

Nonviolent Struggles for Justice

**HON 394; Honors College Seminar
Arizona State University West
Fall 2004**

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*“There is a powerful motivation when a suppressed people
enlist in an army that marches under the banner of nonviolence.
Nonviolent soldiers are called upon to examine and burnish their greatest weapons:
their heart, their conscience, their courage, and their sense of justice.”*
- Martin Luther King, Jr.

Class meetings: Wednesdays, 3:30 – 6:15 pm; Sands 321
Line #80130. 3 Units.

Office: FAB S-214. **Hours:** Mondays, 3:30 – 5:00 (sign-up on office door to self-schedule; or other times and days available by appointment and prior arrangement)
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Course Themes

This seminar emphasizes a deep exploration of a limited set of themes and texts, and takes a combined historical and philosophic approach. These historical and philosophical inquiries meet in a conception of engaged citizenship for democracy and justice, and students will be invited to consider the trajectory of their own lives in light of this conception.

We will investigate U.S. nonviolent struggles for justice and develop an analysis of these campaigns that highlights the integration of educative and coercive measures in strategic, militant action for social change. Nonviolent campaigns depend on persuasion by moral appeal and rational argument, and also on the evident moral quality of the force employed in direct actions such as picketing, sit-ins, disruptions, or strikes. We will examine the moral basis of the principles of civil disobedience and nonviolence, and identify action strategies and tactics that are consistent with those principles and that have been used in historic struggles for the rights of women, Chicano workers, and Blacks, as well as other campaigns related to student interests. We will situate the principles, strategies, and tactics of nonviolence in relationship to just war theory, and explore the extension of militant nonviolence to the limit of a war strategy to establish social justice or to resist invasion or oppression by armed force.



Course Expectations and Requirements

It is critically important to complete the readings in advance and to be thoughtfully prepared for each class meeting because this is a dialogue-based seminar. The class seeks genuine understanding of very complex issues, and since there may be a wide range of views represented in the class, discussion must be respectful even in the midst of sharp debate. Open, honest, reflective, focused, sensitive inquiry is expected. This class works best insofar as it becomes a supportive **learning community**. Each student's active participation is needed, and consistent, punctual, prepared and interested involvement is expected. The more we put into our weekly encounters, the stronger the course will be. A portion of the course grade will be based upon participation and attendance.

Please *remember to bring your name cards* (distributed the first day of class to place on the table in front of you) with you each week to facilitate learning one another's name.

Classroom etiquette requires that cell phones be turned off (or in buzzer mode for emergency calls), that full attention is given to the class, and that we listen carefully and without interruption to one another.



In addition to various historical and philosophic readings, the course uses documentary films and case studies to bring out the issues. **The reading assignments can be challenging even if not lengthy, so please plan sufficient time not simply to complete the readings prior to each class but also to reflect on the issues raised by them.** The quality of class discussions depends decisively on reading preparation. Please note that the weekly reading load varies, and that written assignments are due throughout the semester, so arrange your schedules accordingly!

Arizona Board of Regents policy specifies that university students spend a *minimum* of two hours per week on course related scholarly activities for every class hour; that is, **you should expect to spend at least six hours per week (on average) on reading, writing, and study preparations for this course.**

READINGS: The professor will provide a set of readings for each student. **The specific common readings for each class are noted in the syllabus under the date and topic for the session.** *It is recommended that you keep a reading notebook to keep notes and comments on each reading to prepare you for the course assignments and class dialogues.*

Each student will also have responsibility for completing additional readings for a case study and leading the discussion in some sessions. A list of supplemental readings to help students get started on the research for the case study is provided in this syllabus.

FILMS: A number of documentary films are also required "reading" for the course; the specific titles are noted in the syllabus under the date and topic for the session during which they will be shown. Films are also available for loan from Fletcher Library.



