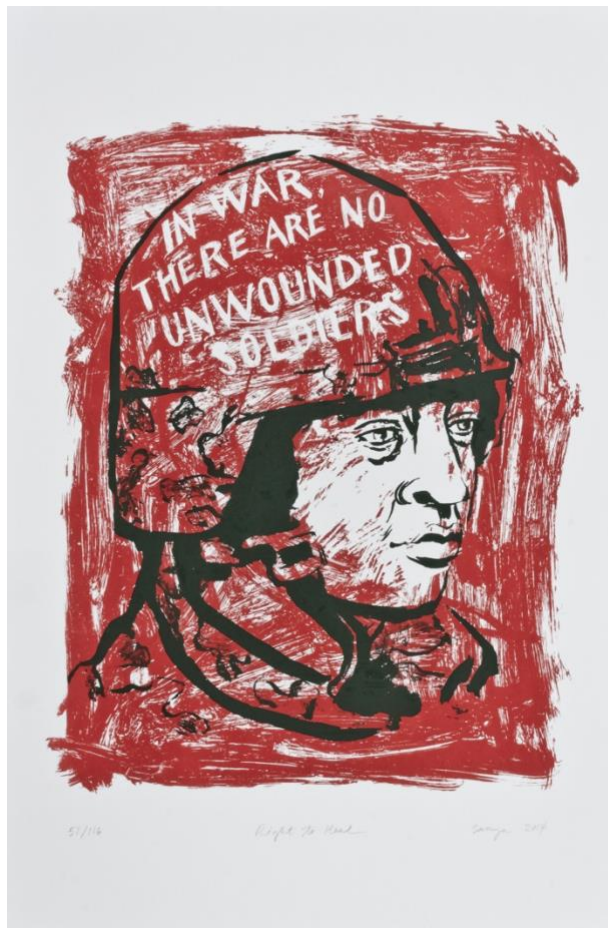# RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Introduction
"Resist, Rethink, and Restructure": Teaching About Capitalism, War, and Empire in a Time of COVID-19

by Jocelyn Wills, Joseph Entin, and Richard Ohmann

"IN WAR THERE ARE NO UNWOUNDED SOLDIERS" BY SANYA HYLAND. THIS IMAGE IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY JUSTSEEDS,

*"You never had to look at me. I had to look at you.
I know more about you than you know about me.
Not everything that is faced can be changed;
But nothing can be changed until it is faced."*

- James A. Baldwin, *Remember This House*, unfinished manuscript; *I Am Not Your Negro*, 2016

"When will our consciences grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?"

- Eleanor Roosevelt, *My Day*, 16 February 1946

As we sat down, corona-cocooned, to write this introduction to *Radical Teacher*'s special issue on "Teaching About Capitalism, War, and Empire" during May of 2020, we agreed that the five thought-provoking essays that follow have never seemed more on point, and teaching to the theme more urgent. As if we needed more evidence, COVID-19 has once again exposed both the systemic fragility, inherent instability, and doubling-down cruelty of the capitalist system, as well as the limits of American power and the dysfunctional, destructive, and deadly ways in which the United States and members of its military-industrial-intelligence complex have long responded to global crises: employing code words such as *freedom, individual liberty, patriotism, entrepreneurial innovation, mobility, democracy,* and especially *defense,* U.S. business elites and their government allies have always had as their ultimate goal the demolition of any and all alternatives to the expansion of capitalism as an economic system and article of faith, no matter the cost.

Coveting the riches of the continent long before independence, the United States made war central to its political-economy and imperial project from the start. Reducing all social relations to the profit motive, settler-colonists saw the indigenous people of the Americas as nothing more than a barrier to expanding the market economy to the Pacific coast and beyond, and African slave labor a means for accumulating wealth for further expansion. Nikhil Pal Singh and others have described this reality as a social and political process that drove Indian removals, settler in-migration, and nativist restrictions, as well as the "afterlives of Atlantic slavery" as the animating features of the United States' rise as a capitalist world power long before the 20th century. Although the United States did not invent capitalism and war, it achieved its independence through the violence of both, and was the first nation-state to enshrine private property rights and a blueprint for empire-building within its founding documents.[1]

Reading the U.S. Constitution as an economic document, it becomes obvious that the nation's founders perceived the world through imperial eyes, had the interests of capital ever in view, and codified collaborations with business through a commitment to funding technological innovations, expansion, and war. Thus, rather than freeing slaves or including protections for labor and democratic impulses, the Constitution and its tertiary land ordinances framed the competitive posturing, real estate speculation, and land grabs that would guide what Marx and Engels described as capitalism's "war of each against all," both among individuals as well as into U.S. domestic and international policies. By the 1820s, those policies included treaties designed to trick and cheat Native Americans into selling their lands when possible, and through force when all other avenues failed. The federal government also sanctioned slave codes and the funding of technologies to enforce them. By the 1840s, it also underwrote and devised land giveaways for railroads—the 19th-century's first modern corporations and high-technology empire builders—and encouraged the development of the telegraph to gather information and surveil dissenters. Federal, state, and local governments, as well as railroads, additionally sent immigration agents, first to Northern Europe, then elsewhere, to lure vulnerable populations who could assist with the American imperial project, drive down wages, and pit racial and ethnic groups against each other just as the founding fathers had pitted poor whites against members of the African diaspora, whether free or enslaved, during the revolutionary era.

From the United States' inception, American policies have ensured constant economic booms and busts, ones that have allowed larger firms to gobble up weaker ones when technology and real estate bubbles inevitably burst. By the 1840s, they had also armed railroads and other corporations with the military might to quell labor and civil rights protests. Regardless of the costs, in human lives and environmental degradation, by the time the U.S. had connected the east with the west coast during 1869, members of the government and their corporate allies had already cast their gaze farther afield, into territories they could use as re-fueling stations for more expansion. On the force of that project during World War II, which by then included the development of the computer, more lethal technologies, and the use of nuclear weapons as other imperial powers crumbled, the United States finally achieved the hegemonic status its elite had craved since the nation's infancy.[2]

The United States' post-World War II "Super-Power" status also created an opportunity for business elites, the government, and a new throng of technocrats to sell a more fervent and destructive mantra of "American exceptionalism," one that privileged whites over people of color, whether native born or immigrant. Perceiving the world as a zero-sum game, where anyone's gain must come at the expense of someone else, the U.S. government and its corporate allies employed patriotic propaganda so that the government could continue to intervene in the economy to shore up capital, providing unending rationales for increased production, technological innovation, and military spending, as well as upgrades to surveillance capabilities and the creation of corporate-research university clusters, all to serve the country's agenda to remain the dominant economic and military power on Earth.

The Sputnik humiliation during 1957 then provided a rationale for the U.S.'s "heavenly ambition" to militarize and dominate Outer Space. Thus, throughout the second half of

the 20th century, the United States launched military, communications, and earth resources satellites into Space, began the process of systems integration, and engaged in warfare (including proxy wars) that continued to threaten the environment as well as kill and displace millions of people, including but not limited to more than a million civilians who died in the War of American Aggression in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia during the "Cold War." Learning lessons, about the limitations of the draft and the roving reporters who documented American atrocities, U.S. policymakers ended the first and began plans to "embed" the latter in future wars. An "all-volunteer" military force then allowed the federal government, as well as its members of the military-industrial complex, to target the poor, particularly in communities of color, with recruiting stations. Following the formal dissolution of the USSR on 26 December 1991, the federal government then moved swiftly to commercialize the Internet, deregulate communications and financial industries, and assist in the further liberalization of the global economy, all of which the U.S. planned to control as its systems contractors integrated war, space exploration, surveillance capabilities, and empire-building into larger digital networks. Fast-forward to the 21st century.

While the United States' forever wars began long before the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, that pivotal moment in history, and the U.S. response to it, has become intimately intertwined with both an economy as well as a culture dominated by death. Rather than engaging in diplomacy and other non-military responses to the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the United States rushed to war, and has already spent more than $6.4 trillion on endless wars and occupations, both of which have killed more than 800,000 people (at least 310,000 of them civilians), displaced millions (the vast majority of them the world's most vulnerable—indigenous populations, people of color, women and children, the poor), devastated entire regions (through both warfare as well as resource extraction, labor exploitation, and environmental destruction), and helped to fuel the climate crisis (with its carbon "bootprint" the largest in the world). In 2015, the Pentagon received 54% in federal discretionary spending (or $598.5 billion), while Medicare and Health as well as Education netted a paltry 6% each, Energy and the Environment a mere 4%, Science but 3%, and Food and Agriculture just 1%. Four years into the Trump administration, austerity continues at a rapid clip, health and environmental protections have evaporated, and the Pentagon's discretionary budget has increased.[3] In the fiscal year 2020 budget, the Pentagon will receive at least $750 billion in public funding, where it employs more than 600,000 private contractors both domestic and international. By contrast, spending on global health has declined to about one-seventieth of that number, or just $11 billion. A recent article in *Forbes* also notes that, despite the focus on Pentagon spending as an economic stimulus, spending on either green infrastructure or healthcare would create nearly two times as many jobs as the military or its private contractors create. Other studies additionally find that spending on education (and the arts) would create even more.[4]

In a society governed by politicians whose knee-jerk reaction to environmental catastrophes, healthcare crises, poverty, and other non-military challenges is a call to war and who view peaceful protests yet another barrier to the interests of capital, it should come as no surprise that, in the middle of a global pandemic, imperialism remains a higher priority than human health, that global competition has hindered the cooperation necessary to save lives, and that the United States has acquired the dubious distinction of being "first in military spending" and "last in our COVID-19 response." While war profiteers were among the first to receive bail-outs, and American billionaires have continued to increase their wealth on the profits of disaster capitalism, by the first week of May, news outlets reported that at least 38 million Americans had lost their jobs (and healthcare), food and housing insecurity had mounted at alarming rates, and COVID's death toll in the United States alone had already surpassed the number of American lives lost in 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan combined by more than a factor of four. As deaths in the United States neared 100,000 over the Memorial Day weekend, TrumpDeathClock.com reported that some 59,000 of those deaths occurred due to the Trump administration's inaction, dithering, and distractions. The U.S. failure to act in ways appropriate to the pandemic is not just about "us": it has had ripple effects across the globe, where millions have suffered and will continue to die from the adverse consequences of the U.S. obsession with capital accumulation, war, and empire, no matter the cost. So much for the "greatest economy" and "nation" on Earth.[5]

A recent article in Forbes also notes that, despite the focus on Pentagon spending as an economic stimulus, spending on either green infrastructure or healthcare would create nearly two times as many jobs as the military or its private contractors create.

Rather than prioritizing coronavirus briefings centered on the language of health and well-being, compassion and empathy for the victims (disproportionately found in communities of color and among Native Americans and the working poor), and the need for international cooperation, robust physical distancing, and solidarity with front-line workers while scientists seek a cure, U.S. policymakers, government officials, and members of the mainstream media quickly followed the lead of the White House, invoking age-old "war" tropes to talk about meeting the COVID-19 challenge (a framing as inappropriate as previous U.S. Wars on "Poverty," "Drugs," and "Climate Change," to name but three). They have also hailed capitalist production and consumption as the only way forward: that "return to normalcy" that government officials and business elites have long sold. Initially calling the virus a "hoax," then something that would magically disappear, Trump quickly pivoted to the virus as the "invisible enemy" that came from the "other" in China, an "enemy" of the U.S. economy.

Side-lining epidemiologists and other health specialists, particularly when they reminded all of us about U.S. incompetence, Trump trotted out the usual suspects—military commanders, corporate CEOs, and himself, none of whom have any expertise in finding a cure but who promise to "wage a war" against the pandemic so everyone can "get back to work." Trump, then Congress, also invoked a "Cold War" relic: the "Defense Production Act," to "mobilize" the nation to make up for shortages in medical supplies and personal protective equipment that the government failed to provide and no large U.S. corporation seemed able to produce because it had few incentives to do so. The U.S. military proved itself incompetent as well. Among other things, the Pentagon and its agencies and departments have spent millions of dollars on fly-overs to salute doctors and nurses rather than helping them, steaming ships to ports that did little more than take up dock space, conducting raids on vulnerable populations, keeping children in cages, and attempting to silence those who alerted top commanders that COVID-19 was overwhelming and killing military personnel. Trump once again doubled down: unveiling "Operation Warp Speed" and a new flag for his "Space Force," embracing NASA's latest space launch as a "MAGA moment," and signaling that his administration plans to conduct the United States' first nuclear test since 1992. Although the U.S. media has criticized some of these moves, they continue to applaud space exploration, obscuring its linkages to the U.S. military and its war-making and surveillance contractors. Over the past fifty years, that "exploration" has both escalated the commercialization and militarization of Outer Space, as well as created dangerous orbital debris. Together, these too threaten the sustainability of the Earth and its people.[6]

Such posturing, mismanagement, and inabilities to focus on the pandemic have confirmed to the world that the U.S. is a hegemon in a downward trajectory, one that can still inflict great violence across the world and beyond but remains ill-equipped to meet its domestic never mind international obligations. If ever there was a time to teach the fraught and interconnected themes of capitalism, war, and empire, it is now.

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Although the pandemic has created new challenges, threats, and uncertainties, the scale of the United States' inability to deal with the exigencies of the moment presents an opportunity for progressive educators. In a recent issue of *Dollars and Sense*, Richard D. Wolff reminds us that the coronavirus is, at its core, a capitalist crisis, while Paul Engler argues that it is also a "historic trigger event" that requires a cohesive "story, strategy, and structure," committed to "democracy and a deep sense of collective empathy" as well as capable of countering austerity, the corporate agenda, and bail-outs for the wealthy at the

expense of everyone else. Lorah Steichen and Lindsay Koshgarian of the National Priorities Project at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. have also affirmed that "Racism and racial oppression form the foundation for both the extractive fossil fuel economy and the militarized economy. Neither could exist without the presumption that some human lives are worth less than others." The U.S. response to COVID-19 has laid bare how much the U.S. has discounted the lives of Native Americans, people of color, brown and black immigrants, and the poor; and how urgently we need to "resist, rethink, and restructure" the global political economy, from one focused on competition, war, resource extraction, and the privatization of everything to one that prioritizes purpose over production, as well as cooperation, peace, and the health and well-being of the planet and all who inhabit it. Of necessity, that project must focus first on the United States, the world's most aggressive and lethal power, and its Pentagon, the globe's largest military market.[7]

One of the most significant roles progressive educators can play toward that just transition is to help people in our classrooms (and the larger public) to connect the dots between the interests of capitalism's global elite, corporate lobbyists, and military contractors, and government spending, austerity programs, the militarization and surveillance of everyday life, increased wealth and income inequality, processes of racialization, and the climate crisis, to name but a few. At the same time, whether they show up on campus or via Zoom during the Fall of 2020, those making the transition from high school to college and university also represent our first cohort of entering students who have never known life absent endless wars, and whose K-12 experiences included some form of surveillance and the active-shooter drill. Born after September 11 and the beginning of the Afghanistan War in October 2001, mere toddlers when the United States invaded Iraq on manipulated intelligence derived from military briefings and private contractors during March 2003, and pre-teens during the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008 and the Great Recession that followed it, these students know that their future life chances depend upon their abilities to sort out the multiple disasters that previous generations have bequeathed to them. And, as the two opening essays argue, the first by David Vine and the second by William Astore, this imperiled generation places upon educators an urgent obligation to prepare them to lead us to a more peaceful, humane, just, and equitable future.

Anthropologist David Vine, author of *Base Nation* (2015) and regular contributor to the "Costs of War Project" at Brown University's Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs, provides many of the tools we will need in the days ahead, and his powerful essay—"Unpacking the Invisible Military Backpack"—frames this entire issue. His work continues to remind us that the United States has spent the last 20 years at war, not only in Afghanistan, but also in Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Yemen, and beyond, with more than 400,000 active-duty troop members stationed on over 800 bases in 70 countries. He also forcefully argues that we have "failed to teach about war

broadly enough, consistently enough, and with the sense of urgency demanded by the death, injury, and destruction that nearly two decades of continuous U.S. warfare have inflicted." As a result, progressive educators far too often find themselves teaching to the already converted and ceding ground to those who emphasize a narrative of heroes and patriots rather than victims of war, and to those who bang the drum for the kinds of capitalist, military, and imperial expansion that ultimately undermine our democratic ideals, damage the environment, and make entire communities, at home and abroad (including U.S. territories) dependent on military contracts for their very survival. At the same time, government propaganda, limited media coverage, and educational curricula tend to keep wars hidden from view. As Vine notes, the U.S. government has also exacerbated that invisibility through the lack of a draft, as well as a refusal to raise revenue through taxation or war bonds to pay for its post-9/11 wars.

As Heidi Peltier's research confirms, Congress has spent the last 20 years financing its military arsenal through borrowing. The cumulative interest on that credit-card debt, even if the U.S. "were to stop incurring any new war-related expenses" as of January 2020, has already soared from $24.5 billion in 2001 to more than $925 billion in 2019, and will reach more than $2.14 trillion by 2030. None of this spending has secured peace; indeed, it has fueled more violence, destruction, racism, sexism, and poverty.[8]

Moreover, endless spending on war has had dire consequences for those living within the United States and its territories. With monopoly capitalists, systems integrators, and military-intelligence contractors exercising undue influence over both federal and state spending, the United States has created international chaos and a "Homeland Security Bubble" on the verge of collapse. With the Bush administration gutting the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and increasing its military-surveillance-prison budget year-after-year, the world has watched in horror as the United States fails to protect people within its own borders, beginning with Hurricane Katrina and thereafter showing its inability to meet the challenges of the next in a series of climate disasters. As the ongoing deregulation of the financial services sector continued during the first decade of the 21st century, George W. Bush also called upon Americans to mortgage their futures on consumption as a patriotic duty. When combined with risky financial instruments, and billion-dollar markets opened up for small- and medium-sized "Homeland Security" providers in North America, Internet and other forms of consumption also created the context for a real-estate bubble that collapsed in 2006 and ushered in the Great Recession of 2008. To make U.S. war-making less visible as the Obama administration focused on restoring an economy teetering on the brink of another depression, drone strikes became more common even if spending on the military declined from a then-high of $824 billion in 2008 to $621 in 2016.[9]

Over the past twenty years, the response to every crisis, at both the federal as well as state and local levels, has consistently centered on funding for war, policing, and surveillance, tax cuts for the ultra-wealthy, and austerity programs that have eviscerated budgets for public health, transportation, education, and other social-essential services. The Trump administration has merely made things much, much worse: "re-branding" the United States from a mythological nation of immigrants who welcome all-comers to a walled society intolerant of anyone other than those who are white, fomenting what Americans have described under right-wing dictatorships as "death squads" (white nationalists, the police, the military, second amendment revisionists, and others) to engage in an all-out war against black and brown people, and advancing a more rabid doctrine of private property rights at the expense of Americans, the undocumented, the global population, and other "barriers" to expansion as the country plunges more deeply into the authoritarian state Trump and his enablers fetish, no matter the cost. The 25 May 2020 public lynching of George Floyd by members of the Minneapolis Police Department is symptomatic of a much longer history, one we desperately need to unpack, not only for those who already understand that this nation needs structural change, but also for those who still refuse to come to terms with the United States' catastrophic trajectory.

