

Kamala Visweswaran, Professor  
OH T 2-3:15pm/appt Hi Thai

**ETHNIC STUDIES 141-** T,Th 3:30-4:50 pm HSS 1106B

**GANDHI IN THE MODERN WORLD: FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO THE ARAB SPRING**



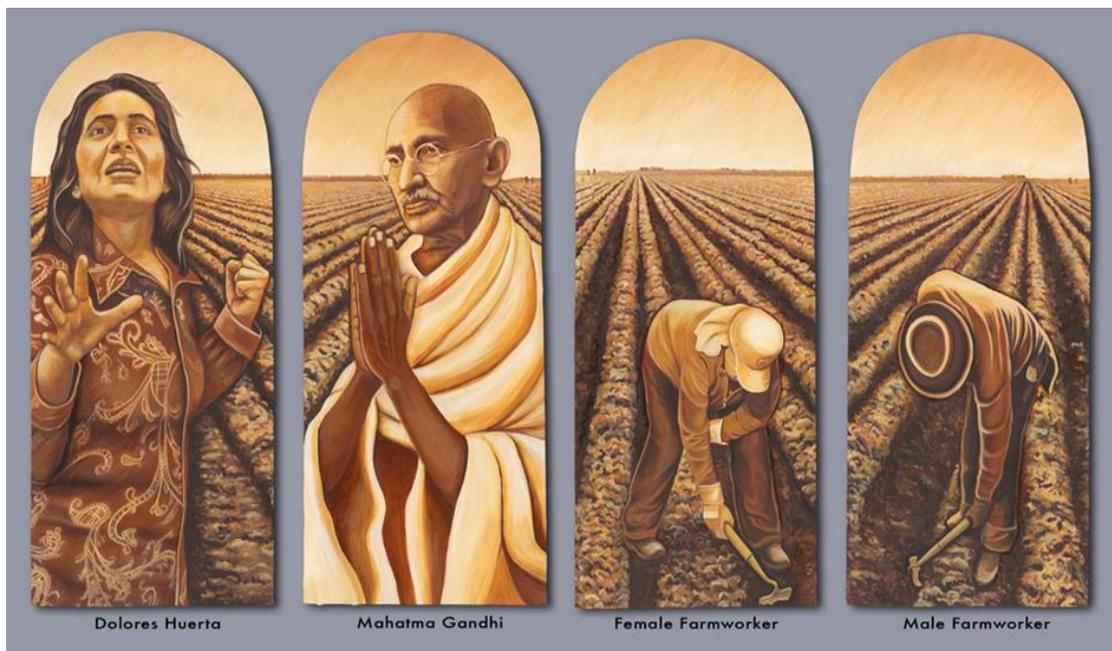
**King, Gandhi, Chavez/ Barrio Logan Mural, Cesar Chavez Parkway-San Diego, CA**

### **Course Description**

Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez were inspired by Gandhi, but in his own time, Gandhi was as controversial as he was revered. Non-violence was not widely accepted as a form of political protest. This course explores Gandhi's complex legacy of non-violence for peoples and places embroiled in conflict; including his legacy for the US civil rights movement and the diverse collection of movements that became known as the "Arab Spring." Much of what has been written about Gandhi is biographical, and indeed his "experiments with truth" staged his own life as a basis of knowledge and action. In this class, we will read Gandhi's *Autobiography* and his dialogue on Indian independence (*Hind Swaraj*) to understand the significance of his central practices of *ahimsa* ("nonviolence") and *satyagraha* ("truth force") for social movements. We will also use six case studies to understand how different movements have applied these practices.

### **Course Objectives**

This class is intended be an overview of key debates on Gandhian nonviolence, and to introduce students to two traditions of Gandhi scholarship: the critical historiography on Gandhi in South Africa and India with regard to his influence upon India's Independence movement, and the scholarship in Peace and Conflict Studies that has examined his impact upon social and political movements globally. Students have the opportunity to explore topics in depth in a final paper. By the end of the course, students should 1) have familiarity with Gandhi's central ideas and practices, 2) be able to identify core elements of Gandhian thought in contemporary social movements and 3) be able to think critically about policy and nonviolent solutions for ongoing conflicts by engaging with guest lecturers.