Office hour discussions are a good way to explore the readings, discussions, and your interests in greater depth. You can reserve time during regular office hours via the sign-up sheet on the professor's office door, or you can reserve these or other mutually agreeable times by contacting the professor directly (in person, by phone, or through email). ***Students are very strongly encouraged to meet with the professor in office hours at least once during the semester.***



Assignments

The written assignments are opportunities to develop deeper understandings of the course themes as well as one's self, and they will be the primary basis of your grade in the course. All writing must be each student's original work and of honors quality. **Submitted assignments should**

be typed or word-processed using 12-pt type and double-spacing, and leaving a one-inch margin on all sides of each page. Spell and grammar check assignments prior to their being submitted for grading.



Each assignment is described briefly below. Additional information will be provided in class.

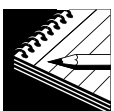


Autobiographical reflection on social justice issues. Write an essay that reflects on your life history and its relationship to social justice issues and nonviolent movements. You may have been an observer, participant, beneficiary, and/or student of these issues and movements, and/or you may have been largely ignorant of them. Do not only describe your experiences, but also examine *why* your experience has been what it is, and reflect on *how you have been affected* by these issues and movements regardless of how conscious you have been of them. You might also want to reflect on why you are interested in these topics now, and what you hope to gain from this course. **~4 pages, due Session #3.**



Seminar Case Study. Each student will select a topic for the case study in accord with his or her own interests. Early in the semester, several class discussions will be devoted to determining a choice. Case studies can be illustrative of broad themes (e.g., religious traditions and nonviolence, nonviolent resistance to Fascism and Nazism, African Americans and nonviolence, the civil rights movement, women's movements) or studies of key figures in nonviolent struggles (e.g., Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, Alice Paul), important strategies or tactics (e.g., hunger strikes, sit-ins, boycotts), particular actions or movements (e.g., the civil rights march on Selma, or the anti-nuclear power movement), or the religious and philosophical issues underlying nonviolence and struggles for justice (e.g., the line between violence and nonviolent coercion). The case studies will vary based on the topic, but generally one should consist of a statement of the topic and its significance, a summation of and reflection on the readings completed, and some analysis of the key points or questions. Each student will give copies of his/her case study to the other students (after an opportunity to make modifications based on the professor's feedback), and then the following week lead a seminar discussion on the case (this can occur in pairs or teams if students collaborate on a case).

~6 pages, due Session #11. Case study discussions will be during Sessions #13 & 14.



Two Reflection Notebooks. ~ 7 pages each. Each student can determine the precise format for her/his own Notebook; the topics and approach are flexible. It should be a collection of *developed reflections* on seminar themes, readings, films, or discussions, somewhere in between the poles of a journal (notes, immediate reactions, or sketched thoughts) and a research paper (a polished or conclusive essay based on extensive research); each Notebook could consist of several distinct pieces of about 1-3 pages, or two essays of 3-4 pages, or a single essay. The Notebooks are opportunities to integrate the course materials with your self-understanding, and to explore topics at both a feeling and thinking level. Notwithstanding due dates, you are welcome to share your Notebook entries with the seminar or the professor at any time. **A Reflection Notebook is due at session #9 and after the conclusion of the course, on Monday, December 13, by noon at the professor's office.**



Supplemental Readings for Seminar Case Studies:

The books listed below are good places to begin to research a case study, but many other resources are also available in Fletcher Library. These books cover a wide range of the history and practice of nonviolent struggle for justice, and most have extensive bibliographies that enable you to locate other materials. Students should peruse these or other books in the first few weeks of the semester to help them select a case study topic (collaboration on case studies is permissible).



McCarthy, R.M., & Sharp, G. (1997). *Nonviolent action: A research guide*. New York: Garland Publishing Co.

This book provides an extensive annotated bibliography of resources on nonviolent action, covering both historically and geographically diverse cases. This is an excellent starting place to identify materials to contribute to the case study.

Powers, R.S., & Vogeleson, W.B. (Eds.). (1997). *Protest, power and change: An encyclopedia of nonviolent action from ACT-UP to women's suffrage*. New York: Garland.