Drawing on his 20-year experience in studying, writing, and teaching about war, Vine provides a thoughtful and comprehensive list of suggestions about how we might more effectively engage people from a variety of backgrounds, respecting those we meet in the classroom where we find them, then gently guiding them through the mythology, misinformation, and mystification of the post-9/11 rationale for militarization, and on to alternative visions of the future. In addition to the many proposals and resources he offers, Vine suggests that we need to show how much wars have cost, and the trade-offs of war spending, including comparisons of military spending versus spending on universal free education and the eradication of student debt. He additionally cautions that we need to focus on the system rather than the soldier, making capitalism, settler-colonialism, Native Americans and indigenous communities, people of color, U.S. territories and overseas colonies and military bases, and the human toll of war and empire visible in ways that expose militarization as neither natural nor inevitable no matter the time period. Employing intersectionality more broadly also allows us to make displacement, racism, sexism, and hypermasculinity more visible, along with the militarization of policing in communities of color and poor neighborhoods, along the U.S.-Mexican border, and within white supremacist militia movements. At the same time, it offers the opportunity to connect these phenomena to dissent and anti-war, civil rights, and other social movements focused on "climate justice, universal health care, labor, racial justice, gender equality, and LGBTQI+ rights." Doing so will have the added benefit of countering the historical amnesia and clouds of forgetfulness that have infused education in the United States.

Much of this work can be done, Vine suggests, by assigning research projects focused on investigating the long arm of institutions involved in the military-industrial-academic-prison-surveillance complex, and by turning

classrooms into "war clinics," ones that take people out of the classroom to work with various groups, including but not limited to Code Pink, the Costs of War Project, the Institute for Policy Studies, veterans groups, and anti-recruitment/war/military base movements. We would also suggest that readers of *Radical Teacher* delve into Vine's latest book—*The United States of War: A Global History of America's Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020)—along with Daniel Immerwahr's *How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the United States* (Vintage, 2020), both excellent primers about how the United States—along with the global capital markets, multinational corporations, and international organizations it has long dominated—has deepened the integration of an increasingly globalized military-industrial-intelligence complex.

All of this might seem like a heavy lift, but as we know from our own experiences on campus and beyond it, those who embrace capitalism as an article of faith do not necessarily know what it means or implies. Once defined and unpacked, however, capitalism's profit motive, insatiable appetite for expansion, and internal contradictions make clearer the ways in which inhabitants of the United States, particularly since World War II, have slowly but surely acquiesced to the "privatization and militarization of everything," to the belief that the nation's imperial ambitions are for the greater good of humanity, that the benefits and conveniences of surveillance technologies developed for the military (the computer, the Internet, GPS tracking, drones, and so on) outweigh the costs; that is, until they learn about the provenance of the U.S. command economy, examine the numbers, and realize that they can never again unsee the bedeviling trade-offs they have unwittingly sanctioned: war-making for profit versus healthcare and education; resource extraction versus environmental protections; surveillance versus convenience; and the snare and delusion that technologies can solve our larger political, social, and economic problems versus actually tackling them through structural change. As sociologist Vincent Mosco observed after the dot.com bubble burst at the turn of the 21st century, "Myth is not a gloss on reality; it embodies its own reality. These views are especially difficult for people to swallow as the chorus grows for the view that we are entering a new age, a time so significant that it merits the conclusion that we have entered 'the end of history.'" But he also asserted that such myths fail "to consider the potential for a profound contradiction between the idea of a liberal democracy and the growing control of the world's political economy by the concentrated power of its largest businesses."[10] As the rest of the essays in this volume make clear, we may live in the present, but we carry our histories with us; and therefore need to confront those histories, make them more visible, if we hope to change course.

As a complement to Vine's piece, William J. Astore shares his decades-long experiences as a retired lieutenant colonel, professor of history, academic administrator, author of books on Vietnam and the aerospace industry, and regular contributor to various publications, including TomDispatch.com, *CounterPunch,* and *Truthout*. His

"Militarism and Education in America" makes another vital pedagogical intervention. Astore emphasizes the need for critical thinking about and resistance to what he describes as the "soft militarism" of American society, including but hardly limited to the commodification of an education "infused with militarism," and a popular culture of films, literature, and performative acts that celebrate war and spectacular feats of violence. He also unveils many of the other ways in which the military influences education, including the hiring of retired generals and admirals to run universities "even though they have no experience in education," military fly-overs at football games and other militaristic displays and celebrations, ROTC recruiting at high schools and on college campuses, funding to universities that push them to become "feeders to the military-industrial complex and the wider intelligence community," pension plans heavily invested in military expansion, and every other act that sells education as a commodity "for private gain rather than a process of learning for the public good." Among the antidotes he recommends, Astore suggests anti-war comic/graphic books that can reach wider audiences, "impact maps" that show the military suppliers who have entered states in which campus communities live, research into the "revolving door" between senior military officers and major defense contractors, and collaborative projects with organizations such as Veterans for Peace and About Face: Veterans Against the War.

> *As the rest of the essays in this volume make clear, we may live in the present, but we carry our histories with us; and therefore need to confront those histories, make them more visible, if we hope to change course.*

Astore notes the enormity of the task, including opposition within the academy given the financial incentives that drive administrators and some of our colleagues. Still, he claims that we must persist in teaching about militarism, no matter how "grim or controversial" the topic, to "free our students (and ourselves) from the chains forged by pervasive militarism, incessant materialism, and a culture suffused by violence and war."[11]

The first two essays place a wide-angle lens on the physical and psychological costs of war that reinforce the need to trace the military-industrial complex back to the colonial period, through the nation's inception, and into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They additionally point to the need to revisit a long line of critiques that have focused on military Keynesianism and the increased levels of monopoly capital that the American military-industrial complex helped to create during World War II, then sustained throughout the Cold War and into the post-9/11 era. Before we return to the final three essays in the issue, all vital case studies grounded in particular pedagogies, courses, and places, we thought it might be useful to highlight how we might also incorporate one powerful

critique into our teaching because it emerges as a central theme in this issue, quickly allows students to connect the dots to their on-line activities, and helps to frame the important work that Philip Napoli, Mary Jo Klinker and Heidi Morrison, and J. Ashley Foster and Andrew Janco have recently undertaken in collaboration with students and community partners, along with the challenges that work has posed.

Beginning in 1966, with the pathbreaking work of Marxist economists Paul Alexander Baran and Paul Marlor Sweezy, critics of the military-industrial complex have, time and again, demonstrated that the American military establishment and the corporations that receive public funding to develop technological systems and markets for American expansion (including but in no way limited to Silicon Valley's cluster of private military contractors that also produce the many digital gadgets we can no longer seem to do without), not only strengthened the U.S.'s permanent war economy, but also successfully lobbied the government to socialize the risks and privatize the profits of what has expanded into a much larger military-industrial-academic-surveillance-prison complex over time, while simultaneously granting corporate capital undue influence over domestic and foreign policy. [12] Contesting, then dismantling the power they have accrued to themselves is an enormous task, and the damage they have done around the world cannot easily be undone, but by building on the work of Baran and Sweezy, sociologist John Bellamy Foster and legal scholar Robert W. McChesney have provided a chronology worth drawing upon as a teaching tool, as a way of defining and unpacking monopoly-finance capital and its connections to the military-industrial complex *as well as* the digital age.[13]

Coining the phrase "surveillance capitalism" during 2014, Foster and McChesney followed the trail of the permanent warfare state that was created in the wake of World War II, and that expanded into a surveillance state during the Internet era. The trail begins with none other than Dwight D. Eisenhower. Although he was a central architect of the United States' permanent war economy, when in 1946 he proposed the economic gains Americans could enjoy by placing corporations, scientists, industries, and academic research at the service of the American military, even he began to worry about what his administration had unleashed. By the time he gave his prophetic farewell address in 1961, Eisenhower thus cautioned "against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." By 1964, he additionally admonished the American quest for absolute security as one that would "eventually end only in national bankruptcy," both economic and moral.[14] Still, by the mid-1960s, U.S. military bases around the world numbered in excess of 1,000, where the American government and its far-flung network of military contractors, planned to make the world safe for American capitalist expansion.[15]

The efforts of the military-industrial complex were aided and abetted during the 1950s, Foster and McChesney argue, by two complementary forces: the "brand" makers on Madison Avenue, those advertising agencies that transformed American consumer habits and made planned obsolescence the norm; and the government-funded corporations and research universities that developed computers and prototypes of the Internet, first for the military and then for mass consumption.[16]

By the 1970s, members of the military-industrial complex had also created a digital infrastructure capable of larger moves into surveillance, including the domestic surveillance of anti-war protestors, civil rights activists, and others. Thereafter, the deregulation of transportation, communications, and the financial services sector produced a "permanent financial-bubble-prone economy" on top of the permanent war economy, with increased levels of monopoly power the result. By 2014, Apple, Microsoft, and Google had emerged among America's most profitable government contractors and multinational corporations, internet monopolies capable of exercising enormous economic power over government spending and free to exploit the world's most vulnerable populations.

Research into these and other technology giants reveal that they "seeded" their moves into commercial products, first as subcontractors to the U.S.'s largest military contractors, and then as prime contractors for the Pentagon. As just one recent example reveals, during October of 2018, Jeff Bezos defended Amazon's decision to seek a $10-billion Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure (JEDI) cloud computing services contract for the U.S. Department of Defense. "If big tech companies are going to turn their backs on the US Department of Defense, this country is going to be in trouble," Bezos declared, and "one of the jobs of a senior leadership team is to make the right decision even when unpopular" among employees or concerned members of the public. Bezos did not elaborate upon what he meant by "trouble" or "the right decision," but his message was clear: neither moral quandaries over particular kinds of military work nor privacy and other public concerns should stand in the way of shareholder value and the profits his firms stand to realize by contracting with the government on space-based, military, and big-data projects. As the founder, chairman, and chief executive officer of Amazon, founder of aerospace company Blue Origin, owner of *The Washington Post*, and wealthiest person in the world according to *Forbes'* 2018 rankings, Bezos, like his competitors at Microsoft, IBM, Oracle, and Google, understands that the future of the companies he controls and profits from are inextricably linked to the U.S. government (the largest military and intelligence market in the world) and a larger network of surveillance technologies used to exploit marginalized communities, whether in the Global South or closer to home.[17]

Knowing the bounty that awaits those who can tap the U.S. government market for surveillance work, as well as states willing to provide billions of dollars-worth of incentives for big-data firms to relocate their operations, Bezos had no qualms about Amazon receiving a $600 million computing cloud-contract from the Central Intelligence Agency during 2014. As part of his systems integration strategy, Bezos also lobbied to win the $500 million contract that Blue Origin received from the U.S. Air Force to develop rockets for

launching national security satellites. Anticipating Amazon's front-runner status among those competing for JEDI and other contracts, Bezos has continued to dismiss those who protest his company's policies, including its working conditions around the world and projects such as the ReKognition facial recognition technology that the multinational developed for police departments and government agencies. To win this and other contracts under Bezos's leadership, Amazon spent more than $67 million on lobbying between 2000 and 2017, employing more than 100 lobbyists in Washington, D.C. alone (with 68 of them "revolvers," insiders who have moved from government to the private sector to smooth the way for future contracting opportunities).[18]

Bezos and his empire (along with others associated with big-data gathering and the military-industrial-intelligence complex) are ripe for a critical history, one refracted through the lens of surveillance studies and the powerful tools the field's practitioners have provided to other disciplines. Surveillance studies scholars continue to remind us that surveillance and big data reach into every aspect of society, and that those technologies are far from value-free. By creating, manipulating, and exploiting algorithms that sort us socially, make some lives and bodies more visible, and segment us into different markets, surveillance technologies make it easier to control the vulnerable, monitor our work and consumption habits, and target specific populations for policing. Increasingly, our on-line activities determine who gets and who pays, which class, race, or ethnic group can acquire an education, a job, housing, credit, and insurance (including health insurance), and the right to vote. The propaganda machine of on-line advertising and government control also determines who will receive justice (and who will not).[19]

> ***Increasingly, our on-line activities determine who gets and who pays, which class, race, or ethnic group can acquire an education, a job, housing, credit, and insurance (including health insurance), and the right to vote.***

Far too few of those who enter our classrooms know this history, which helps to explain why people in the U.S. remain both ideologically confused as well as wedded to Margaret Thatcher's TINA ("there is no alternative" to capitalism) and an uncritical faith in technology's promise. Cathy O'Neill's *Weapons of Math Destruction* is a particularly powerful primer for classroom teaching, for it unpacks both the simple and complex ways that technologies serve capital as we continue to leave digital trails through our phones, computers, GPS trackers, and other platforms. Her accessible chapters also provide powerful examples, in different settings, about how much surveillance and big data increase inequality and threaten democracy.[20] The ongoing manipulation of and confusion about what guides U.S.

society and those it reaches also make the experiences drawn from the final three essays here both vital and urgent.

Historian Philip F. Napoli, the director of the Veterans Oral History Project and author of *Bringing it All Back Home*, has spent most of his career on public and oral history projects that can shine a bright light on many of the issues that confront us, in ways that not only stimulate deep listening but also involve larger communities in much-needed dialogues.[21] In "The Radicalization of Oral History," which he co-authored with four of his former students, two of them military veterans of America's wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Napoli walks us through both the transformative power as well as the limitations of oral history. Following interviews conducted with war veterans, from World War II and the Vietnam era, Napoli's four co-authors shared their experiences with him. Napoli then contextualized what those interviews meant in terms of the students' intellectual trajectories, career paths, and personal odysseys. The narratives highlight the importance of listening, not only to what veterans reveal about their experiences, but also how people from vastly different backgrounds receive what they hear. Napoli's oral history projects have been particularly meaningful for the veterans who have participated, but we know that you will find all four co-author reflections as fascinating as we did. We have much to learn from Napoli's ethical approach to oral history as well. Indeed, he provides a road map for making our work more public and accessible without violating the trust of those we might interview and work with in a variety of contexts.

In the fourth essay, Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies scholar Mary Jo Klinker, and Heidi Morrison, a social and cultural historian of the Modern Middle East and author of *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt,* take us outside the United States, to recount the experiences they shared with a group of study-abroad undergraduates in the Palestinian territories.[22] In their "On the Pedagogy of 'Boomerangs'," Klinker and Morrison explore the ways in which looking at occupations elsewhere allows us to see occupations everywhere around us. They also reveal the value in taking students (and ourselves), quite literally, outside our comfort zones, so we can gain a deeper understanding of the co-implications of occupations. Their encounters, particularly at armed border crossings, also remind us that study-abroad experiences have much to teach us about the toll that international agreements (including "free-trade" ones) have had on vulnerable populations, and the ways in which scholar-activists need to adapt to what our students teach us as they discover the costs of war on the ground, including the brutal treatment indigenous people endure at the hands of private security forces hired by state actors. Additionally, as their title suggests, their work has "Boomerang" effects, allowing those with whom they have worked to see (and want to explore even further) the relationships between the settler-colonial states of Israel and the U.S., the very foundations on which rest violent dispossessions. These encounters also expose the fact that war and empire are not recent phenomena that sully otherwise democratic impulses. They are woven into the very origins of such nation-states.

Finally, J. Ashley Foster and Andrew Janco, both involved in pushing the boundaries of digital humanities and human rights scholarship, turned our call for submissions on its head, to remind readers of *Radical Teacher* that we have also failed to teach about peace.[23] Their "Challenging a 'Warist' Society with Digital Peace Pedagogy" asks us to take seriously the ways in which a "warist" society "privileges a discourse of war over a discourse of peace." That same society tends to erase feminist theory and the women who have played a central role in peace discourses. Reflecting on their students' engagement in an oral history and partner-collaboration project with the American Friends Service Committee, Foster and Janco share what they have learned from student engagement with building peace, through cooperation and collaboration, listening and reflecting, and respecting diverse stories and experience. As we reflect on teaching our students about capitalism, war, and empire in a time of COVID-19, the Foster-Janco piece offers a model of how we might build on Vine's "war-clinic" model to create "peace-clinic" classrooms. Their work also provides an important window into how we might re-imagine a society that can prioritize peace over war, economic cooperation and security over competition, and a shared vision for serving the collective rather than the individual.