**Cesar Chavez Memorial Arch-panels, San Jose State University (Judy Baca, artist)**

### **Course Philosophy and Pedagogy**

Our class is a space for sincere discussion, respectful dialogue and for the expression of views which may be new and unfamiliar. All class participants are expected to engage in constructive and considerate exchange in the classroom; please avoid disrespectful or harsh language. These ground rules are reflected in the UCSD Principles of Community which we will respect (see <http://wwwvcba.ucsd.edu/principles.htm>).

This class is intended to work as a discussion-intensive seminar and **there may be up to 100 pgs. of reading in a given week**. This course may be challenging for those who have not yet been introduced to ethnic studies and/or critical gender studies in high school or otherwise. It may also be challenging for those whose study time is juggled between parenting, work, activist and other obligations. However, every student invested in regularly attending class and keeping up with reading assignments can achieve a high grade.

ESL Needs: Some students will need to utilize office hours in order to get extra background and direction on the material. ESL students are highly encouraged to consult the resources at the OASIS center (858)534-3760 in order to earn full points on assignments. Please seek out and utilize these resources as the need arises.

Undocumented Student Needs: For students who may be undocumented or from mixed status families, I am available to have confidential discussions about your circumstances and to make adjustments to class assignments to accommodate your needs. Please also seek out and utilize resources at the Undocumented Student Resource Center (858) 822-6916 <https://students.ucsd.edu/sponsor/undoc/>

ADA Accommodation: If you have a disability or condition that compromises your ability to complete the requirements of this course, please inform me within one week of joining the class of your needs. I will make all reasonable efforts to accommodate you. If, as a result of a disability, you are unable to work with the content or terms of this syllabus, you will need to notify me in writing within one week of receiving it. Please also visit the Office of Students with Disabilities: <https://students.ucsd.edu/well-being/disability-services/index.html>

Student Veteran Needs: Students who are veterans are encouraged to let me know of their needs and to visit the Student Veteran Resource Center: <https://students.ucsd.edu/sponsor/veterans/>

Cheating and Plagiarism: All students are expected to uphold academic integrity, and your particular responsibilities can be found at this link: <http://senate.ucsd.edu/Operating-Procedures/Senate-Manual/Appendices/2>. If you are found plagiarizing someone's assignment or use the internet inappropriately, your infraction will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity for disciplinary action as per policy at the above link.

Email communication etiquette: Your course instructor can respond to emails addressed with an appropriate greeting and closing between 9am-5 pm M-F. I may not be able to respond to email sent over the weekend or after hours. If you need to be absent for a class please let me know. If you have any questions about the readings we didn't get to in class, please visit me during office hours!

Electronic Devices: Unless you have an ADA accommodation, you will be expected to turn off your computers and other electronic devices while in class except when the instructor asks you to use them for an in-class activity or assignment. Studies show use of these devices and other forms of "multi-tasking" may inhibit retention and distract from your ability to learn new material efficiently.

## **Course Format**

The course is structured so that each week we will be reading some portion of Gandhi's own writings, critical literature on how those ideas have been applied, and case studies of non-violent political movements drawn from the U.S., South Asia and the Middle East. In a class of 10 weeks we cannot spend much time on Gandhi's work in South Africa or India, but you will learn a great deal about how he thought critically about racism in South Africa and India's independence movement through reading *Hind Swaraj* and his *Autobiography* as primary source documents. In addition, you are also encouraged to consult the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG) if you are interested in how a particular aspect of his thinking evolved over time. (A bibliography of secondary sources by UCLA historian Vinay Lal is also appended to the syllabus). Chronologically, *Hind Swaraj* was written in 1909 before the *Autobiography*, which first appeared in 1927 and 1929, but the events of the first part of the *Autobiography* pre-date *Hind Swaraj*, and the *Autobiography* stops before the major Gandhian civil disobedience campaigns of the 1930s such as the Dandi Salt March. Thus the course will not follow a strictly chronological progression (although each class lecture will begin with historical context), but will move back and forth between tracking the reception of Gandhi's ideas in the U.S, post-colonial South Asia (Afghanistan, Kashmir), and the contemporary Middle East (Palestine, Egypt).

As a rule, each day the instructor will lecture for the first 30 minutes, then, during the second part of class, we will have a “round-robin” on assigned sections of Gandhi’s autobiography (20% of your class participation grade), to be followed by student-led discussion of one of the readings for the final third of the class meeting (10% of your class participation grade). **You are required to complete all readings before the date of the lecture on which they are assigned.** Each student is required to do one presentation the main ideas of the readings and to pose discussion questions for the class (10% of your class participation grade). For the round-robin, **students are required to read only 5-8 pgs. of the Autobiography for each class meeting**, and two students will read the same 5-8 pages, so that we have different perspectives on the same material. You can identify a passage of text you’d like to discuss, or point out something you didn’t understand. On some days we will have documentaries to discuss, and if we are not able to finish screening the film in class, you will be responsible for watching it at home. **On Oct 19, Nov. 9 and Nov 30 we will also travel to guest lectures which will be held in SSB 107.** It is your responsibility to be there on time, to take notes on the lectures, and to ask questions at the conclusion of these presentations.