This book is formatted as an encyclopedia, with relative brief entries on a vast range of topics. The sections on Campaigns and Events, and Methods of Nonviolent Action, will be especially useful for this course.

Lynd, S., & Lynd, A. (Eds.). (1995). *Nonviolence in America: A documentary history*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

This book collects a variety of primary documents related to the history of nonviolent struggles in the U.S. The foci include conscientious objection to war (from WWI to the Gulf War), direct action for peace (including resistance to the Vietnam war), and trade unionism. There are some early American history documents (Quakers; Abolitionists), although no attention is given to women's suffrage or women's rights.

Ackerman, P., & DuVall, J. (2000). *A force more powerful: A century of nonviolent conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

This book examines movements in Russia, India, Poland, Denmark, El Salvador, Argentina, Chile, South Africa, the Philippines, the U.S. and elsewhere. It explores variations in struggles to achieve power, resist terror, or gain rights.

Brock, P., & Young, N. (1999). *Pacifism in the twentieth century*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

This book is particularly good for examining the role of the historic peace churches in the U.S. in relation to pacifism and conscientious objection to war.

Cooney, R. & Michalowski, H. (Eds.). (1987). *Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States*. 2nd Edition. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

This book provides a general historical overview (lots of pictures) of nonviolence in the U.S. from colonial days to the mid-1980s, and would be a good introduction that could be supplemented with other readings on specific movements.

Crawford, V.L., Rouse, J.A., & Woods, B. (Eds.). (1990). *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers 1941-1965*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

This book provides brief biographies of leading women from the civil rights movement and situates these lives in the context of the struggles that helped to lead.

Epstein, B. (1991). *Political protest and cultural revolution: nonviolent direct action in the 1970s and 1980s*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

This book provides case studies of anti-nuclear power and weapons organizations (Clamshell and Abalone Alliances, and the Livermore Action Group), and also has interpretive chapters on the relationship of feminist spirituality and the religious community to nonviolence.

Hare, A.P., & Blumberg, H.H. (Eds.). (1968). *Nonviolent direct action, American cases, social psychological analyses*. Washington: Corpus Books.

This book provides a good set of case studies from the U.S. civil rights and peace movements (up to mid-1960s), and also has a lengthy section that contains different sorts of social and psychological analyses looking at questions about the efficacy of nonviolent action and the motivations of activists.

Salomon, L.R. (1998). *Roots of Justice: Stories of Organizing in Communities of Color*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

This book provides a broad series of case studies focused on a variety of communities of color, from the underground railroad to late twentieth century housing struggles. Not all cases depict successful campaigns.

Zunes, S., Kurtz, L.R., & Asher, S. B. (Eds.). (1999). *Nonviolent social movements: A geographical perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.

This book has case studies from the Mid East, Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. We will be reading one chapter together, on women and nonviolence.



Grading

High standards of academic integrity are expected of each student, in accord with the Student Code of Conduct, the Academic Integrity Policy, and the Computer, Internet and Electronic Communications Policy. Penalties for violating these standards can be severe, including expulsion from the University. For additional information, consult these websites:

<http://www.asu.edu/studentlife/judicial/integrity.html>

http://www.abor.asu.edu/1_the_regents/policymanual/index.html#5

<http://www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/acd/acd125.html>.

All work for this seminar, including participation in the discussions, is expected to be of honors quality. Given that students have already been admitted to the Barrett Honors College, an honest, concerted effort and due diligence should satisfy the requirements for an A or B level grade depending on the level of mastery demonstrated.

Each assignment has somewhat different expectations associated with it that will be discussed more fully in class. The autobiography should include more than mere description of events, and

focus on interpretive reflections that tie individual life experiences to the larger social, cultural, and historical contexts. The case study should include thorough and incisive summations of the selected readings, and nuanced interpretations with probing analyses of key themes. The Notebooks should demonstrate a broad, serious, and in-depth engagement with the themes, readings and discussions of the seminar. Participation in the seminar is assessed in relation to consistent, punctual, prepared, and active involvement.