We are deeply grateful to the authors in his issue who have shared their experiences and expertise. Together, their contributions inspire us and give us hope, as do the governments and societies that have handled the coronavirus differently from the United States. Fifty-five years ago, Martin Luther King, Jr. declared, "I never intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I never intend to adjust myself to the madness of militarism and the self-defeating effects of physical violence."[24] If ever there was a time to act boldly on that vision, that too is now. Paul Engler recently suggested that "the Bernie Sanders campaign could pivot to become a movement focused on a pandemic response" to advance justice and democracy. Perhaps all activists can honor King and the work of 1968 by joining hands with the many groups identified by the authors in this issue, including Vine's suggestion that we widen our network to include those involved in Black Lives Matter, the Poor People's Campaign, Racial Justice Has No Borders, Common Dreams, and other groups that promise to help us move from a warfare economy to a moral one, from societies at increasing risk to ones that embrace the wisdom of indigenous communities and civil rights activists. We would do well to remember that we have also failed to teach truth and reconciliation movements, in South Africa and elsewhere, where we can learn valuable lessons about how better to prepare for a world beyond capitalism, war, and empire.[25]

Notes

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2. See, for example, Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Domination* (Cornell University Press, 1992); Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: the United States Since the 1930s* (Yale University Press, 1997); Chris Hedges, *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning* (Anchor Books), 2003; Christian Parenti, *The Soft Cage: Surveillance in America, from Slavery to the War on Terror* (Basic Books, 2003); Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (Picador, 2008); Joan Johnson Freese, *Heavenly Ambitions: America's Quest to Dominate Space* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Michael A. Bernstein and Mark R. Wilson, eds., "New Perspectives on the Military-Industrial Complex," *Enterprise and Society* 12, no. 1 (2011): 1-9; and Jocelyn Wills, *Tug of War: Surveillance Capitalism, Military Contracting, and the Rise of the Security State* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

3. On Boeing, Lougheed Martin, and other Pentagon contractors seeking bailouts in the midst of the pandemic, see Mandy Smithberger, "Bailing Out the War State: Hasn't the Military-Industrial Complex Taken Enough of Our Money?" *Project on Government Oversight*, 04 May 2020, at https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2020/05/beware-the-pentagons-pandemic-profiteers; and William Hartung and Mandy Smithberger, "America's Defense Budget is Bigger than You Think," *The Nation*, 07 May 2019. In addition, see Rebecca Thorpe, *The American Warfare State: The Domestic Politics of Military Spending* (University of Chicago Press, 2014); and Wills, *Tug of War,* 1-29 and 301-33.

4. Laura Steichen, "First in Military Spending, Last in Our COVID-19 Response," 08 May 2020. In addition, see William Hurtung, "Five Reasons to Cut Pentagon Spending in the Era of COVID-19," *Forbes*, 16 April 2020; Joan Roelofs, "Military Keynesianism Marches On," *CounterPunch*, 03 October 2019, at https://www.counterpunch.org/2019/10/03/military-keynesianism-marches-on/; Nick Turse, *The Complex: How the Military Invades Our Everyday Lives* (Metropolitan Books, 2008), and "One Down, Who Knows How Many to Go?," 08 January 2019, at www.TomDispatch.com; and Tom Engelhardt, *A Nation Unmade by War* (Haymarket Books, 2018).

5. Eugene Jarecki, "Trump's Covid-19 Inaction Killed Americans: Here's a Counter That Shows How Many, " *Washington Post*, 6 May 2020; and https://trumpdeathclock.com/.

6. See https://spacesecurityindex.org.

7. Richard D. Wolff, "Coronavirus: a Capitalist Crisis," *Dollars and Sense*, March/April 2020, at http://dollarsandsense.org/archives/2020/0320wolff.html;

and Paul Engler, "Coronavirus is a Historic Trigger Event— and It Needs a Movement to Respond," 16 March 2020, at https://wagingnonviolence.org/2020/03/coronavirus-historic-trigger-event-needs-movement-response/. In addition, see Laura Steichen and Lindsay Koshgarian, *No Warming, No War: How Militarism Fuels the Climate Crisis -- and Vice Versa*, National Priorities Project at the Institute for Policy Studies, April 2020, at https://www.pis-dc.org/climate-militarism-primer/.

8. Heidi Peltier, "The Cost of Debt-Financed War: Public Debt and Rising Interest for Post-9/11 War Spending," *20 Years of War: A Cost of War Research Series*, January 2020, at https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Peltier%202020%20-%20The%20Cost%20of%20Debt-financed%20War.pdf; and Laura Steichen, 08 May 2020, as well as "Trade Offs: Your Money, Your Choices," National Priorities Project at the Institute for Policy Studies at https://www.nationalpriorities.org/. The National Priorities Project, "Fighting for a U.S. Federal Budget that Prioritizes Peace, Economic Security and Share Prosperity," website contains excellent news and analyses of the federal budget, examples of what spending could have purchased instead with the trillions spent on the military, as well as counters that show, in real time, the costs of war since 2001, military and security spending over time, and other tools for analyzing the federal budget.

9. David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (Metropolitan Books, 2015), and *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020). You can read more about his work at https://www.davidvine.net/. In addition, see Joan Roelofs, "Military Keynesianism Marches On," *CounterPunch*, 03 October 2019, at https://www.counterpunch.org/2019/10/03/military-keynesianism-marches-on/; Nick Turse, *The Complex: How the Military Invades Our Everyday Lives* (Metropolitan Books, 2008), and "One Down, Who Knows How Many to Go?," 08 January 2019, at www.TomDispatch.com; Tom Engelhardt, *A Nation Unmade by War* (Haymarket Books, 2018); and Daniel Immerwahr, "How the US has Hidden Its Empire," *The Guardian*, 15 February 2019.

10. Vincent Mosco, *The Digital Sublime: Myth, Power, and Cyberspace* (MIT Press, 2004). In addition, see Evgeny Morozov, *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (Public Affairs Books, 2011); and Wills, *Tug of War*, 9-14.

11. As just one example of his writing on the theme, see Astore's "Killing Me Softly with Militarism: The Decay of Democracy in America," 24 October 2019, at www.TomDispatch.com. For a fuller listing of his writing and work, visit Astore's website, "Bracing Views: Making Sense of a Vexing and Perplexing World," at https://bracingviews.com/.

12. Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (Monthly Review Press, 1966).

13. John Bellamy Foster and Robert W. McChesney, "Surveillance Capitalism: Monopoly-Finance Capital, the Military-Industrial Complex, and the Digital Age," *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, 01 July 2014, at https://monthlyreview.org/2014/07/01/surveillance-capitalism/.

14. Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Farewell Address to the Nation," 01 January 1961, at https://www.ourdocuments.gov, , and "Speech," Columbus, OH, 15 October 1964, Box 6, Folder "Speeches Made by DDE," Dwight D. Eisenhower Archives, at http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov.

15. In addition to Foster and McChesney, as well as others cited above, there are many short pieces that progressive educators can employ as primers that allow students to see the costs of the military-industrial complex through the numbers in stories selected from mainstream as well as alternative media. See, for example, Heidei Garrett-Peltier, "Is Military-Keynesianism the Solution?: Why War is Not a Sustainable Strategy for Economic Recovery," *Dollars and Sense*, March/April 2010; Margaret Talev and Bloomberg, "Trump Cancels U.S. Report on Civilian Strikes in Drone Strikes," *Forbes*, 6 March 19; Sarah Almukhtar and Rod Norland, "What Did the U.S. Get for $2 Trillion in Afghanistan?," *New York Times*, 09 December 2019. And, despite the secrecy of the military and its private contractors, we also recommend pulling material from government websites, including the Department of Defense, at https://www.defense.gov; and trade journals, such as *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, affectionately dubbed by industry insiders as "Death from the Air."

16. Although not as widely read as his other works, Thomas Frank's *Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (University of Chicago Press, 1998) is one of the first serious critiques of advertising and the role that industry played in making consumption "cool" and ubiquitous through branding after World War II. Among the many things U.S. elites feared, he forcefully argues, was a return to Depression-era frugality. Although they targeted youth culture, the marketing industry ultimately aimed its efforts at middle-class adults, particularly white "company men" (and their spouses), those with good union jobs, war veterans, and the upwardly mobile status seekers (those later hailed as the "Greatest Generation," another euphemism for the "Greatest Nation on Earth"). Many of these people also worked for the expanding military-industrial complex, even if they employed willful ignorance to justify their roles in the expansion of U.S. militarization and militarism.

17. Frank Konkel, "Microsoft, Amazon CEOs Stand by Defense Work After Google Bails on JEDI," *NextGov*, 15 October 2018, https://www.nextgov.com; Olivia Rudgard, "Tech Companies Need to Work with US Military, Says Amazon Boss Jeff Bezos," *The Telegraph*, 15 October 2018; Naomi Nix, "Google Drops Out of Pentagon's $10-Billion Cloud Computing Competition," *Bloomberg*, 8 October 2018,

https://www.bloomberg.com; Aaron Gregg and Christian Davenport, "Meet the Man at the Center of the High-Stakes, Winner-Take-All $10 Billion Pentagon Cloud Contract," *Washington Post*, 2 October 2018; Ron Miller, "What Each Cloud Company Could Bring to the Pentagon's $10B JEDI Cloud Contract," *TechCrunch*, 29 September 2018, https://www.techcrunch.com; and Luisa Kroll and Kerry Dolan, eds., *Forbes* Billionaires 2018: Meet the Richest People on the Planet," *Forbes*, 6 March 2018.

18. See, for example, May Jeong, "'Everybody Immediately Knew It Was for Amazon': Has Bezos Become More Powerful in D.C. Than Trump?," *Vanity Fair*, 13 August 2018, https://www.vanityfair.com; and Frank Konkel, "The Details About the CIA's Deal with Amazon," *The Atlantic,* 17 July 2014, https://www.theatlantic.com.

19. For more information, scholarship, and resources, visit https://www.surveillance-studies.net/.

20. Cathy O'Neil, *Weapons of Math Destruction: How Big Data Increases Inequality and Threatens Democracy* (Broadway Books, 2016).

21. Philip F. Napoli, *Bringing It All Back Home: An Oral History of New York City's Vietnam Veterans* (Hill and Wang, 2013). In addition, see Napoli, Thomas Brinson, Neil Kenny, and Joan Furey, "Oral History, Moral Injury, and Vietnam Veterans," *The Oral History Review*, vol. 46, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2019), 71-103; and http://philipnapoli.com/.

22. In addition to *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt* (Palgravem 2015), Morrison is the compiler and editor of *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (Routledge, 2012) and co-general editor of the forthcoming, six-volume, *A Cultural History of Youth* (Bloomsbury, 2020). For more information, see https://www.winona.edu/women-studies/mary-jo-klinker.asp; and https://www.uwlax.edu/profile/hmorrison/.

23. For more on their research and work, see http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/english/faculty/foster.html; and https://www.haverford.edu/users/ajanco.

24. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Sermon at Temple Israel of Hollywood," 26 February 1965; and Engler, op.cit. In addition, see Mutaza Hussain, "America and the New Geopolitics after Coronavirus," *The Intercept*, 12 April 2020.

25. See, for example, https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/; https://ggjalliance.org/actions-campaigns/racial-justice-has-no-borders/; https://www.commondreams.org/; https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/; https://www.standingrock.org/; http://www.worldbeyondwar.org; https://www.ictj.org/; and https://www.selmacenterfornonviolence.org/.

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Unpacking the Invisible Military Backpack: 56 Suggestions for Teaching about War

by David Vine

"KIMBERLY RIVERA" BY MAZATL. *WAR IS TRAUMA* IS A PORTFOLIO OF HANDMADE PRINTS PRODUCED BY THE JUSTSEEDS ARTISTS' COOPERATIVE IN COLLABORATION WITH THE IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (IVAW).

W e've failed in teaching about war. Anyone who teaches in the United States must acknowledge that we've failed to teach about war broadly enough, consistently enough, and with the sense of urgency demanded by the death, injury, and destruction that nearly two decades of continuous U.S. warfare have inflicted.

There are many reasons that there's relatively little public awareness about the wars the U.S. military has been waging since shortly after September 11, 2001. The lack of a draft or tax increases to pay for the Post-9/11 Wars, limited media coverage, and government propaganda and lies[1] about the wars have played roles in making the conflicts nearly invisible to most in the United States. Insufficient elementary, secondary, post-secondary, and general public education about the wars is another reason for this invisibility.

I have studied war for almost 20 years and tried to teach about war for the past 14. I know I haven't taught about war often or effectively enough. I know I've lost the urgency I once had. Others surely teach about war more effectively than I. In the spirit of exchanging ideas, strategies, and inspiration so that we can together teach about war more frequently, more broadly, and more effectively—which is to say, in a way that helps end current wars and stop future ones—I offer the following 56 suggestions. The suggestions are based on my experiences, and what I've learned from others, especially from people in my classes.[2] Most of the 56 are based on mistakes and missteps I have made and am still making.

I hope my suggestions help anyone teaching about war anywhere, at any level, in any field—for a year, a semester, a unit, or a single class. Most of what's really a menu of suggestions can be used or adapted to analyze any country and any war(s). Most of the ideas, however, are focused on people teaching in or about the United States. This is appropriate given that the U.S. government has been "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world" since at least the U.S. war in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, when Martin Luther King, Jr. uttered these words.[3]

As a U.S. citizen, I have come to think about the many forms of violence inflicted by war as similar to the invisible knapsack Peggy McIntosh identifies in her classic article "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." McIntosh describes whiteness as akin to an invisible backpack of privileges and "unearned advantage" that white people carry with them and benefit from everywhere they go.[4] War is not the same as whiteness, but war and the larger systems of militarization and militarism[5] that make war possible shape our daily lives, especially in the United States, in profound but often invisible ways. Why are militarized Army-style backpacks so popular inside and outside our classrooms? Why are military flyovers a ritual before National Football League games and, recently, a way to "honor" Coronavirus health care workers? Why is camouflage so pervasive in fashion? How are these small signs of militarization linked to the estimated $6.4 trillion that U.S. taxpayers will spend on the Post-9/11 Wars?[6] How are these signs of militarization linked to the $6.4 trillion that U.S. taxpayers *did not* spend on health care, schools, housing, infrastructure, and other social needs? How are the

military-style backpacks, flyovers, and camouflage linked to the 3.1 million or more who may have died in the ongoing wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, and Yemen, alone?[7]

While my aim is not to overstretch the invisible backpack metaphor, the ability to live one's life with little awareness of the Post-9/11 Wars while others suffer the daily effects of those wars is a privilege. War and the political, economic, and sociocultural processes that make war possible are invisible to most U.S. Americans. Because war and militarization are, as anthropologist Catherine Lutz says, "hidden in plain sight," educators can help make war visible and provide tools to help people (and ourselves) identify the many ways warmaking shapes our lives.[8]

Helping make war visible is an important contribution to movements to end wars. But as McIntosh asks, "What will we do with such knowledge?" What will we encourage people in our classes to do with the knowledge we build together? Especially for those who are, like me, among the most privileged of U.S. citizens—with our combination of privilege and culpability for the Post-9/11 Wars—we must answer McIntosh's call. Her challenge to us applies equally to the war system as to the system of racism: "It is an open question whether we will choose to use unearned advantage … [and] any of our arbitrarily-awarded power to reconstruct power systems on a broad base."

TEACHING THE ENDLESS WARS

1. **Teach the Post-9/11 Wars and 9/11**. People know little about the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Yemen, and beyond. Most know less about the history and forces that shaped the 9/11 attacks. The education most have received on these subjects likely has come from mainstream media, nationalist histories, government propaganda, and movies and TV like *Zero Dark Thirty*, *American Sniper,* and *24*.

2. **Assume prior misinformation.** Assume, for example, that most will think Saddam Hussein's Iraq had a role in 9/11. This isn't their fault. Government officials and others suggested as much. In historical terms, the U.S. invasion of Iraq followed so soon after 9/11 and the invasion of Afghanistan that most will likely assume a causal link. Many will assume the wars were inevitable rather than a choice. Assume most won't be able to distinguish al Qaeda from the Islamic State, let alone how the U.S. government fueled both groups. *Blowback* can be a helpful concept to help understand 9/11 and the actions of al Quaeda and the Islamic State.[9]

3. **Assume the post-9/11 wars have felt insignificant.** While most entering college (and the U.S. military) now have no memory of a time

when the United States wasn't at war, assume that most will have experienced the wars as distant, with little relevance in their lives. This isn't their fault. There is no draft. Taxes have not gone up (debt has). Government officials and journalists have mostly hidden the wars and their effects.

4. **Show them the money.** Show them how much the post-9/11 wars have cost: $6.4 trillion and counting. The National Priorities Project's running "counter" shows the spending as it grows every second. The ticker can silence a room. I often think there's little I can say that's more powerful than the image of the dollars scrolling, and disappearing.

5. **Guns or butter?** Discuss the trade-offs of war spending. Adequate preparation for pandemics like COVID-19 would have cost the United States a small fraction of the $6.4 trillion. With high school, college, and graduate school students, ask about debt. Compare war spending to erasing student debt and the cost of universal free college. The National Priorities Project's interactive tool allows you to model other ways the U.S. government could have spent $6.4 trillion: for example, how far the money could have gone to provide scholarships, health care, Head Start slots, affordable housing units, and green energy jobs.

6. **Show the effects of war.** In their lives. In the lives of those most harmed. The Costs of War Project has great resources documenting the wars' human and economic impacts.[10]

7. **Build empathy.** Ask them to imagine how it would feel to live in a war zone, to lose a parent or sibling to war, to be forced to flee their home. Be aware and sensitive as some likely will have lived these experiences.

8. **Listen to people in warzones.** While showing how we are all victims of war, focus attention on materials portraying the voices and experiences of those most directly harmed, including military personnel from all nations and their family members.[11]

9. **Discuss "triggers."** From the start, acknowledge the difficult, painful, deeply personal subject matter often involved when discussing war. Explain why the subject matter must be difficult. Offer the freedom to leave class and care for their wellbeing if necessary.

10. **Discuss U.S. citizens' responsibility.** For the wars, the damage, the deaths. Remind people their taxes have funded the wars. Discuss whether silence makes us complicit.

EXPOSING THE WAR SYSTEM AND STRUCTURES UNDERGIRDING WAR

11. **Critique systems not soldiers.** Given that many people have friends and family members in the military, I find it helpful to say out loud that my aim is to critique the system and policies of war while exploring how most military personnel (and family members) are among war's victims. I note, too, that there *are* people deserving of personal critique and condemnation, beginning with the war system's small number of powerful decision makers.

