on scaling social change, see the links contained in “Six Steps to Successfully Scale Impact in the Nonprofit Sector.” For an excellent book on organizational development, see *Reframing Organizations: Artistry, Choice, and Leadership* by Lee G. Bolman and Terrence E. Deal.


Read, before today's class:

- *Peace Reform in American History*, Chapter 8 and the Afterword
- “How to Respond to Verbal or Physical Violence at Vigils and Protests” by Larry Dansinger and Sam Diener (2 page handout used in peacekeeper and nonviolent direct action trainings).

Film, “Sir! No Sir!”

Skill of the week: Nonviolent Direct Action


Before class:

- read your assigned section of *The War Within*.
- Read Barbara Deming’s, “On Revolution and Equilibrium.”
- Developing Social Justice Campaigns (4 pages) by Sam Diener

Book Response #3: Prepare a presentation assessing the theories embodied in, and your assessment of the effectiveness of, a campaign, including its various strategies and tactics, described in your section of *The War Within*. Hand in an outline of your presentation, a brief description of theories you drew from, and a list of external sources.

Skill of the week: Campaign building and movement building skills. Strategic planning.

Suggested additional reading: “Changing the Story: Story-Based Strategies for Direct Action Design” by Doyle Canning and Patrick Reinsborough, 6 pages

Week 12, 4/18 – Post U.S.-Vietnam War Peace movements.

Post to the online forum (posting #4).

Before class, read:

- An overview of the post-1975 US Peace Movement (TBD)
- “Impact of Economic and Political Sanctions on Apartheid,” by Alexander Laverty
- “Coalitions and Political Context: U.S. Movements Against Wars In Iraq” by David S. Meyer and Catherine Corrigall-Brown
- “Just Say No: Organizing Against Militarism in Public Schools,” by Scott Harding and Seth Kershner.

Skill of the week: Coalition development skills and dilemmas.

Suggested additional reading: For an account of a multi-racial cross-class coalition that organized successfully to stop a military Bioweapons lab from opening in Roxbury, MA, see “Alliance Building across Social Movements: Bridging Difference in a Peace and Justice Coalition” by Thomas D. Beamish and Amy J. Luebbers (30 pages).
Section 4 – Recent (and Future) Global Movements for Positive Peace

Week 13 (Class day TBD) – Feminist Organizing vs. Modern War

Before class, read:

- Read selections from *Where We Stand*
- **Feminist Declaration from the Americas Social Forum in Guatemala**, 2008
- Women’s Pentagon Action Unity Statement, (anti-)drafted by Grace Paley, 1980
- A promotional video (4 minutes) for a prospective feature film (since transmogrified into a proposed TV series) based on Starhawk’s novel, *A Fifth Sacred Thing*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lROCSDQe9WM.
- “Activist Skills and Experiences Questionnaire,” by Randy Schutt (8 pages) – (I know it can be intimidating – please peruse this as ideas for lifelong learning).
- “Constructive Critique” 1 page handout, by Starhawk

Skill of the week: Evaluation.

Suggested reading, an amazing compilation of essays, interviews, and poetry (and the book that probably changed my life more than any other): *Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence*, edited by Pam McCallister (but unfortunately out of print).

Week 14, 5/2 – Positive Peace Movements

Before Sunday at 6 PM, post to our forum (#5) at least one meaningful question you have about peace movements and studies that you want to explore in more depth after this class is over. Please also comment: how might you want to try to use some of what you’ve learned in this class so far? Respond constructively to at least one of the questions posted by your classmates.

Book Response Paper #4, on *From Where We Stand*, due today.