### **Class Assignments and Grading**

**30% Class participation** (20% Autobiography discussion; 10% discussion facilitation)

**35% Take home midterm essay exam due October 26, 2017 by 5 pm.**

**35% Final Short paper of 7-10 pages or take home essay exam due December 12, 2017**

Note: Graduate students or advanced undergraduates may elect a 15-20 pg. research paper option to count for 70% of their grade upon consultation with the instructor. Those electing the short final paper of 7-10 pgs. should let the instructor know by the mid-term what topic they will be writing on. Those electing the final essay option may also submit possible questions for the exam.

### **Course Texts**

#### **Required:**

MK Gandhi. *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Mahadev Desai (ed). 1940 edition. (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1948).

<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00litlinks/gandhi/index.html>

(also on Triton Ed course website as a pdf)

M.K. Gandhi. *Hind Swaraj*. 1909/10 [2009]. Anthony Parel (ed). Cambridge University Press.

Nico Slate. *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India*. (Harvard University Press, 2012)

#### **Recommended:**

Eknath Easwaran, *Gandhi the Man* (Nilgiri Press, 1981).

Mark Juergensmeyer. *Gandhi’s Way: A Handbook of Conflict Resolution*. (UC Press, 2005).

The syllabus and all required all texts are available through the Triton Ed course website; other readings marked (L) are available through electronic access to holdings in the UCSD library.

### **Scheduled Readings and Lectures**

**Sept 28** (Th) Introduction: What do we mean by Non-Violence? What are examples of non-violent social movements?

Gene Sharp, “198 Non-Violent Methods” and “An Essay on Power and Realism “in Sharp's Dictionary of Power and Struggle: Language of Civil Resistance in Conflicts (OUP, 2012) (L)

Documentary: Budros <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q13VGaiHyk>

Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta. 2011. Refusing to be Enemies: Palestinian and Israeli Nonviolent Resistance to the Israeli Occupation. (Reading: Ithaca, Press). Introduction, Afterword and pp. 43-4; 73-5; 94-5 (L)

EXTRA CREDIT NOTE: Documentary on Dolores Huerta playing at Kensington Theatre—last day!! <https://www.landmarktheatres.com/san-diego/ken-cinema/film-info/dolores>

**Oct 3** (T)

*Hind Swaraj*, Anthony Parel, Intro pp. xiii-lix

**MKG Autobiography, pp. 11-59 (48 pgs)**

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Intro

**Oct 5** (Th) *Hind Swaraj*, pp. 13-65

**MKG, Autobiography, pp. 60-108 (48 pgs)**

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 1

Recommended: Sudharshan Kapur, *Raising up a Prophet, The African American Encounter with Gandhi*. (Boston: Beacon, 1992) Ch. 1 (L)

**Oct 10** (T) *Hind Swaraj*, pp. 67-117

**MKG, Autobiography, pp. 111-168 (57 pgs.)**

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 2

Recommended:

Sudharshan Kapur, *Raising up a Prophet, The African American Encounter with Gandhi*. Boston: Beacon, 1992, Ch. 2.

**Oct 12 (Th) MKG, Autobiography, pp. 169-225 (56 pgs.)**

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 3

Sudharshan Kapur, *Raising up a Prophet, The African American Encounter with Gandhi*. (Boston: Beacon, 1992), Ch. 3 (L)

**Oct 17 (T)**

**MKG, Autobiography, pp. 229-268 (39 pgs.)**

*The Pathan Unarmed*, Introduction, pp. 1-19 Ch. 3. “Origins and Birth of the Khudai Khitmatgar Movement” pp. 47-72 (L)

**Oct 19 (Th) Guest Lecture**

Michael Callen (UCSD Rady School) “Using Mobile Money to Reduce Corruption and to Improve Government Salary Payments in Afghanistan” **SSB 107, 3:30-5 pm**

**Oct 24 (T) MKG, Autobiography, pp. 269-308 (39 pgs)**

Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed*, Ch. 4, “**Training, Service and Protest**” pp. 73-102

**Oct 26 (Th) MIDTERM: No class: short take home essay assignment due by 5 pm**

**Oct 31 (T) MKG, Autobiography, pp. 311-359 (48 pgs.)**

Madhu Kishwar, “Gandhi on Women-Parts I & II” Economic and Political Weekly Vol. 20, Issue No. 40, 05 Oct, 1985 and “Gandhi on Women-Part III” Economic and Political Weekly. Vol. 20, No. 41, Oct. 12, 1985, (pp. 1753-1758).