12. **Read/listen to Eisenhower's "Military Industrial Complex" speech.** Discuss its contemporary significance. It is one of the greatest ever presidential speeches and should be considered required reading from junior high school through university.[12] Note that "Military Industrial *Congressional* Complex" better reflects Eisenhower's original idea.[13]

13. **Show the military budget.** Do a poll asking 1) what percentage of the U.S. government's discretionary budget goes to military spending compared to schools, housing, public health, food stamps, diplomacy, and other budget items, and 2) what percentage should go to different priorities? Few realize that more than half of discretionary spending goes to the military industrial complex.[14] U.S. military spending also exceeds that of the next 10 countries combined (most are allies).[15] Total U.S. military spending is higher, topping $1.2 trillion (2019) including money for nuclear weapons, the VA, military spending in other agencies, and interest payments on wars. Note that how one presents military spending data is political and impacts perceptions.[16]

14. **Make capitalism visible.** Discuss the role of capitalism in war and vice versa.[17] In addition to U.S. military spending, U.S. weapons makers lead the world in arms sales.[18]

15. **Ask *Who benefits*?** And how? Economically, politically, socially, psychologically. Ask people to make a list of beneficiaries. Discuss.

16. **Ask *Who suffers?*** How? Again, make and discuss individual or group lists.

17. **Warfare state or social welfare state?** Since World War II, the United States has created a "warfare state." Other wealthy countries have created social welfare states to protect the well-being and physical security of their people. Discuss the consequences.

18. **Show war is neither natural nor inevitable.** Anthropologists have long debunked the idea that war is encoded in "human nature." All humans may have some capacity for violence, but war is not a human universal, as Margaret Mead showed in her classic "Warfare Is Only an Invention—Not a Biological Necessity." Because the belief that war is "natural" is deeply engrained, ask for and examine any evidence supporting the claim. Explain that a large body of scientific research shows that the vast majority of homo sapiens do not kill and that most killing and war involves a small, almost exclusively male group of humans.[19]

CONNECTING WITH PEOPLE

19. **Start where people are.** Assume that people in our classes aren't where we are in their understanding and knowledge about war (especially if you have strong feelings about the subject). Like all good teachers, we should put ourselves in the shoes of people in our classes (especially with a topic as sensitive and difficult as war).

20. **Avoid self-righteousness.** Believing we are right, just, and virtuous will prevent us from understanding and connecting with people in our classes and beyond. Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hahn cautions against dividing the world "into two camps—the violent and the nonviolent," while we stand in one and attack "those we feel are responsible for wars and social injustice." To build peace, he says, we must recognize "the degree of violence in ourselves. We must work on ourselves and also with those we condemn."[20]

21. **Start with the personal.** Ask people to explore their personal and familial connections to war, the military, and the Military Industrial Complex. Start, for example, by asking about experiences with military recruiting. Anthropologist Hugh Gusterson asks people to bring in and discuss an item illustrating their connection to war.

22. **Use pop culture.** Show how war and militarization have shaped our lives in ways small and large. Discuss the ubiquity of camouflage in fashion, the military's collaboration with Hollywood films, video games such as *Call of Duty*, pre-game flyovers, and other military rituals and advertising in sports. Ask people to identify examples in their lives.

23. **Use material culture.** Tactile experiences help. Give everyone in class a "toy" soldier.[21] Ask what impact it has in the world (political, economic, social, ideological, environmental). Wear or bring militarized fashion to class. Distribute fashion magazines or clothing catalogs and ask people to find examples. Ask them to discuss the significance of *bomber* jackets, navy pea coats, khaki, cargo shorts, epaulette-laden shirts and jackets, and "military tactical gear" such as backpacks. Ask people to research an example from their wardrobe. Discuss how to resist. Cut off your epaulettes in class.

24. **Assume defensiveness.** This is understandable. For many, you will be the first person to present critical views about U.S. wars, the military, and the United States itself. Many, consciously or not, will experience this as a personal attack, an attack on their identity as "Americans" given how central war is to hegemonic ideas about national identity.

25. **Learn from everyone.** Conversations about war are themselves shaped by the war system and our militarized societies. People's experiences outside class and their reactions to material in class have much to teach us about war and militarization.

26. **Don't preach or try to convert.** Focus on engaging people and exchanging experiences and perspectives.

27. **Assign materials cautiously.** Be careful using books, articles, films, documentaries, and podcasts that preach to your choir. They'll work for some but will turn others off. Discuss people's emotional reactions to material they don't like. Ask people to analyze and learn from their own reactions (positive, negative, and otherwise).

REVEALING HISTORY IN THE PRESENT

28. **Make empire visible.** Discuss (and perhaps debate) whether the United States is an empire. This idea will offend many, consciously or unconsciously, because it runs counter to most U.S. Americans' self-image. Allow people to come

to their own conclusions. As a group, list the forms of power, influence, and control (political, economic, military, ideological, social, even nutritional) the U.S. government and powerful U.S. actors (corporations, elites, others) have over people worldwide. When some still doubt that the United States is an empire, show and discuss this 17-second video or a series of maps depicting U.S conquest of Native American peoples' lands.22

29. **Make colonization visible.** Show how the expansion of the United States was not natural, inevitable, or the result of "manifest destiny." Connect U.S. wars overseas with the history of U.S. colonial wars against Native American peoples. Discuss the colonial nature of the land underneath our feet. If people don't know who once controlled the land, ask them to find out. Ask why so few non-indigenous people know.

30. **Make Native American peoples visible.** Discuss their invisibility in large parts of the country (despite the prevalence, for example, of indigenous place names). Discuss representations of American Indians in the names of U.S. military weaponry and racist sports mascots, team names, and rituals (e.g., the "tomahawk chop").

31. **Make U.S. overseas colonies visible.** Show the colonial status of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the Guantánamo Bay naval base, where people can't vote for president and have no voting representation in Congress.23 Ask, *Should we call them* territories *or* colonies?

32. **Make the U.S. "empire of bases" visible.** Show the approximately 750 U.S. military bases that occupy foreign lands and that enable war.24 Ask, *How would you feel living next to a foreign military's base?* Discuss bases' sociocultural, political, economic, and environmental effects on locals. Show how hundreds of U.S. bases surround China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea. Ask, *How would you feel if a single Chinese, Russian,* or *Iranian base was near U.S. borders?*

33. **Discuss the threat of future wars.** Many now describe cold wars between the United States and China and Russia. In recent years, the United States has appeared on the verge of wars with Iran, North Korea, and Venezuela. Some politicians and policymakers clearly want actual wars. Discuss how we can avoid future wars that could kill millions.

34. **Discuss the threat of nuclear war.** Nuclear weapons are an existential crisis for the planet that's even more immediate than global warming. A nuclear detonation or war, accidental or otherwise, could kill tens of millions. Discuss this frightening possibility and what to do to avoid nuclear annihilation.

35. **Make drones visible.** One technique: When you hear an airplane passing overhead, ask how people would feel if it was a foreign military's drone. Note that this is daily life in parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, and beyond. Discuss the ethics of drone assassinations. Ask, *How would you feel if a foreign government used a drone to assassinate someone near our school?* Some drone operators have called the dead "bug splat." Discuss the significance of this language for drone use and related technology.

36. **Make the longer history of U.S. wars visible.** The United States has been at war or invaded another country in all but eleven years since 1776. The Congressional Research Service releases an annual list of these wars and invasions.25 Discuss the list. Ask, *What wars aren't on the list?* Discuss CIA-backed coups and election interference. Discuss economic violence. Ask how to define *war* and how to distinguish war from peace.

37. **Make wars' human toll visible.** Ask, *How many names are on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC?* (Answer: 58,318.)26 Discuss why Vietnamese, Lao, and Cambodian vets aren't included. Ask why the wall doesn't have 3.8 million more names including civilians killed.27 Discuss whether people in the United States have reckoned with the death and destruction of U.S. wars. Discuss what a reckoning would mean.

EMPLOYING INTERSECTIONALITY

38. **Analyze intersectionally.** Examine how race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, and religion, among other forces and identities, interact in complicated and compounding ways to shape war, as well as who suffers and benefits from war.

39. **Make racism visible.** Discuss how racism has shaped U.S. wars from those against Native American peoples to those in the Philippines, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The continuity of racist slurs across the wars may be an effective, if challenging, entry point.28

40. **Make women visible.** Ask Cynthia Enloe's classic feminist question about international relations and the daily workings of militaries, *Where are the women?* Make women's lives visible in war and the war system. Make women's labor of all kinds visible (e.g., soldiers' wives, women in the military, women who do the cleaning that allows bases to function, sex workers outside bases abroad, women in the Pentagon).[29]

41. **Make gender visible.** Talk about where and how men are socialized to be men in specific ways from birth, including in the military. Discuss how ideas about gender and *hypermasculinity* uphold militarism and war. Watch USO shows to analyze gender socialization. Discuss why trans people in the military frighten some and what the fear may reveal.

42. **Connect the foreign and domestic.** Discuss the militarization of police forces in the United States, including with discarded U.S. military equipment, and the military-style policing of people of color and poor neighborhoods. Examine the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border and the growth of white supremacist militia movements.

ENVISIONING ALTERNATIVES, SOLUTIONS, RESISTANCE

43. **Read/listen to Martin Luther King, Jr.** Discuss the contemporary significance of King's 1967 Riverside Church speech. Have them replace the word *communism* with *terrorism* and the names of Vietnamese "enemies" with today's supposed foes. Add patriarchy to the "the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism."[30]

44. **Make dissent and anti-war movements visible.** Focus on today's most active, youth-oriented movements, such as Dissenters, About Face, and Codepink. Show anti-Vietnam War protests briefly. Discuss why campuses haven't seen the same protest in the Post-9/11 Wars. U.S. military dissent dates to at least the War of 1812 and the war in Mexico.

45. **Discuss anti-war movements' successes.** Transpartisan, international opposition stopped a large-scale U.S. war in Syria during the Obama administration. While some think the largest day of protest in human history—February 15, 2003—was a failure because it failed to prevent the U.S.-led war in Iraq, the anti-Iraq war protests helped rapidly turn public opinion against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Large ground wars effectively haven't been an option for U.S. presidents since the end of George W. Bush's presidency.

46. **Show transpartisan critiques of war.** In an era of heightened partisanship, people across the political spectrum are increasingly united in their opposition to interventionist wars. A prime example of strange bedfellows: the Quincy Institute, founded in 2019 with funding from prominent donors on the right and left, Charles Koch and George Soros.

47. **Connect to other social movements.** Show and discuss the connections between antiwar struggles and movements for climate justice, universal health care, labor, racial justice, gender equality, and LGBTQI+ rights. The Poor People's Campaign and Racial Justice Has No Borders are examples of movements trying to build these connections.[31]

48. **Develop alternatives.** Ask people to imagine and propose different approaches to U.S. foreign policy, to engagement across nations, to government spending. If this seems unimaginable to some, discuss the consequences of leaving foreign and military policy to "the blob"—a small group of mostly Euro-American male Washington, DC-based elites.

FINDING TEACHABLE MOMENTS AND OTHER CLASSROOM STRATEGIES

49. **Avoid militarized language.** Resist its use. When it appears, discuss how militarized, often euphemistic language shapes attitudes about war. Examples: the Department of Defense vs. Department of War, national security, collateral damage, terrorists, the war on terrorism, interrogate (popular in the humanities and social sciences). Ask about the problems with *war* as a metaphor (e.g., wars on Coronavirus, drugs, crime, poverty).

50. **Question the "homogenizing *We*."** *We* didn't invade Afghanistan. *We* didn't invade Iraq. *We* didn't invade Vietnam. When people invoke the "we," ask about the accuracy of their claims. Encourage people to be specific naming individual and institutional actors and who does what in the world. Ask what the "homogenizing we" obscures. Similarly, avoid substituting "the United States" for naming actors precisely. *The United States* did not invade Afghanistan. Ask people to find examples of these problems in the media.

51. **Stop cultural generalizations.** Question people when they invoke inaccurate generalities explaining war as "part of who *we* are," "in our blood," or "in our national DNA."

52. **Question "national interests."** Politicians and journalists often invoke "U.S. national interests" as if an entire nation could share a single set of interests. Discuss whose interests they're really talking about. Ask what this reveals about the war system.

53. **Rethink the names of wars.** Discuss whose lives are erased when history texts refer to the "Spanish American War" (fought in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines). Ask how cold the "Cold War" was if it left 6-7 million dead in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, alone.

54. **Question *America*.** Discuss why so many make the linguistic and geographical error of saying *America, American, Americans* when they mean *United States*, *U.S.,* and *U.S. Americans* or *United Statesians*. Discuss how this pattern might be related to U.S. imperialism and U.S. wars in Latin America.[32]

55. **Assign research.** Ask people to investigate the connections between war and their lives, school, and communities. Research local war memorials and monuments; local military contractors; university military contracts; on-campus recruiting by the military, CIA, and contractors; family employment in the military industrial complex and in military "service" (a term obscuring the labor of military personnel and the violence of that labor).

56. **Turn classes into "war clinics."** Use community-based and experiential learning techniques to organize an entire class around work that could contribute to movements trying to end war, reduce violence, and increase peace. My classes have partnered with, for example, Codepink, the Costs of War Project, the Institute for Policy Studies, and the Chagos Refugees Group (representing the people exiled during construction of the U.S. military base on Diego Garcia). Classes could partner with local anti-recruitment groups, anti-war organizations, veterans groups, and anti-military base movements.

Notes

1. Craig Whitlock, "At War with the Truth," Washington Post, December 9, 2019, www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/afghanistan-papers/afghanistan-war-confidential-documents/.

2. I avoid the objectification and distancing of calling the people in our classes students thanks to my mother, Marsha Pinson—the best, most dedicated educator I know—and her grounding in Reggio Emilia pedagogy. As she explained to me in a recent email, "Teacher-student implies…the idea that we open the heads of children and pour information in to teach, thus making the recipient, the student."

3. King, Martin Luther, Jr. "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence, Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam." Speech, Riverside Church, New York, April 4, 1967. Available at https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/beyond-vietnam.

4. Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," Wellesley, MA, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1988.

5. Following Catherine Lutz and others, I define militarization as the political, economic, and sociocultural processes through which a military, war, and preparations for war become increasingly important in a society and its people's lives, especially through increased societal spending on the military and war making. Militarism is a narrower term identifying an ethos or spirit of war or what Lutz calls a "glorification of war and its values" ("Making War at Home in the United States: Militarization and the Current Crisis," American Anthropologist 104, no. 3 (2002): 723–735).

6. Neta C. Crawford, "United States Budgetary Costs and Obligations of Post-9/11 Wars through FY2020: $6.4 Trillion," Costs of War Project, Brown University, November 13, 2019, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2019/US%20Budgetary%20Costs%20of%20Wars%20November%202019.pdf.

7. David Vine, "Reckoning with the Costs of War: It's Time to Take Responsibility," The Hill, November 13, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/470128-reckoning-with-the-costs-of-war-its-time-to-take-responsibility. See also, Neta C. Crawford and Catherine Lutz, "Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars: Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones, Afghanistan and Pakistan (Octo¬ber 2001–October 2019); Iraq (March 2003–October 2019); Syria (September 2014–October 2019); Yemen (October 2002–October 2019); and Other," Costs of War Project, Brown University, November 13, 2019, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2019/Direct%20War%20Deaths%20COW%20Estimate%20November%2013%202019%20FINAL.pdf.

8. Catherine Lutz, "US Military Bases on Guam in Global Perspective," Asia-Pacific Journal 8, no. 30 (2010), https://apjjf.org/-Catherine-Lutz/3389/article.html.

9. Popularized by former CIA analyst–turned-scholar Chalmers Johnson, blowback describes the unintended consequences of covert operations whose causes the public cannot understand because the precipitating opera¬tions were covert. Put simply, the United States reaps what it secretly sows. Chalmers Johnson, Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Empire (New York: Metropoli-tan, 2004[2000]).

10. Costs of War Project, Brown University, https://www.costsofwar.org.

11. There are not enough easily accessible materials of this sort, although an online search will quickly turn up documentaries, books, articles, and other resources. Compiling these and other resources in a publicly accessible, perhaps crowdsourced "Post-9/11 Wars Syllabus" or "War and Militarization Syllabus" would be a gift and tremendous resource for educators.

12. Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Military-Industrial Complex Speech, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961," Avalon Project, January 17, 1961, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/eisenhower001.asp. See also, the many recorded versions online.

13. There is debate about whether Eisen¬hower used this term in an early draft but shortened the name to avoid offending Congress. See Gareth Porter, "The Permanent-War Complex," American Conservative, November–December, 2018, 32.

14. The National Priorities Project has another tool to visualize annual U.S. military spending and the trade offs involved. See https://www.nationalpriorities.org/interactive-data/trade-offs/.

15. Ashik Siddique, "The U.S. Spends More on Its Military Than the Next 10 Countries Combined," National Priorities Project, April 30, 2020, https://www.nationalpriorities.org/blog/2020/04/30/us-spends-military-spending-next-10-countries-combined/.

16. William Hartung and Mandy Smithberger, "Boondoggle, Inc.: Making Sense of the $1.25 Trillion National Security State Budget," TomDispatch, May 7, 2019, www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176561/tomgram%3A_hartung_and_smithberger%2C_a_dollar-by-dollar_tour_of_the_national_security_state. On the politics of data presentation choices, anthropologist Catherine Lutz explains, "I have also found it important to teach about the variety of ways in which information about the wars is presented to the public and the politics of those choices of data and data presentation. For example, I show how a variety of news outlets have treated the size of the US military budget since 9/11: at one end, it has been shown as a current year static figure, as a percentage of the entire US federal budget including Social Security and Medicare, or as a percentage of GDP compared with other nations or [at] other points in US history (all of which minimize its impact and growth). At the other end, it is shown as what is the much larger percentage of the discretionary budget that it represents or as a rapidly growing, inflation-controlled total." Email to author, April 21, 2020.