Attendance is expected at every course meeting. *The professor should be notified in advance of all necessary absences* due to illness, religious holiday, or other legitimate reason. It is the student's responsibility to consult with classmates and the professor about missed work, and to complete it as needed. Excused absences will not result in loss of participation points, but if they exceed 25% of the course (i.e., ≥ 4 sessions) they may preclude satisfactory course completion if students are not eligible for an incomplete or a medical leave of absence; in such cases, special arrangements must be made with the professor. One participation point will be deducted (up to a total of 5) for each unexcused absences; in addition, unexcused absences that exceed 25% of the course (i.e., ≥ 4 sessions) can result in course failure at the professor's discretion.

CAUTION: **VERY IMPORTANT:** Work must be turned in at class on the specified due date or it may be assessed a maximum penalty of 10% of the assignment value per day late. However, for each assignment, one extension may be explicitly arranged at least one day in advance of the assigned due date and another specific due date set (to which the late penalty rule then applies).

If at any time you do not understand the basis of a grade, you should meet with the professor as soon as possible to review your work, clarify expectations, and determine what you need to do to earn the grade you seek.

Assignment/Requirement values:

Autobiography	8-10 points
Case study	≤ 25 points
Notebook I	≤ 30 points
Notebook II	≤ 30 points
Participation	<u>≤ 5 points</u>
TOTAL	<u>≤ 100 points</u>



Course Grades: A+ = 100; A = 95 – 99; A- = 90 – 94; B+ = 87 – 89; B = 83 – 86; B- = 80 – 82; C+ = 77 – 79; C = 70 – 76; D = 60 – 69; E \leq 59



Instructor's Reserved Right: The instructor reserves the right to make changes to all elements of the course described in the syllabus, including topics, readings, course requirements, and/or assignments. In the event that such a change is deemed necessary, the instructor will provide sufficient notice to the students for them to make the needed adjustments to complete the course satisfactorily.

Seminar Topics and Reading Assignments

• Tentative Schedule •

**1. Wed, Aug 25 Review of Syllabus
Introduction to Course Themes**

Video: *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. Nashville: *We Were Warriors*. (2000). S. York, York Zimmerman, Inc., & WETA, Producers. Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities.

2. Wed, Sept 1 Nonviolent Struggles for Justice; Principles, Strategies, Tactics

Read: Deming, B. (1990). Excerpt from: On revolution and equilibrium. In *Nonviolence in Theory and Practice*. R.L. Holmes (Ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company. 95-104.

Sharp, G. (1990). Nonviolent action: An active technique of struggle; and, The technique of nonviolent action. In *Nonviolence in Theory and Practice*. R.L. Holmes (Ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company. 147-152.

Ackerman, P., & Kruegler, C. (1994). The principles of strategic nonviolent conflict. *Strategic nonviolent conflict: The dynamics of people power in the twentieth century*. Westport, CN: Praeger. 21-53.

3. Wed, Sept 8 What is Justice?

Autobiography Due.

Read: Rawls, J. (1971). Justice as fairness. Excerpt from *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press). From G. Percesepe (Ed), *Philosophy: An Introduction to the Labor of Reason*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. 752-758.

4. Wed, Sept 15 Obedience to Law and the State

Read: Plato. (1980). The Crito. In *Socrates and legal obligation*. R.E. Allen. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 115-128.

5. Wed, Sept 22 Personal Responsibility for Injustice

Read: Thoreau, H.D. (1966). On the duty of civil disobedience (1848). *Walden; On the duty of civil disobedience*. New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston. 281-304.

Bedau, H.A. (1991). Civil disobedience and personal responsibility for injustice. In *Civil disobedience in focus*. H.A. Bedau (Ed.). London: Routledge. 49-67.

6. Wed, Sept 29 Civil Disobedience: M.L. King's Principles

Read: King, M.L., Jr. (1986). Letter from a Birmingham jail (1963). In *A testament of hope: The essential writings and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* J.M. Washington (Ed.). New York: HarperSanFrancisco. 289-302.