Before today's class, read:

- “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict” By Maria Chenoweth and Erica Stephan (an article that is the foundation of their book of the same name)
- Global Compassion, Solidarity Economy, by Bishop Tutu
- On Feminist Eco-pacifism by Wangari Maathai.
- “Challenging Orthodoxies: The Road Ahead for Health and Human Rights” by Paul Farmer
- “Emotion, Space, and Society” by Gavin Brown and Jenny Pickerell
- “Emotional Self-Management for Activists” by Chris Barker, Brian Martin, and Mary Zournazi

We will watch excerpts from “*The War We Are Living*,” a film on women in Colombia resisting the invasion of their lands, an example of local and transnational peace movement organizing.
Skill of the week: Sustaining ourselves, our activism, and our movements for the long haul.

Suggested Reading

- Gene Sharp, “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action.” (2 page handout, also appendix 1 of FDtD) and From Dictatorship to Democracy, (80 page booklet)
- Partial list of countries where dictators have been overthrown using largely nonviolent means in the 20th century.
- “Collaboratively Creating and Sustaining Hope and Agency” by Sherie McClam, Alan Cass, Christina Connors et al.
- “Persistent Pacifism: How Activist Commitment is Developed and Sustained,” by James Downton, Jr. and Paul Wehr.

Final Exam – Take-home final, due on [date TBD], at noon, to me via email: sdiener@brandeis.edu

Further Course Details

Four-Credit Course (with three hours of class-time per week)

Success in this 4 credit hour course is based on the expectation that students will spend a minimum of 9 hours of study time per week in preparation for class (readings, papers, discussion sections, preparation for exams, etc.).

Class Participation – 15% of grade

In class, your participation is crucial, both for your own learning and for the learning of the whole class. A vital component of peace is dialogue, and it’s essential that you engage in constructive dialogue both online and in class in order to deepen everyone’s understanding.

In this class you will sometimes be assigned to read material and come to class prepared to teach it to other students. These students will be reading other material and will teach it to you. Your class participation grade is partly based on your attendance and partly on your contributions in class – asking questions, commenting, helping other students, and generally participating.

In addition to discussions to deepen our understanding of assigned readings, we will be addressing topics in class that are not covered by the readings, including skills, artwork, and songs not on the syllabus. Please show up for class on time and be prepared to fully participate. If you do miss a class, be sure to check online and be in touch with your classmates to find out some of what you missed.

Advice Regarding Written Work

Proofread each of your papers (sometimes reading your own words out loud and rewriting them until the language sounds “right” can help a lot), or ask someone else to do so, and correct it before handing it in. Your paper should have citations (footnotes, endnotes, or in-text parenthetical citations), and should also include a complete list of sources. If you have any doubts about how to properly footnote a paper, please ask me for advice or consult the Writing Center; also see the Proper Citation Style webpages on our course site. Be sure to provide citations – including the page number(s) – for all quotations, paraphrases, and factual information that are not extremely common knowledge. Failure to provide full and accurate
citations is considered plagiarism and is grounds for failing the course.

**Late Papers**

Papers handed in late will be graded down one-half grade per day. I would encourage you not to skip class in order to finish writing your paper. Since papers are due at the beginning of class, handing a paper in after class begins will count as though the paper is one day late. Keep in mind that you may have computer problems, printer problems, etc., and that these do not serve as acceptable excuses for handing a paper in late. Handing in a paper means handing in a hard copy of the paper, unless I ask for an electronic version.

**Academic Integrity**

You are expected to be familiar with, and to follow, the University’s policies on academic integrity. Please consult Brandeis University Rights and Responsibilities for all policies and procedures. All policies related to academic integrity apply to in-class and take home projects, assignments, exams, and quizzes. Students may only collaborate on assignments with permission from the instructor. Allegations of academic dishonesty will be forwarded to the director of Academic Integrity. Sanctions for academic dishonesty can include failing grades and/or suspension from the university.

**Office Hours, Learning Challenges and/or Disabilities**

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.

If you have particular learning challenges that might make any of these assignments particularly difficult, some suggestions include: going to the Writing Center, working with a study group to improve, and/or talking with me during my office hours.

My office hours are from 5:15 to 6:15 on Mondays (place TBD) before class. If you wish to see me during office hours, please talk with me after class or contact me by email.

Version 1.1