17. The most accessible work on the subject may be Eugene Jarecki's documentary Why We Fight (2005). See also, John Bellamy Foster, Hannah Holleman, and Robert W. McChesney, "The U.S. Imperial Triangle and Military Spending," Monthly Review, October 1, 2008, https://monthlyreview.org/2008/10/01/the-u-s-imperial-triangle-and-military-spending/.

18. SIPRI, "USA and France dramatically increase major arms exports; Saudi Arabia is largest arms importer, says SIPRI," press release, March 9, 2020, https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2020/usa-and-france-dramatically-increase-major-arms-exports-saudi-arabia-largest-arms-importer-says.

19. Mead, Margaret. "War Is Only an Invention—Not a Biological Necessity." Asia 40 (1940), pp. 415–21. See also, Sponsel, Leslie E. "Reflections on the Possibility of a Nonkilling Society and a Nonkilling Anthropology." Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm, edited by Joám Evans Pim, 17-54. Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2009. Available at http://nonkilling.org/pdf/volume_toward.pdf.

20. "If we divide reality into two camps—the violent and the nonviolent—and stand in one camp while attacking the other, the world will never have peace. We will always blame and condemn those we feel are responsible for wars and social injustice, without recognizing the degree of violence in ourselves. We must work on ourselves and also with those we condemn if we want to have a real impact." Hahn 1993: 65.

21. I think I stole this idea or was inspired by a combination of, among others, Ken Guest, Cultural Anthropology Fieldwork Journal, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016), and Roberto J. González and Hugh Gusterson, "Introduction," in Militarization: A Reader, edited by Roberto J. González, Hugh Gusterson, and Gustaaf Houtman, 1-25 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019).

22. SunIsUp, "Native American Land Losses," video, n.d., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZCvUroBpaE. Accessed May 21, 2020. Many maps are available online. Two animated versions are available at http://www.openculture.com/2019/06/two-animated-maps-show-the-expansion-of-the-u-s-from-the-perspectives-of-settlers-native-peoples.html.

23. Locals have written about this better than I, but my argument is available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/09/28/most-countries-have-given-up-their-colonies-why-hasnt-america/. Washington, DC is also a colony, where people can vote for president but have no voting representation on Congress. Daniel Immerwahr's book How to Hide an Empire and his many accessible media appearances are great on making empire visible.

24. Some of my maps might help: http://www.basenation.us/maps.html. There are other great ones online. Maps and other resources about the impacts of foreign military bases are available at https://www.basenation.us/learn-more.html.

25. Barbara Salazar Torreon and Sofia Plagakis, Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798–2018, (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2018).

26. National Parks Service, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, website, https://www.nps.gov/vive/index.htm. Accessed May 21, 2020.

27. Will Dunham, "Deaths in Vietnam, Other Wars Undercounted: Study," Reuters, June 19, 2008, www.reuters.com/article/us-war-deaths/deaths-in-vietnam-other-wars-undercounted-study-idUSN1928547620080619.

28. Racism was, for example, a pervasive feature of the U.S. war in Southeast Asia. The frequent use of racial slurs, such as "gooks," to describe the Vietnamese followed a long history of racializing enemies in wartime. Racist propaganda tar¬geted "Japs" during World War II, while U.S. troops called Filipinos "n****rs" and "gugus" during the 1898–1913 war in the Philippines. U.S. wars against Native American nations were characterized by racist, savage scorched-earth-style warfare against supposed Indian "savages." See, e.g., John Grenier, The First Way of War: American War Making on the Fron¬tier, 1607–1814 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States (Boston: Beacon, 2014). On racism and war, see, e.g., Nikhil Pal Singh, Race and America's Long War (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

29. Cynthia Enloe, Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics, rev. ed. (University of California Press, 2014).

30. King, "Beyond Vietnam." See e.g., Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "The Giant Quadruplets of Militarism, Capitalism, Racism, and Patriarchy," April 4, 2016, https://www.wilpf.org/the-giant-quadruplets-of-militarism-capitalism-racism-and-patriarchy/.

31. See, e.g., Shailly Gupta Barnes, Lindsay Koshgarian, and Ashik Siddique, eds., "The Poor People's Moral Budget," Institute for Policy Studies, June 2019, https://ips-dc.org/report-moral-budget-2/.

32. Watch Alfredo Jaar's "A Logo for America," available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2jJfNdE1xds.

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Militarism and Education in America

by William J. Astore
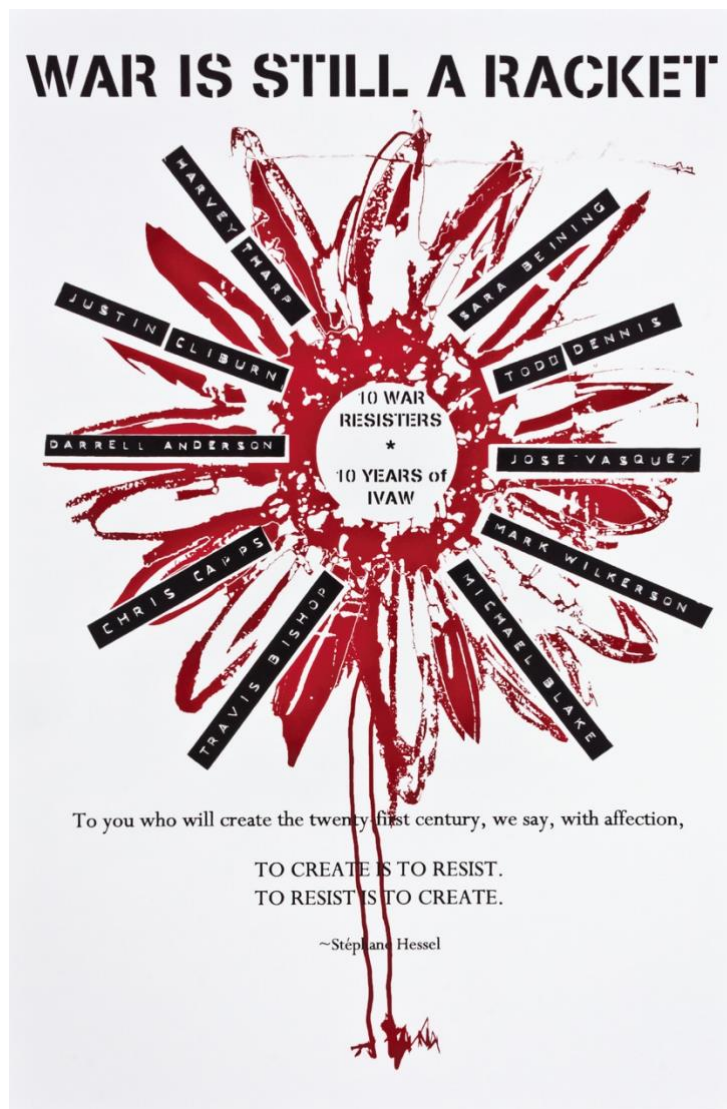
"WAR IS STILL A RACKET" BY G SCOTT RATTFIELD. THIS IMAGE BY G SCOTT RATTFIELD IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY

As a young military professor at the USAF Academy, I co-taught a course in 1992 on the making and use of the atomic bomb that included a trip to Los Alamos National Laboratory and the Trinity test site in Alamogordo, New Mexico.[1] It was at that site that J. Robert Oppenheimer famously mused about whether he'd become death, the destroyer of worlds, as the first atomic device exploded on top of a tower in the desert in July of 1945.[2] Walking around what little remained of that tower with my students was a sobering experience. More than that, it was eerie. However faintly, the echoes of that world-changing explosion seemed to echo still in the surrounding hills and mountains.

The previous year, the Cold War had seemingly come to an end in a clear victory for the United States. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, I heard talk of a "peace dividend," a reprioritization of federal spending away from weapons and wars and toward health, welfare, and other domestic priorities. Nuclear arsenals would be downsized; the world would become a safer place. I was cheered, for I had spent time in the 1980s under two thousand feet of granite at the Cheyenne Mountain Complex in Colorado, America's warfighting center for a nuclear cataclysm.[3] Deep inside that mountain, I had had to think about the unthinkable – nuclear war – and how it would devastate humanity if we couldn't prevent it.

That was then, this is now, yet despite self-declared "victory" in the Cold War, America still confronts the threat of nuclear Armageddon aggravated by its own policy of total military dominance. My present reflections on teaching and education in general are driven by the dismay I felt in the early 1990s as America's Cold War triumph only served to inflame and empower neo-conservative imperialists and their plans for global dominance in the (false) name of democracy.[4] As I taught history at military institutions (the U.S. Air Force Academy; the Naval Postgraduate School) as well as civilian ones (the Pennsylvania College of Technology), I came to realize education itself was increasingly being sold as a commodity in the service of business and industry, and justified in terms of U.S. economic competitiveness. [5] Along with becoming commodified and driven by money and class interests, education, I realized, was increasingly influenced by and infused with militarism, especially in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the resultant "global war on terror," and the Patriot Act that enabled illegal mass surveillance of Americans. Seeking to alert students to this creeping militarism, I developed a course on the "human dimensions of warfare" that used Chris Hedges's book, *War Is A Force that Gives Us Meaning*, as a seminal text. After attending a seminar taught by Henry Friedlander at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, I also created and taught courses on the Holocaust. Here, history reminds us that the Nazis used the idea of a "wartime emergency" to justify their "euthanasia" program as well as the annihilation of the Jewish people (along with gypsies and others). [6] A constant diet of militarism and war, in short, creates conditions under which the most monstrous lies – and crimes – prosper.

So, as I type these words in 2020, I am astonished that the U.S. government plans to spend as much as $1.7 trillion over thirty years to modernize a nuclear arsenal that is in need, not of any modernization or expansion, but of total elimination.[7] I am astonished as well that, despite America's triumph in the Cold War, not excepting the shock of the 9/11 attacks, there's been no concerted effort to find a "peace dividend" in America. That, instead, the dividends have gone to endless war and massive weapons deals, that in fact the U.S. has become the foremost merchant of death, the world's leading arms dealer, even as the "doomsday" clock measuring the risk of nuclear Armageddon ticks ever closer to midnight.[8]

The U.S. today is so busy spending its bounty on wars and weapons that it makes the future survival of our country and indeed the world less and less likely. Here Martin Luther King Jr. was prescient when he said in 1967 during the Vietnam War that U.S. leaders were in fact the world's greatest purveyors of violence rather than principled agents of peace.[9] Six years earlier, a military officer and president I deeply respect, Dwight D. Eisenhower, famously highlighted a major threat to liberty in the emergence of a military-industrial complex, in which he implicated Congress as well, warning Americans of the potential for a "disastrous rise of misplaced power."[10]

That potential has become reality, as recently highlighted by Edward Snowden. In 2013 Snowden, who worked for the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and NSA (National Security Agency) before becoming a whistleblower, revealed massive and illegal surveillance of American citizens by the U.S. government. In his recent book, *Permanent Record* (2019), Snowden wrote that:

> The two decades since 9/11 have been a litany of American destruction by way of American self-destruction, with the promulgation of secret policies, secret laws, secret courts, and secret wars, whose traumatizing impact—whose very existence—the US government has repeatedly classified, denied, disclaimed, and distorted … I still struggle to accept the sheer magnitude and speed of the change, from an America that sought to define itself by a calculated and performative respect for dissent to a security state whose militarized police demand obedience, drawing their guns and issuing the order for total submission now heard in every city: "Stop resisting."[11]

Combine the warning of Eisenhower with the revelations of Snowden and you arrive at a harsh reality in America today, one defined and dominated by a militaristic Complex that exercises immense power while being shrouded in secrecy and therefore largely unaccountable to the people. In fact, keeping the American people in the dark – denying them agency and oversight – is the very goal of this Complex, as shown in a report, "The Pentagon's War on Transparency," issued by the non-partisan Project on Government Oversight (POGO).[12]

Given this reality, the radical teacher must first confront the extent of militarism and its pervasiveness within American society. As teachers we know that education is situated within, and draws from, wider societal and cultural trends. The United States today is marked by a culture that is both militarized and commoditized, in which education has become both an enabler to a state of permanent war and a facilitator of business and industry imperatives.

Consider the following facts about education in America. Retired generals and admirals get hired to run colleges and universities at the state level, though they have no experience in education. Two examples: Retired Admiral William McRaven, who led U.S. Special Operations Command, now leads the University of Texas system as its chancellor; retired General Richard Myers, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under the George W. Bush administration, now serves as president of Kansas State University. Some college campuses are being militarized with police forces that have military-surplus armored personnel carriers (MRAPs), originally developed for the Iraq and Afghan wars, as well as assault rifles like AR-15s, military-style weaponry that is justified in the name of safety due to mass shootings.

On a more subtle level, when students graduate, those who choose a military career are often singled out and applauded. Where I taught in Pennsylvania, students in uniform were always asked to stand at graduation and earned the loudest and most sustained applause. Consider as well military flyovers and related ceremonies at football games and similar athletic events. Pension and retirement funds for professors and teachers often invest heavily in massive defense contractors like Lockheed Martin, General Dynamics, Raytheon, and Boeing. Once you begin to look, you realize the military-industrial complex is (nearly) everywhere in schools and across college and university campuses.

Helpfully, Vice News did an investigation in 2015 that identified the 100 most militarized universities in America.[13] Many of them are centered on the Washington Beltway and serve as feeders to the military-industrial complex and the wider intelligence community. These include universities associated with leftist or liberal values, such as Harvard (#32), Cornell (#53), and Stanford (#60). As Professor Joan Roelofs has noted, "A university doesn't have to be special to be part of the MIC (military-industrial complex). Most are awash with contracts, ROTC programs, and/or military officers and contractors on their boards of trustees."[14]

High School students are being targeted as well. Professor Roelofs notes that, "More than 3,000 U.S. high schools (and some junior high schools) have Junior ROTC programs. DoD (Department of Defense) funding can make a significant difference in these districts and permit clean and sharp facilities that contrast with poorly funded local schools. Chicago has 6 public high schools that are military academies; all students must be in JROTC."[15] Linked to Junior ROTC contingents are military recruiting efforts, notes Andrea Mazzarino, co-founder of Brown University's Costs of War Project, with the Army setting aside $700 million in 2019 while focusing much more on lower-income students than those at more affluent schools. Citing the American Public Health Association, Mazzarino reminds us that "most new U.S. military recruits are in late adolescence and less able to handle high levels of stress, more likely to take uncalculated risks, and more likely to suffer long-term injury and mental health problems as a result of their military service."[16]

Defenders of the system claim the U.S. military is offering "opportunity" to high school graduates. And certainly Air Force ROTC helped me to gain my BS degree in the early 1980s. But like most young people, I gave little thought to whether I'd be killed or maimed while serving in uniform, or whether I'd have to kill or maim others. Here Mazzarino asks a good question: "wouldn't it make sense to devote a larger slice of our country's budgetary pie to training more numerous, better-qualified teachers and college counselors, while creating better constructed and supplied schools, so that kids of all stripes have a shot at opportunities that are less likely to kill or maim them?"[17]

The increasing militarism of America's schools, colleges, and universities demands a response. Active and informed dissent is what's required, for nothing is more truly American or patriotic than well-informed dissent that seeks to protect vital liberties. But here's the rub. In America today, education rarely takes the form of encouraging dissent. Far too often, education has been reduced to a commodity – a means to an end, the end being a decent salary and a comfortable life, often in the service of business, industry, and the Complex. Education, moreover, is often little more than a form of social control, a way to limit horizons, a means of "manufacturing consent," to borrow from Noam Chomsky and his critique of the media.[18]

What I mean is this: Too often, education works to limit dissent by setting the boundaries of what is reasonable and respectable versus what is judged as disreputable or even treasonable. For example, Americans today openly boast of having the world's most powerful military, while educationally American students languish near last place in various skills compared to their peers in other developed countries. It makes little sense in a democracy to boast of great military strength while in the aggregate performing poorly in subjects like math and science.[19] Yet America's leaders seem to prefer it this way, seeing the under-educated as tractable precisely because they are ignorant or misinformed. As Donald Trump put it as a presidential candidate in 2016, "I love the poorly educated."[20]

As education has been commoditized, educators are being pressured to focus on the practical, with an even tighter focus on workforce development through course work that is vocational and in service of business and industry. Promoting courses in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) is seen as crucial here, if only because such courses are framed as uncontentious (leaving aside the science behind climate change) and less tainted by politics. Contrariwise, an education in the arts and humanities is often dismissed as impractical, ideologically suspect, and unproductive.

Such divisions are nonsensical, as illustrated by my own educational and professional background. I grew up in a hardscrabble working-class city, majored in mechanical engineering in college supported by an Air Force ROTC scholarship, after which I served on active duty in the Air Force for twenty years. My life has been focused on the practical, on problem-solving, on achieving the mission. But I've lived another life as well. I taught history for six years at the USAF Academy, and when I retired from the military in 2005, I taught history for another nine years at the

Pennsylvania College of Technology, reaching the rank of professor. My students have been military cadets or students primarily pursuing vocational degrees and certificates in fields like nursing, plumbing, welding, and home construction. As the Associate Provost and Dean of Students (2002-05) at the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center in Monterey, California, I also got a taste of academic administration, again by focusing on the practical: producing qualified linguists, mostly wearing military uniforms, to serve in America's wars overseas in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

My experience has focused on the so-called real world as opposed to dreamy ivory towers, but separating the two has always struck me as untenable. When I pursued my master's degree at the Johns Hopkins University and my doctorate at Oxford, the scholarly work I did, mainly in the history of science, technology, and religion, always seemed "real" to me. These research universities gave me a broader vision of what education is about, one connected to the idea of self-transformation through original research and service to a broader scholarly community. At these universities, I wasn't being trained; I wasn't being told I could be only one thing. I was being empowered to think critically and creatively about the world, while being reminded that historians must first and foremost be loyal to facts and one's sources, treating them with rigor and respect.