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 4

**Nov 2 (Th) MKG, Autobiography, pp. 360-403 (43 pgs.)**

BR Ambedkar, 1945. *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables* (Bombay: Thacker and Co); Chs. X and XI pp. 250-308

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 5

**Nov 7 (T) MKG Autobiography, pp. 404-52 (46 pgs.)**

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 6

King Interview on Gandhi: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PQayMdP79cg>

King's Visit to India in 1959:

[http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc\\_kings\\_trip\\_to\\_india/](http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_kings_trip_to_india/)

[http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/590701\\_my\\_trip\\_to\\_the\\_land\\_of\\_gandhi/index.html](http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/590701_my_trip_to_the_land_of_gandhi/index.html)

**Nov 9 (Th) Iffat Fatima (Delhi) Film Screening and discussion with filmmaker, *Khoon Diy Baarav* ("Blood Leaves its Trail"). SSB 107. 3:30-5pm.**

[http://www.mkgandhi.org/speeches/kashmir\\_issue.htm](http://www.mkgandhi.org/speeches/kashmir_issue.htm)

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2008/10/081016\\_kashmir\\_arney\\_dm.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2008/10/081016_kashmir_arney_dm.shtml)

Mohamed Junaid, "The Stone Wars" Guernica Magazine, August 1, 2013.

<https://www.guernicamag.com/stone-wars/>

**Nov 14 (T) MKG Autobiography, pp. 455-504 (49 pgs.)**

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, Ch. 7

Interview with Dolores Huerta: Gandhi's influence on the UFW

<https://kamlashow.com/tag/gandhi-and-cesar-chavez/>

Interview with Cesar Chavez in Catherine Ingram (ed) *In the Footsteps of Gandhi* (L)

José-Antonio Orosco, Cesar Chavez and the Common Sense of Nonviolence University of New Mexico Press, 2008. Ch.1, "Pilgrimage, Penitence and Revolution: The Logic of Nonviolence" pp. 15-32

Recommended: Orosco, Ch. 3. pp. 53-70

**Nov 16 (Th) MKG, Autobiography, pp. 504-559 (55 pgs.)**

Anand Patwardhan, (L) War and Peace, Part 1

**Nov.28 (T) MKG, Autobiography, pp. 560-616 (56 pgs.)**

Anand Patwardhan, (L) Film-War and Peace, 2002. 135 min. Part II

MV Ramana, “Scientists, Nuclear Weapons, and the Peace Movement” Economic and Political Weekly November 20, 2004

**Nov 30 (Th) Guest lecture**

MV Ramana (University of British Columbia, Public Policy/Global Affairs) “Nuclear Weapons in India: History and Risk” **SSB 107 3:30-5pm**

M V Ramana and Zia Mian. “The doctrine of the nuclear sword” *Himal South Asia*, 2014

**Dec 5 (T)**

**Film: The Square (L)-Part I** <http://ucsd.kanopystreaming.com/video/square-0>

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/08/24/think-again-nonviolent-resistance/>

*Manar Shorbagy.* “The Egyptian Movement for Change — Kefaya: Redefining Politics in Egypt” *Public Culture* 2007 Volume 19, Number 1: 175-196

Recommended: Paul Amar, “Egypt” in *Dispatches from the Arab Spring*. P. Amar and V. Prashad (eds). (Minnesota, 2013)

**Dec 7 (Th) Film: The Square (L)-Part 2**

S. Chabot & M. Sharifi. The Violence of Nonviolence: Problematizing Nonviolent Resistance in Iran and Egypt. *Societies without Borders* 8:2 (2013) 205-232

M. Cherif Bassiouni, “Egypt’s Unfinished Revolution” in *Civil Resistance in the Arab Spring: Triumphs and Disasters*. Adam Roberts, Michael J. Willis, Rory McCarthy, and Timothy Garton Ash (eds).

**Dec 12 Final Papers Due**