King, M.L., Jr. (1986). Love, law and civil disobedience (1961). In *A testament of hope: The essential writings and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* J.M. Washington (Ed.). New York: HarperSanFrancisco. 43-53.

7. Wed, Oct 6 The Arguments Against Civil Disobedience

Read: Storing, H.J. (1991). The case against civil disobedience. In *Civil disobedience in focus*. H.A. Bedau (Ed.). London: Routledge. 85-102.

8. Wed, Oct 13 Violence and Nonviolence

Read: Morreall, J. (1991). The justifiability of violent civil disobedience. In *Civil disobedience in focus*. H.A. Bedau (Ed.). London: Routledge. 130-143.

Greenawalt, K. (1991). Justifying nonviolent disobedience. In *Civil disobedience in focus*. H.A. Bedau (Ed.). London: Routledge. 170-188.

9. Wed, Oct 20 Case Study: Labor Rights and the U.F.W.

Notebook I Due.

Read: Abrams, S. (1981/1979). The United Farm Workers Union. In *Nonviolent Action and Social Change*. S. T. Bruyn & P.M. Rayman (Eds.). New York: Irvington Publishers. 102-127.

Video: *Chicano! History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement: The Struggle in the Fields*. (1996). Los Angeles, CA: NLCC Educational Media.

10. Wed, Oct 27 Case Study: Women and Nonviolence, the Right to Vote and Other Struggles

Read: McAllister, P. (1999). You can't kill the spirit: Women and nonviolent action. (Excerpt from *You Can't Kill the Spirit*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1988). In Zunes, S., Kurtz, L.R., & Asher, S. B. (Eds.). *Nonviolent social movements: A geographical perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell. 18-35.

Video: *One Woman One Vote*. (1995). Educational Film Center, R. Pollak, & F.M. Widman, Producers. Alexandria, VA: PBS.

11. Wed, Nov 3 Case Study: Civil Rights, I

Case Study Due.

Read: King, M.L., Jr. (1986). Excerpts on Birmingham struggle from *Why We Can't Wait* (1963). In *A testament of hope: The essential writings and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* J.M. Washington (Ed.). New York: HarperSanFrancisco. 526-554.

Gaither, T. (1995). Jailed-In. (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1961). In Lynd, S., & Lynd, A. (Eds.). *Nonviolence in America: A documentary history*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books. 223-234.

Video: *Eyes on the Prize: The Time Has Come, 64-65*. (1986). J. Vecchione, Producer. Boston: Blackside, Inc.

12. Wed, Nov 10 Case Study: Civil Rights, II

Video: *Eyes on the Prize: The Promised Land*, 67-68. (1986). J. Vecchione, Producer. Boston: Blackside, Inc.

13. Wed, Nov 17 Student Case Studies

14. Wed, Nov 24 Student Case Studies

THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

15. Wed, Dec 1 Just War Theory and War Without Weapons

Read: Teichman, J. (1986). *Pacifism and the Just War*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Ch. 6, The just war. 46-62.

James, W. (1977). The moral equivalent of war (1910). In *The writings of William James: A comprehensive edition*. J.J. McDermott (Ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 660-671.

Sharp, G. (1981/1979). The significance of domestic nonviolent action as a substitute for international war (1973). In *Nonviolent Action and Social Change*. S. T. Bruyn & P.M. Rayman (Eds.). New York: Irvington Publishers. 233-252.

**16. Wed, Dec 8 Education, Ideological Struggle, and Citizenship
Concluding Discussion; Course Evaluation**

Read: Glass, R.D. (2000). Education and the ethics of democratic citizenship. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 19:275-296.

Glass, R.D. (2004). Pluralism, justice, democracy and education: Conflict and Citizenship. *Philosophy of Education 2003*. K. Alston (Ed.). Urbana, IL: Philosophy of Education Society. 158-166.

Video: *You Got to Move*. (1985). L.M. Phenix & Cumberland Mountain Education Cooperative, Producers. New York: Icarus Films.

Notebook II Due Monday, December 13, by noon at the professors office or mailbox.