Ideally, education should be a calling, not a calling card; it should be about personal and public wellness, not merely resume-fodder. But this view is under attack on all fronts. Under a system that fetishizes capitalism and celebrates the privatization of everything, education is increasingly sold as a commodity for private gain rather than a process of learning for the public good.[21] The unofficial motto of my alma mater in the early 1980s, learn to learn, has been replaced by another motto across academe, learn to earn. In this system, teachers and professors are increasingly treated as interchangeable providers who must keep their customers, otherwise known as students, happy. As one high-level academic administrator once advised me, best to meet students at their "point of need" (forget about trying to inspire them to meet my standards!), with a special focus on retaining even marginal performers in college so they could keep paying their tuition (and thus, indirectly, my salary).

Yet, what America really needs to retain is our republic, which thrives best on active citizen participation. Simply put, misinformed, largely uneducated citizens cannot participate and contribute as richly and critically as they should. When the greed of capitalism goes unchallenged, when profit and power take precedence over knowledge and wisdom, barbarization results.

Confronted by the relentless commoditization of education and the increasing militarism of this American moment, the radical teacher needs to push back. Educate! Be bold and outspoken! Because here is the reality: Students eighteen and younger in the USA today have never known a time when America was at peace. Their America has always been at war with someone or something, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, "terror," the list goes on. For them, permanent war is normal. They may be isolated from

war's direct effects, they may not live in daily fear of drones and bombs as their student counterparts in Afghanistan or Somalia might, but they are affected nonetheless.

There are several ways to push back against militarism. Since I'm no longer a classroom teacher, I won't presume to recommend a specific course description. But here are three vital passages I'd recommend using to alert students to the dangers of militarization. First, consider the words of James Madison as he warned about the dangers of "forever war" moments:

> Of all the enemies of true liberty, war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debt and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people. The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced in the inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manner and of morals, engendered in both. No nation can preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare …[22]

Along with Madison's words, I'd introduce students to the works of General Smedley Butler, who was twice awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, and who explained in the 1930s that "war is a racket" that favors the richest Americans at the expense of the poorest and most vulnerable.[23] Butler knew how to limit war. "We must take the profit out of war," he wrote. "We must permit the youth of the land who would bear arms to decide whether or not there should be war." Finally, he recommended that "We must limit our military forces to home defense purposes."[24] Yet, rather than listening to Butler, the U.S. government has done the opposite, creating a globe-spanning network of 800 bases to enforce a vision of "global reach, global power" that has little to do with home defense and everything to do with profit and power.

The third passage I'd recommend is President Eisenhower famous "cross of iron" speech in 1953, where he denounced the negative effects of wanton military spending:

> *Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children... This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.[25]*

This critique of militarism, coming from Madison as a "founding father" as well as from two highly decorated U.S. generals, can hardly be dismissed by critics as naïve or un-American. In an increasingly militarized moment, in which Americans are constantly told we're at war with the rest of the world, whether it's a shooting war in Afghanistan, a

forever war against terrorists, a political war with Russia, or an economic war with China or even allies like Canada and France, we must act to keep education from becoming a servant of neoconservative or neoliberal agendas in these various "wars."

Another teaching resource I'd recommend is "Addicted to War: Why the U.S. Can't Kick Militarism," by Joel Andreas. Its format (a 74-page comic/graphic book) makes it accessible to high school students at nearly all levels, while its content is well-documented and thought-provoking. [26] Consider it a polemical primer on a grim subject treated in a darkly humorous way, which to my mind makes it compelling to teenagers who appreciate a no-BS approach to history. A more traditional primer is "The Military-Industrial Complex" by Alex Roland, published by the Society for the History of Technology and the American Historical Association. Its 64-pages offer an insightful introduction to the Complex, though it was published in 2001, prior to the events of 9/11 and the surge in wars and militarism that followed in the wake of those terrorist attacks on U.S. soil. [27]

With respect to potential student projects on militarism, a useful exercise is to "follow the money" gained and consumed by the military-industrial complex as well as its linkages to Congress and local economies. Defense contractors like Lockheed Martin, which builds the F-35 stealth fighter, make this relatively easy. Students can go to www.f35.com/about/economic-impact-map and enter their state, let's say Pennsylvania. They'll learn that 38 suppliers are involved in building the F-35 in Pennsylvania, entailing 3370 direct and indirect jobs and nearly $400 million in economic impact, according to the Lockheed Martin web site (accessed on February 3, 2020). Another potential project is to have students write to their representative or senator to question America's commitment to unending wars and weapons sales. As a veteran, I wrote to one of my senators, Elizabeth Warren, to question America's nearly $50 billion yearly commitment to the Afghan War and its persistence despite any signs of lasting progress. The response I received was a generic letter signed by Warren that expressed strong support for the military and its war on terror. Even for a "liberal" senator from "blue" Massachusetts, the default position was supporting the Pentagon and its generational wars in the name of security. [28]

Another approach to charting militarism in the United States is to identify where senior military officers end up after they retire. A "revolving door" exists between the military and major defense contractors, and increasingly generals and admirals cash-in after retirement by joining the boards of major defense contractors. Prominent recent examples include General James Mattis, who served as Secretary of Defense before rejoining the board of General Dynamics in 2019, and General Joseph Dunford Jr., who served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff before joining the board of Lockheed Martin in 2020. [29] Some of these same officers serve as pundits on major television and cable networks, interpreting military matters and wars for the American people without revealing their ties to major defense contractors. Here you might refer your students to the investigative journalism of David Barstow, who won the Pulitzer Prize in 2009 for exposing how the Pentagon recruited more than seventy-five retired military officers to sell and defend the Iraq War. [30] Inevitable conflicts of interest are created from such linkages, and you may wish to ask your students why anti-war voices or serious critiques of the military are so rarely heard in mainstream political and media discourse. [31]

Perhaps of more immediate concern to many students is professional sports, which are increasingly permeated by militaristic displays and celebrations. You might ask your students to track the influence of militarism in today's sporting world. A few examples include military color guards at games, flyovers by combat jets, and similar high-profile ceremonies; military defense contractors as major sponsors; special military appreciation days and "surprise" family reunions involving veterans during games, a form of "cheap grace," notes Andrew Bacevich, a retired Army colonel; [32] military-related commercials during the game, whether on television or on Jumbotrons; and various military-related merchandise for sale, such as camouflage caps and jerseys featuring official team logos. Such military-themed merchandise is often worn by players, coaches, even cheerleaders, ostensibly as a form of "appreciation" and thanks to the troops. But one may question whether such "thanks," when tied to commercialism and promoted as "support," has any real meaning. After all, with the exception of Pat Tillman, the courageous NFL player who enlisted in the Army after 9/11 and who was killed by friendly fire in Afghanistan, professional athletes have voted with their feet by not joining the military, unlike their counterparts from World War II. [33]

Finally, you may wish to query students about their personal connections to the military. Do they have older brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who are serving or have served in the military? Perhaps they might interview a relative who's a veteran, or a neighbor, teacher, and so on. You may wish to stress to students that being supportive of veterans and sympathetic to them is in no way equivalent to militarism. Militarism takes the form of exalting war and the military; it entails the injection of military models and methods into civil society and political culture in ways that are corrosive to democracy. Being supportive of the troops, however, most of whom are drawn from the working classes (as I was), is perfectly compatible with opposition to the permeation of militarized violence and values in American society. Indeed, being anti-war is a principled way to "support our troops" while being firmly against militarism. Protest, in short, may indeed be a strong form of support; the troops, after all, serve in the cause of supporting and defending the U.S. Constitution, which enshrines freedom of speech and the right to assemble peacefully and protest, among other vital rights.

Together with these resources and projects, you may wish to reach out to veterans groups that are against war, such as Veterans for Peace (VFP) and Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW). [34] Consider inviting an anti-war veteran to address your students about his or her experiences in America's recent wars. Anti-war voices are rarely heard in the mainstream media today, making it even more important that they get a fair hearing in your classroom or school.

But a word of caution. Writing, teaching, and speaking against militarism is not without risk. In my last position as a professor, I was told to "watch my back" by a very senior administrator for writing articles that were critical of the military-industrial complex and its unending wars.

As teachers, we know the importance of speaking truth to power, but the reality is that power already knows the truth, and the powerful prefer to keep their monopoly on it. So, inviting an anti-war veteran to speak is a great idea, until parents complain, and the principal takes their side against you. You have to be prepared for the predictable accusation, "Why do you hate America," that I myself received when I had the temerity to write critical articles (and this despite the fact I'd served in the U.S. military for 20 years). As a teacher, you may wish to consider whether your administrators will have your back, or whether they'll be warning you to watch it – or worse.

By mentioning this dynamic, I don't mean to discourage. As radical teachers, we have to be willing to face criticism as we return to the roots of education – the formation of courageous, well-informed, citizens who are capable of critical and creative thinking and committed to serving and protecting democracy and our freedoms. And that means an education that's not influenced by militarism or marked by permanent war, an education that sees beyond commodities and materialism.[35] An education that is, in a word, humane.

"You may not be interested in war, but war is interested in you" is a saying often attributed to Leon Trotsky. Perhaps he didn't say it, but the sentiment is true, nonetheless. War is keenly interested in America's youth, and it is high time our youth were armored with the facts about war and America's pervasive militarism before they make decisions with profound implications for their futures. As educators, we owe it to them to teach them those facts, however grim or controversial they may be.

My clarion call is this: Radical teachers of the world, unite! Unite to free our students (and ourselves) from the chains forged by pervasive militarism, incessant materialism, and a culture suffused by violence and war.

Notes

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3. W.J. Astore, "Leaving Cheyenne Mountain: Or, How I Learned to Start Worrying and Loathe the Bomb," The Nation, 286: 17 (May 5, 2008), 22-24.

4. See Andrew Bacevich, The Age of Illusions: How America Squandered Its Cold War Victory, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2020.

5. See, for example, David Sessions, "Bad Education: The Rise of the STEM-Obsessed, Business-Dominated University," The New Republic, March 2020, 62-65.

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12. Jason Paladino, "The Pentagon's War on Transparency," POGO, December 5, 2019, at https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2019/12/the-pentagon-war-on-transparency.

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RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

The Radicalism of Oral History: Teaching and Reflecting on War, Empire, and Capitalism

by Philip F. Napoli, Matthew Gherman, Elizabeth Jefimova, Joshua Spanton, Cheyenne Stone
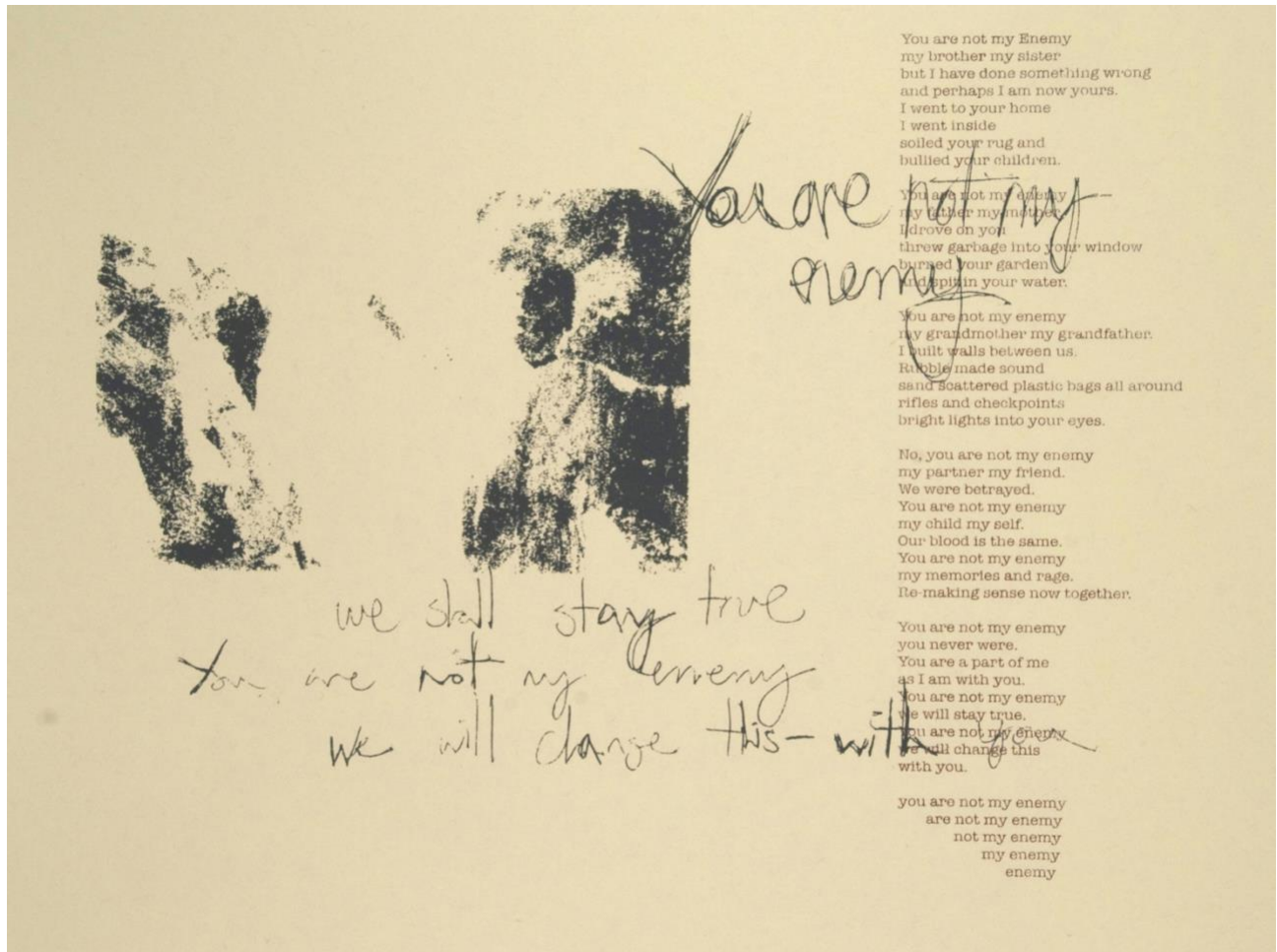
"YOU ARE NOT MY ENEMY" BY DREW CAMERON. THIS IMAGE BY MARK PINTO AND KOJI PINTO IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY JUSTSEEDS, IVAW, BOOKLYN, REPETITIVE PRESS, AND THE CIVILIAN SOLDIER ALLIANCE.

Daniel Kerr, Linda Shopes and Amy Starecheski have recently reminded us of the radical roots of oral history as a methodology "deeply implicated in movements for social justice." [1] Early practitioners and activist oral historians understood the power and ability of the practice to create connections among people and community across difference, and there is a strand of oral history research work that continues the tradition to this day. [2] Similarly, there is a deep academic literature concerning almost all aspects of using oral history as a teaching tool in North American elementary, high school and college classrooms.[3]

In this essay, my students and I underline the pedagogical value of oral history as a tool for learning about war, capitalism and empire and what students can draw from that opportunity. Unsurprisingly, we find that students benefit from the personal connection and emotional involvement generated in oral history interviews, but this pedagogy is especially meaningful for persons who have direct personal experience with the issues under discussion. For war veterans, the opportunity to listen, reflect on and create using the recollections of other soldiers has been profoundly influential and even transformative.

I (Philip F. Napoli) joined the Brooklyn College faculty full-time in fall 2001. While I arrived as a historian of American popular culture, my public history work led me into teaching oral history right away, and in 2003 to document and write about the history of New York City's Vietnam veterans. That same year, I began to teach a course on the history of the American war in Vietnam and since 2015 I have taught a course on American wars in the 20th and 21st centuries. In each class, students conduct oral history interviews and make use of that material as primary source information for essays, dramatizations or electronic presentations of one kind and another. Students who take my advanced undergraduate class in oral history theory and methods complete seven hours of interviewing and produce an interpretive product using what they have heard. Undergraduates in regular elective classes typically conduct two interviews of approximately one hour each and use them to compare and contrast the experiences of the two individuals.

Through nearly 20 years of work training undergraduates in the theory and method of oral history I have come to the conclusion that the greatest, most powerful, indeed radical, impact that the oral history methodology can have lies in its ability, even demand, that interviewers approach their research subjects, their interviewees, with empathy, honesty and attunement. Successful interviewing requires that students develop the ability to step outside themselves and their intellectual and social circumstances in order to come to know and learn from people unlike themselves. Through sustained engagement in this technique, practicing active listening and emotional openness, students come to acknowledge others as co-equals in the research process, and also as people like themselves regardless of difference.

Significantly, despite the radical roots of the oral history method, the political results of the process do not run in a single direction and oral history does not necessarily convert students into progressives. The methodology can have radical *or* conservative consequences and implications, as historian Paul Thompson pointed out long ago. [4] It is, of course, difficult to predict in advance how engagement with the methodology will turn out. Oral history, in and of itself, is not an inherently radical undertaking.

Except, perhaps, in one important sense. Alessandro Portelli argues that oral history is "an experiment in equality." In his seminal article in oral history studies, Portelli asserted that during an oral history interview both parties, the researcher and the "researched," must be willing to acknowledge a baseline similarity across differences of gender, age, class, social position and more. Portelli argues that an interview is always an exchange between subjects, what he described as "literally a mutual sighting." [5] Successful interviews require an acceptance of that difference and a willingness to reach across that space. In this emotional and intellectuality equality, which is a kind of leveling, an intersubjective openness, we find oral history's greatest pedagogical value. It provides a location from which students are enabled to take a broader view of themselves and of others, and to see the connections between biography and history, individual and society, self and the world, engaging what C. Wright Mills called the "sociological imagination."[6] It offers students, therefore, opportunity for sustained thought about some of their most fundamental values and beliefs.

What is the Process?

Readers of this journal are likely to want guidance and clarification regarding Institutional Review Board rules concerning oral history and specifically its use in the classroom. The Revised Common Rule concerning research with human subjects that went into effect in 2019 specifically exempts oral history from IRB review. [7] Nevertheless, college and university instructors wishing to have students conduct oral history interviews for classroom purposes are urged to contact their campus Human Research Protection Program coordinator for advice about their institution's rules and practices. In my case, because I work at Brooklyn College, CUNY, the IRB was consulted and an exemption letter was issued, as this work was determined to be not research contributing to generalizable knowledge.

Nevertheless, before sending students into the field to conduct oral history work, I frequently (but not always, depending on the course) require that students take the online CITIProgram "Basic Course" in Research Ethics and Compliance Training, and provide me with a certificate of completion.[8] In every case, students read about oral history ethics and technique and I provide in-class instruction on that topic and on interview procedures. Sometimes a model oral history will be conducted in class. Students are always provided with an informed consent form.[9] In order for an oral history research assignment to be completed in an acceptable fashion, the informed consent statement must be signed by the interviewee.[10] If both parties to the interview wish, the resulting recordings and other items may be

deposited with the Brooklyn College Listening Project archive when deeds of gift are completed and submitted.[11]

Nevertheless, having undergraduates interview combat veterans is a potentially tricky business. While I knew most of the interviewees that the co-authors of this article interviewed, that's not always the case. Sometimes students select their own research partners and it's entirely conceivable that such an interview could go badly.[12] Because this is a classroom assignment and by definition undergraduates are unskilled in the technique, it is possible that they may stumble into asking insensitive or inappropriate questions. I try to avoid this by providing an interview guide to direct the conversation and example language for asking questions. I share a sheet of paper containing contact information for the local Veterans Administration hospital and an admonition that if a veteran appears to be in psychological distress, 911 should be called. This has never been necessary.

Technology is no longer the hurdle it once was to having students produce relatively high-quality oral history recordings. In some undergraduate courses, I permit students to record their interviews on whatever technology is most convenient. Many elect to record on smart phones, which generally deliver passable results, permitting both listening and transcription. If the objective is to produce a multimedia presentation from the recording, I strongly urge that students use a dedicated digital recorder and external microphone. Once completed, the recording can be offloaded and submitted as part of an assignment package using Dropbox, Google Drive, Wetransfer.com or a similar service.

Students and Oral History

To write this essay, I asked four former students – none of whom knew one another -- to reflect on the impact of conducting interviews with American war veterans and to think about what they learned about war, capitalism and empire. Drawing on an oral history approach which privileges reflexivity and introspection, I interviewed each student for approximately one hour, asking them to reflect on their experience. After all, the dialogic nature of oral history and the injunction to use interviewing as an experiment in equality seems to demand that students have a co-equal voice in the interpretation of their learning.[13] Having drafted the article, I sent it to each student for revisions and commentary. The result is a truly collaborative effort.

The four former students are:

- Joshua M. Spanton, who finished his undergraduate work at Brooklyn College in spring 2019 and is currently staying at home with his children. He plans to pursue a career in social work once both children are in school.

- Cheyenne Stone, who earned his BA at Brooklyn college in 2017 and his MA in 2019. He is in his first year as a high school history teacher in the New York City public school system.

- Mathew Gherman, who completed his undergraduate and master's degree work at Brooklyn College, finishing in 2008. Gherman is presently a history teacher at Edward R. Murrow High School in New York City.

- Elizabeth Jefimova, who finished her bachelor's degree work at Brooklyn College in spring 2019 and is presently enrolled as a master's degree candidate in the Columbia University oral history program.

Notably, two of the students were combat veterans themselves and two were not.

Joshua Spanton's experience, in his own words

What was the significance of listening to oral histories with American combat soldiers? For my co-authors, the impact was deep, but different in each case.

Spanton joined the U.S. Army so that it would introduce him to the larger world and in the hopes that it would provide better opportunities in the future. In many ways it did, as after leaving the service, graduating from college became his most important goal. The military absolutely opened his eyes and broaden his horizons. In what follows, he compares his personal experience to what he learned in conducting oral history interviews with World War II veterans for my class.

After 9/11 I was 13 years old, 14. I was very conservative just naturally. As a kid you had this idea that America is untouchable with the big victories in the past. I'll tell you, it's all in the media and propagated through the schools.

And when 9/11 happened, it shook my world. Those were the first days that I realized that politics and war and all this stuff was something of interest to me....

I was politicized after 9/11, and then as I got older, I became kind of more liberal thinking as time went on. But I wasn't really engaged or thinking on these larger levels [at the time].

Prior to joining the Army, I had no conception of capitalism, empire, nationalism, imperialism, any of that stuff. I was just not mentally ready to go to college prior to joining the military....

I think by the time I got to Brooklyn College and I started to learn about capitalism and empire, nationalism, imperialism, all these things started to connect for me. And that's why I became so radical in my views. Today I consider myself very far to the left on the political spectrum.

I know that capitalism has done a lot of good things for society in the world and all that, but I'm also very

anti-capitalist because of these experiences. I've been able to see how profit drives these wars.

That experience is what allowed me to become radicalized, even though I don't think it's that radical.......

My first experience [of seeing] the world from a bird's eye view, from an objective view, almost as if I'm looking at all the moving pieces, was during my first fire fight.

I was a 240-machine gunner [in an armored vehicle]. I was in the gunner's turret. I was a trail vehicle on our patrol. We went to patrol all up and down what we call MSR California. It was a nice paved road. We patrolled up and down this road for miles just to make sure everything was going smoothly.

And we got ambushed.

I was getting shot up with AK 47s, RPGs and all this stuff.

Eventually a lot of our guys dismount — but not me — and they assaulted the ridge lines. And we killed all these guys in conjunction with some of the helicopter pilots that helped us out.

It was a long haul. We were probably there eight hours.

It was a rough day because my [truck was] getting hit and I couldn't find the guys that were shooting at me. They just kept lighting me up and I'm just holding my head down and going, "Fuck." I was like, "Oh my God, I hope I make it through the next few minutes."

What was unsettling was these guys were shooting at my [head] and I couldn't see them because [Afghanistan's] beautiful, but you got these huge mountains.

You always think that it's a desert, but a lot of Afghanistan, especially on the North Eastern side, is mountainous and these guys are just lying behind a rock somewhere and it's impossible to find them. So, they're lighting me up and it was unsettling because I just couldn't keep an eye out for where these guys were.

After they cleared the objective and all these guys were dead and stuff like that, they were still up there forever, just, you know, doing their thing, whatever.

And, you know, for the first time I'm thinking, 'Why am I here? Why am I getting shot at, [and] why am I shooting at other people?' These big questions started entering during this eight-hour process because I had a lot of time to think.

I'm out here in the middle of fucking nowhere, you know, [and] people here [in the United States] are just going about their day, go into work, [and] have no clue what I'm doing and I'm fighting these wars.

It became very obvious to me that I was just a small tool in the grand scheme of things.

I was doing this [and there are] much larger moving pieces.

It was almost like I had an out of body experience when I was looking over the area where we got ambushed and I got guys shooting at me.

I'm shooting at these guys and both parties have no idea why we're really shooting at each other.

It was absurd to me. It was nonsense. It was not worth dying over, to me. It made no sense.

This kind of all came together when we captured one of the Taliban guys. I hear over the radio that they're bringing this Taliban guy to my truck. We're going to put him in my truck and we're going to transport him to wherever.

Holy shit! We got this guy?! And we're going to put him in my truck?!

In your mind, you're thinking, like, this is a boogeyman, a monster. You know what I mean? Like they're going to bring [me the] Taliban.

So, they dropped down the hatch to my truck. They bring this guy in. They sit him down and it's dark out. The only thing in my truck, the only way I could see [is because of] the multiple red and green lights that are in my truck from whatever pieces of equipment. And they sat this guy down.

My God.

This [is a] teenage kid. He's 17 years old. Dark skin, some facial hair. But a scared kid, like an American kid would be scared.

I'm sitting in my gunner's hatch. I'm looking down while the flashing red and green lights lit up his face.

[He] just looked like an empty vessel, like an empty soul, like [he] just had no idea.

I guess I'm very intuitive and very in touch with my emotions and what's going on around me. I could just tell that this person was just a lost soul in many ways.

I felt so bad for this guy.

In that moment I realized. "Holy shit. We are too."

I was 24 at the time.

You know, they found that some of the dead Taliban were carrying Pakistani high school IDs. I am not sure if this particular kid was from Pakistan [but] we were right on the Pakistani border.

It's just some other kid who, like us, has no idea. It was sad. It was the saddest thing I saw.

We just sign up and we go do whatever.

And it made me realize, wow, if I die out here, it's going to be for fucking nothing.

You know, guys don't actually feel like they're over there are doing some type of freedom work. It was always the running joke, even amongst the most

enthusiastic of young guys over there. The underlying message in there is, this is not really for freedom.

Some guys, when they get out go, "Fuck, you know, we put our lives on the line. This war is even more bullshit than we originally thought before joining."

[Other] guys after they get out, they might embrace the fact that the U.S. is always at war, because they want to give more meaning to the fact that they went to Afghanistan.

But when we were all in Afghanistan or preparing to go to Afghanistan, it was kind of an underlying joke when we said "freedom!!!" or you know, "We're going to fight for freedom!!!" and stuff like that.... It is undoubtedly true that most post 9/11 combat veterans know that they're not really fighting for a noble cause.

The interviews with the World War II veterans [were different]. They really believed that they had a real strong purpose.

When I did the interview with George,[14] it was my impression that if he got killed, if he got blown up in his airplane, yeah, that would have been sad. Yeah, it was bad that his friend died. But I remember him saying, but you push forward, and you just move on.

That struck me. He felt like he was putting his life on the line for a real purpose. Something worthy of dying for.

I didn't see that when I did my interviews with post 9/11 veterans.

It seemed like World War II veterans had an easier time in the sense that, 'Did they feel like they had a purpose and a reason for dying?' Yeah.

I feel like their transition [out of the military], were a little easier [too]. That's just my view and I could be wrong.

But in the post 9/11 veterans, they're just more traumatized in the sense that you're putting your life on the line for something that you know means jack shit to you.

I think that's even more traumatizing and problematic.

While it seems as though Spanton came to an appreciation of the realities of American empire while serving as a foot soldier in that empire in Afghanistan, the significance of that understandingly became clear when talking to others who had a different military experience. The contrast between his post-9/11 military service and the reflections of a member of the "greatest generation" provoked a kind of sorrow, it seems; a recognition that the singularity of his generation's experience makes them very different from the 'heroes' of earlier wars.

Cheyenne Stone's Experience

For Stone, interviewing combat veterans of other wars has been life-transforming. But by contrast to what Spanton found in interviewing World War II veterans, in speaking with Vietnam veterans Stone discovered men whose experience resonated deeply with his own. Stone found his tribe: a group of men who felt abused by their own government but nevertheless were entitled to pride in their service. Oral history about war and empire, both recording it and providing his own to others, has provided this veteran with the tools necessary to remake his self-identity.

In college, doing the interviews with you early on made me think, well, maybe I can tell my story. So, I started pushing myself to talk about more stuff, just to see what would happen.

First year I was scared of whatever, but I started talking [and] I was getting closer with people faster by being honest.

And then I started realizing over time this was really helping me change my style. It kind of helped me change my story. I had transformed the story in my head, in a sense....

Like there's things that you do; like, I did this thing. This is an action. This is what happened. Okay.

But then there's also how you choose to talk about that thing.

There's kind of different level.

There's the actual experience and then there's what you kind of put onto the experience by talking about it.

I started to realize [that], especially in college; people would point that out to me all the time.

I'm labeling it in a way or I'm spinning it in a way in my head. You have to separate the two.

Doing that really helped me out. ....

When I got out [of the Marine Corps], I was homeless, and I just really went left field from away from all of that stuff. I couldn't even be around military and veterans' stuff.

It wasn't even until this year [when] I'm marching in a parade. It was the most profound experience I've ever had in my life.

Tom took me.

We went [to the Veterans Day Parade] in Manhattan, [the] big one.

Oh man. Every generation from World War II -- all the way back.

And I went with the Vietnam war [veterans].

He was like, 'Look, you can go, you can go to the Afghanistan vets. [They are] in the back. They'll welcome you. They're not going to tell you no. You just show up and tell him like who you are, and they'll let

you walk with them. But you can also feel free to walk with us. You can hang out with us too.

So, I got to meet all his friends and we walked. But I was really nervous. He's been inviting me every year since I've known him. So, it's been what, like three years in a row that I didn't go. He's been inviting me year after year and finally, I was like, you know what? I will go.

I went and we were standing there at first. We're all crowded; everybody's all standing around and stuff. It's all little awkward. I don't know if I shouldn't be doing it.

But then once you start walking and everybody's clapping and yelling, saying thank you for your service and other veterans are in the crowd and they're like, you should go up and shake their hand. You could tell them to come walk with you. And you pull them out of the crowd, and they start walking with you.

And everybody's telling you thank you and stuff like that. You get to feel proud about it for a day. A lot of times with military people, they don't feel so proud about it. [But on this day] they all allow themselves to be proud about it. But in that moment, you kinda can't help it.

It's an overwhelming sense of honoring yourself because you and all these other thousands of people did the same thing at one time or in their life or another....

This was life altering, in a way.

Tom says to me sometimes, he sees a lot of himself in me. That's why he like really likes to talk to me.

But he says I've come to [this] point so much faster than he did. It took him 25 years to really be able to even look back on it and to think about it and talk about it. It was a slow process. He came back and just worked and worked and worked more. [He did] everything that he could to keep his mind off of [Vietnam].

Doing everything that he went through and then he comes home trying to figure everything out. It's this whole journey of trying to figure out how to come back and be civilian.

A lot of the guys did the same thing; these older guys I talked to, it took them a long time to come to terms with who they were and who they allow themselves to become out of this situation.

Being able to have that information now was really good because before I was kind of on my own dealing with what I was going through.

Talking with him, I think that was the main thing that was really intense.

It's [the difference between] where I was then and where I am now.

It made me realize that people change over time. How you are now is not always how you're going to be....

So, having like these older males that went through the exact same thing, who can give me an insight of how each one of them live their life differently and made different decisions and process their lives differently, but ultimately kinda came to the same conclusion of figuring out how to be good again.....

I think I'm doing good. I'm so much farther ahead of where he was at my age, being able to understand myself and coming to terms with my experience in the war. You know, everybody's different. But wars is war, though.

Being honest with yourself, it kind of starts to change the story a little bit.

Someone can talk to you about it and you get to experience it with each other and then maybe that person pushes you to think about it in a different way. Every time you tell it you tell it a little bit differently. It can kind of help you map your own story and take control of it rather than letting it control you.

If you just don't talk about it and keep it in your mind, you know, you can put labels and label yourself and beat yourself up over it....

When I'm in school teaching about any type of war, I'll bring in like pictures of my experiences and I'll be honest with the kids. I think it changes their mindsets on warfare and the kids really, really, really like it because they see how honest I am with it.

I even have a picture of myself being life-flighted from out of combat after getting blown up the fourth time.

This is how far I've come.

Before, when I met you, I was not able to talk about these moments and say, 'I can talk about things that were really not me,' you know?

Now I'm getting to a point to where I'm starting to.

There are some things I [did] there. It could be just one moment... You could do a whole bunch of things and then one moment just ruined everything for you; destroyed your whole idea of yourself in one moment.

And you can't get out of that line of thinking; it's so hard to change how you think about yourself when you're haunted by something that you did, or you're blaming yourself for being a part of something, or you let yourself get pushed into a state of mind that you're an animal.

It's very hard to change that.

But by talking about it and letting people judge me by letting go, being vulnerable and by doing it over and over and over again, I started to realize [that] this is what has helped me change the way that I view it in my own head. [Now], the way that I talk about it's more like, 'This is an experience that I did. There are things I

could have [surely] done better; things I wish I could change, but I can't change those things.'

And ultimately, I'm stronger because I went through all of these things and I wouldn't want anybody to go through them. It's something that I don't think anybody should go [through]. And I wish no one did, but that is what happened.

And I don't want to carry around that anymore...I don't want to carry around that [shame].

I'm letting it go and I'm letting the world deal with it.

We can talk about it. I'm not gonna be upset about it anymore, you know? I'm just wanting to use it as a tool.

You gotta be in control of yourself and know who you are, at least.

When Stone told me these things, I admit that I was thunderstruck. This young man has come so, so far in the four years that I have known him. As an instructor, this is among my proudest moments; oral history has helped Stone begin the process of healing from the emotional and moral wounds of war. He's on the road, starting a journey that will last the rest of his life. He has made an astounding start.

Elizabeth Jefimova's Experience

Jefimova, a sophomore at the time, interviewed Seymour Kaplan, a World War II veteran.[15] Kaplan was 17 years old when he left high school to enlist in military service and he became a machine gunner with the 692 Tank Destroyer Battalion attached to the 42nd Infantry Division in Europe. The conclusion of the war brought him to the Dachau concentration camp, where at age 19, he served as a Yiddish language interpreter. The unit eventually made its way to Berchtesgaden, Hitler's Alpine headquarters, from which Kaplan managed to pilfer some souvenirs. For Jefimova, some of the impact had to do with personal contact with traces of humanity's violent past.

My very first interview was with Seymour Kaplan. He was my first real, hands on experience interviewing veterans and he was the oldest veteran that I spoke with.

His story was a little bit hard to hear. I was a college sophomore and the worst thing that could have happened to me in that time [was] taking my organic chemistry tests or preparing for midterms or getting certain assignments on time. But when he was my age, he was in Europe fighting in World War II. He was there on the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp.

And you just sit there and you just, you know, in a way you were back in your own experiences as well. Holy shit, I have nothing. I can't complain about anything that I'm going through now because it doesn't even come close to what Seymour went through.

It was a six-hour interview and it was just very dark, but you need to listen to these things because you still have people who don't believe the Holocaust happened.

And then you have people like Seymour who are saying "No, this is what happened, and I have proof." And I remember him taking out all the newspaper clippings and showing all these pictures just so he could share his experience with me.

It is important that these types of stories and narratives be heard, especially by people my age, so that they understand the big picture of what's really going on and how history can always repeat itself.

Additionally, the reaction of Kaplan's family to learning about hearing about these experiences left a powerful impression, too. In her research paper about the interview, Jefimova wrote,

Before he left for the war, Mr. Kaplan told his mother that he would steal Hitler's teacup and pee in it. Anyone who heard his story would either cheer in a supportive manner or tell him to knock it off. In reality, he succeeded, but the reaction to this was anything but proud. Upon returning home, he started to share some of the things he witnessed with his family, but they would have none of it because it was too difficult for THEM to hear. Mr. Kaplan hasn't shared his story until years later when he was asked to.

The familial rejection that Kaplan narrated was among the most difficult things for Jefimova to hear. As she told me, "In the end, I just remember coming out of that interview and I had to process a lot." This was, of course, her very first encounter with combat-induced post-traumatic stress. Yet she came away with respect for Kaplan's emotional resilience. Eventually Kaplan found treatment within the Veterans Administration system and since that time has spoken freely about his World War II experiences, becoming something of a local celebrity in Brooklyn, often retelling his story on local college campuses and in area schools. Jefimova found much to admire in this, writing, "to live as long as he had, and to have experienced what he experienced, takes a lot of will power and strength. What his family could not provide to him, in terms of lending an ear, he found in conducting interviews."

Jefimova also interviewed two women with experience in Vietnam. One was a nurse in the Army Nurse Corps and the other served as a Donut Dolly, a volunteer for the American Red Cross. In both instances she heard stories about sexism that left a deep mark on both the interviewer and interviewee.

Both women wanted to escape that 1950s culture of what was expected of women and they both faced sexism.

I remember Sam told me that when she was going to her unit, a young officer came up to her wearing only a small red Speedo and he said to her that before she helped his troops, she had to help him.

She also got like the numerous, "Oh, what's a nice girl like you doing in a place like this?"

Sue talked about how she was almost raped.

And it's a narrative that keeps being repeated.

Matthew Gherman's Experience

Similarly, Gherman's oral history interviews have had a deep, lasting, indeed permanent impact on him — and his family. He interviewed a single military veteran, Vietnam veteran Tony W., for his master's thesis, amassing 35 hours of recorded and transcribed conversations.

We would meet once a week at Brooklyn College library for two hours a session.

It was a blast just to sit and talk about every aspect of his life from when he was young, through Vietnam and then what it was like to, to come home.

We still try to see Tony a couple of times a year. I'd started reaching out to him around April 15th to say welcome home. And then a couple of other times during the year as well.

[He's] what it means to be a good person, a great person and what I think it means to be a man and American and patriotic.

This person [has] just so much life [and] lessons to learn from it.

Just to hear their stories and what they went through can provide such a different perspective, a more human perspective, on history than what you're reading about.

It also makes us confront our own points of view about war. What's our exposure to their stories? Hollywood? Maybe a quick news headline?

We have so many preconceived notions about war, and oral histories make us reflect on it and challenge them.

I remember first studying Vietnam and thinking, "How could we leave?" and then listening to Tony and what it was like to fight, and how at the end, Tony says, 'it was such a waste of life, yet if he had to go again he would." That made me reflect on how our government failed the people who were fighting.

It really is the most important academic thing I did.

My son's middle name is Anthony after Tony. He's been such a tremendous influence on my life.

This is a perfect instance of learning across difference. Gherman, a twenty-something year old white male college student, became friends with Tony, at that time a 60 plus-year-old African American church deacon. Plainly, they found a way to connect across the twin gulfs of race and age, demonstrating the power of oral history and active listening to create space for personal and emotional growth, change and acceptance.

War, Capitalism and Empire

What did the students learn about war, capitalism and empire by speaking with veterans? For some, oral history did not change their views, but rather seems to have solidified ideas they brought into the interview setting.

Jefimova asserts that the idea that the United States engages in empire building was strengthened and refined in the course of conversation with veterans. She told me:

It is easy to conclude from basic studies in American history that the drive for capitalism has always been a prominent factor in empire-building and war.

Although I still very much agree with this, oral history can never fully coexist with simple conclusions because it relies on individuals, subjectivity, and sometimes fallible memory. We have to remind ourselves that the pursuit for truth and understanding is a fluid course filled with considerable nuance.

Oral history has allowed me to reframe my understanding of concepts such as capitalism, war, and empire from a more rigid academic perspective to a more fluid discussion that is based on personal experiences. If we limit ourselves to specific academic sources then we shut ourselves away from a more balanced understanding of history and, ultimately, humanity.

For Jefimova, the youngest student in the group, the significance of interviewing combat veterans seems to be found in the ability to listen to eyewitness testimonies of injustice. She has recently announced a determination to become an attorney and hopes to do work on behalf of victims.

The narratives I head from women like Sam and Sue make me think that no matter how modern we are as a country many obstacles still remain for women to work in the military or even the federal government. Yet I don't take these obstacles as an utter defeat for equal treatment. Rather it pushes me harder to achieve my goals to help create a safe space for people, like Sue and Sam, to serve their country without having to face discrimination or assault.

Gherman, who like Jefimova is not a veteran, considered joining the service before deciding on a career as a history instructor. His experience teaching in the New York City public schools system shaped his response to my question about what he might've learned about war, capitalism and empire in the course of his interviews. He is pained by the fact that city high schools teach very little about the individuals who carry out American policy – and nothing at all about the views of "the enemy."

In terms of American empire and war and power, one of the things that annoys me about the New York state curriculum [is that] it talks about the causes of war. It talks about certain social aspects that you have, [for instance], the changes at home and the effects of the war. And you have three lessons and there's just nothing in between about the people who fought there and what they saw.

So, I always make sure to take an extra day and choose the people who fought there and here's some quotes about how the war impacted them as people. The kids need to know about the people who fought.

That just contrasts with the history curriculum.

[In school this week] we just the did the Spanish American war [unit]. That's really the springboard for American empire building. So, we do connect the dots, like this is how it sits geopolitically, and this is how it fits in historically.

Gherman's point is that the intimate, human reality of war and empire building is absent from the material that students are taught. As a result, Gherman continues to invite Tony into his history courses year after year, the result of which is to make the impact of war on America's underclass physically visible to a new generation of students. As Gherman relates it, the students in the classes react in various ways. A few tune out. But often, after Tony gives a talk about his experiences, he will be approached at the podium. According to Gherman, three groups of African American students step forward. These include kids with family in the service at present, students considering joining the service themselves, and others seeing in Tony a possible mentor. When asked if he would recommend that students join the military, he will say 'no,' and then explain that a young African American student today has many other options -- options that he did not have when he was drafted into the Army in 1969.

Interestingly, the two combat veterans who are co-authors here, both of whom interviewed other combat veterans, articulate a clear sense of their personal role in the construction of American empire. In Stone's case, it is a result of having done significant oral history interviewing and what he learned from other veterans in the process.

Stone, a Marine Corps veteran of the war in Afghanistan who received a Purple Heart as a result of a wound caused by an improvised explosive device, interviewed three Vietnam veterans; with one veteran, Tom, he recorded more than 16 hours of conversation; with Herbert, more than 5 hours; with Joe, approximately 3 hours.

Herbert pointed Stone in the direction of a written resource that helped him recognize truths about his personal experience. "Herbert, he kind of pushes the concept and talk about Smedley D. Butler," Stone said. Butler is a famous figure in Marine Corps history who earned 19 metals in his 34-year career, including the Medal of Honor twice. In 1935, Butler published a book called *War is a Racket*, a stinging critique of American wars and warfare, asserting that the United States was engaged in imperialism and that corporations lay at the root of American foreign policy behavior.[16] Stone said:

Herbert he was kind of stuck on Smedley Butler. I didn't even know about the book. And so, I read the book actually, and it was really intense and it kinda made me think a lot about my like [honor and] our little individual roles continuing this process.

Stone's interview with Tom, who served in the Navy and did two tours in Vietnam, led to comparisons between the experience of enlisted personnel and the contemporary American military practice of using contractors for warfighting. Stone here too saw the ways he was being exploited.

One thing that me and Tom talked about a lot was [government] contractors and the way that people make hundreds of thousands of dollars a year overseas. Like me, I'll make $30,000. But over there, contractors were making $250,000 tax free and they were doing all types of jobs from communications to mechanic work to Blackwater type of jobs. They were running around in civilian clothes and [riding in] Jeeps and driving all through the city and doing crazy shit, you know, when we were out there.

For Stone, at a fundamental level the interviews with Herbert and Tom were important because they were cross-generational conversations about what it means to be a veteran in 21st-century America. As he put it, "We kind of always talked more [about] personal deep stories. They were trying to help me understand myself, in a sense. I think they allowed themselves to be a little bit more vulnerable in that regard. And that kind of pushed the conversation into a deep analysis of their experience over there and coming home rather than a political overview of what was really going on." For Stone, these oral history interviews were, as they always are, reflections on the present meaning of the past; conversations about what the recollections of the veterans of Vietnam could teach the veteran of Afghanistan. Through them, Stone was brought to rethink his identity and role in the world.

My conversation with Spanton provoked the most intense reflections on issues related to war, capitalism and empire. The connections between these phenomena were made, not in the classroom, but earlier, during his service in Afghanistan, although the classroom oral history experience interviewing veterans of World War II enabled him to articulate the difference between his experience and that of earlier soldiers. Again, the past made the present meaningful, shaping Spanton's sense of self.

Teaching about war, capitalism and empire through the pedagogical tool of oral history gives students the opportunity, as Mills suggested, to connect biography -- and autobiography -- to history; to see themselves as products of a particular society at a specific moment in time; to

understand themselves in the world. Sometimes this means that students also reevaluate American behavior as a capitalist and imperial power. Sometimes it doesn't. But in all cases, listening to eyewitness stories about American wars was transformative. For Jefimova, the youngest of the group, hearing a combat veteran describe his journey across Europe to Hitler's Eagles Nest and then Dachau and finally home to wrestle with the symptoms of post-traumatic stress made history real in a fashion never before possible. For Gherman, the exercise resulted in the addition of a new name in his family tree as Tony's first name was given to Gherman's child, and it shifted his professional identity as an instructor, stimulating him to enrich his history curriculum. For the two veteran students, transformation came in talking with men much like themselves. The act of listening to recollections and reflections became an opportunity to re-conceive their own lives and experiences within the context of the history of war and American Empire.

Notes

1. Daniel R. Kerr, "Allan Nevins Is Not My Grandfather: The Roots of Radical Oral History Practice in the United States," Oral History Review 43, no. 2 (September 2016): 367–91, https://doi.org/10.1093/ohr/ohw074; Linda Shopes and Amy Starcheski, "National Council on Public History | Disrupting Authority: The Radical Roots and Branches of Oral History," March 3, 2017, https://ncph.org/history-at-work/disrupting-authority-the-radical-roots-and-branches-of-oral-history/.

2. To list a very few such studies: Linda Shopes, "The Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project: Oral History and Community Involvement," Radical History Review 1981, no. 25 (January 1, 1981): 27–44, https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-1981-25-27; Alistair Thomson, "Oral History and Community History in Britain: Personal and Critical Reflections on Twenty-Five Years of Continuity and Change," Oral History 36, no. 1 (2008): 95–104, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40179971; Manissa M. Maharawal and Erin McElroy, "The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project: Counter Mapping and Oral History toward Bay Area Housing Justice," Annals of the American Association of Geographers 108, no. 2 (March 2018): 380–89, https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1365583; Eugene F. Provenzo et al., "Photography and Oral History as a Means of Chronicling the Homeless in Miami: The StreetWays Project," Educational Studies 47, no. 5 (September 2011): 419–35, https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2011.602151.

3. It would be possible to fill an entire volume with the citations to such studies. Here are a select few: Grant R. Miller, "Beyond a Story Well Told: Using Oral Histories for Social Justice Curriculum," Action in Teacher Education (Association of Teacher Educators) 32, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 55–65, https://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?qurl=https%3a%2f%2fsearch.ebscohost.com%2flogin.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3deft%26AN%3d508189459%26site

%3dehost-live%26scope%3dsite; David Stieber, "Civics Voices Profile Activists for Change Around the World," Insights on Law & Society 11, no. 3 (July 2011): 20–21, https://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?qurl=https%3a%2f%2fsearch.ebscohost.com%2flogin.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3deft%26AN%3d525894437%26site%3dehost-live%26scope%3dsite; Catherine Irwin, "Celebrating Twenty Years of Honors through Oral History: Making an Honors Program Video Documentary," Honors in Practice 6 (June 2010): 221–34, https://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?qurl=https%3a%2f%2fsearch.ebscohost.com%2flogin.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3deft%26AN%3d508129426%26site%3dehost-live%26scope%3dsite; Claire Hirshfield, "New Worlds from Old: An Experience in Oral History at the Elementary School Level," A PATHS Project 82 (June 5, 1991): 110–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/00377996.1991.9958318; Joan Miller, "Migrant Memories: Creating an Oral History," Part of a Special Issue: North American Migrations 23, no. 4 (October 2009): 43–45, https://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?qurl=https%3a%2f%2fsearch.ebscohost.com%2flogin.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3deft%26AN%3d508095301%26site%3dehost-live%26scope%3dsite; William Burt Lauderdale, "Future Teachers Recover the Past through Oral History," Journal of Teacher Education 37 (August 7, 1986): 16–19, https://doi.org/10.1177/002248718603700403.

4. Paul Thompson, Voice of the Past: Oral History (Oxford University Press, 2000), 3.

5. Alessandro Portelli, The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History (SUNY Press, 2010) p. 31.

6. C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (Oxford University Press, 2000), 4.

7. "Scholarly and Journalistic Activities Deemed Not to Be Research," Text, HHS.gov, July 20, 2018, https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/regulations-and-policy/requests-for-comments/draft-guidance-scholarly-and-journalistic-activities-deemed-not-to-be-research/index.html.

8. "CITI Program – Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative," accessed March 6, 2020, https://about.citiprogram.org/en/homepage/.

9. "Materials | The Brooklyn College Listening Project," accessed March 6, 2020, https://bclisteningproject.org/materials/.

10. Napoli is happy to provide a copy of the informed consent statement used most recently. Send email to pnapoli@brooklyn.cuny.edu

11. See: "Brooklyn College Listening Project," accessed April 30, 2020, https://bclisteningproject.org/.

12. Despite having made this assignment many, many times, Napoli has never had a veteran interviewee

complain about the process. Naturally, that is anecdotal evidence and it may not hold true in all cases. But Napoli's experience, and the enormous success of the Library of Congress Veterans Oral History Project, which is largely aimed at high school students, suggests that veteran interviews are not inherently risky.

13. In the material that follows, text in italics is drawn from our interviews. Interviews have been edited for readability. Words not actually spoken by the co-author/interviewees are inserted in brackets, thus [ ].

14. Throughout this article, student interviewees are referred to by first name only, unless they have gifted their interview into the public domain.

15. A five-minute excerpt of her interview with Kaplan can be heard here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGqMlzwMoGs&feature=youtu.be

16. Smedley D. Butler, War Is A Racket: Original Edition (Dauphin Publications, 2018).

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

On the Pedagogy of "Boomerangs": Exposing Occupation Through Co-Implication

by Mary Jo Klinker and Heidi Morrison

"WINTER SOLDIER ON THE HILL" BY BECKY NASADOWSKI & HEATH SCHULTZ. THIS IMAGE IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY JUSTSEEDS, IVAW, BOOKLYN, REPETITIVE PRESS, AND THE CIVILIAN SOLDIER ALLIANCE. WINTER SOLDIER ON THE HILL WAS VISUALIZED AS A DISRUPTION OF THE DOMINANT AND NATIONALIST NARRATIVE REGARDING THE U.S. INVASION OF IRAQ. THE PENTAGON PATTERN ACTS AS A STAND-IN FOR AN OFFICIAL NARRATIVE OF THE STATE, WHAT MIGHT TYPICALLY BE SAID "ON THE HILL.""

Prior to participation in a study abroad program, most universities request that students and faculty subscribe to the US State Department's Travel Alerts and Warning system. As we prepared to take five students from a mid-sized Midwestern public university to teach about Israel/Palestine, we received the following alert:

> Palestinians have called for a strike and protest action throughout the West Bank and Gaza, June 24-25….Demonstrations are likely to continue for the duration of the "Peace to Prosperity" conference in Bahrain...According to protest organizers, demonstrations will take place at "friction points" outside Palestinian cities, presumably at Israel Defense Forces (IDF) security checkpoints, Israeli settlements, border crossings, along the separation barrier between the West Bank and Israel, and in East Jerusalem, particularly near the Old City. Protesters could attempt to cross the separation wall into Israel… Authorities could use water cannon, tear gas, rubber bullets, or live ammunition to disperse unruly crowds or enforce no-go zones. Clashes are possible.
>
> - TravelAlert, June 17, 2019

Unintentionally, US State Department travel alerts and warnings themselves served as interesting rhetorical devices for exploring militarism and empire, and in this study abroad context, they also offered a critical pedagogical opportunity to interrogate the framing of militarism and occupation. We turned the text of the travel alert into a pedagogical opportunity: Whose safety does the travel alert prioritize? How does ahistoricism construct the meaning of "clashes"? We used the travel alert to expose the dialectic opposition between witnessing human rights violations firsthand and contending with a U.S. hegemonic narrative of military support for Israel, and U.S.-made live ammunition, tear gas, and rubber bullets utilized against Palestinians. Undoubtedly, these "friction points" had been exacerbated under the imperial reach of the U.S. and Trump's 2017 announcement to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. In fact, during the study abroad course discussed in this article, Netanyahu unveiled Trump Heights in the stolen land of Golan Heights.

While traveling with American students in Israel-Palestine, we, as professors, sought to seize every critical pedagogical moment in the field. If we had brought American students to the region to better understand militarization and the lived experience of settler colonialism, then it was integral to engage the students with the popular uprisings standing up for justice. Our students were what a Palestinian tour guide later would refer to as "boomerangs to the world," returning to their communities and amplifying the realities of Palestinians living under occupation. "Boomerang pedagogy," or the calculated deployment of students outside the classroom with the intent of their returning home as community educators and agents of change. Boomerang pedagogy requires bearing witness in order to proliferate awareness of the injustice of occupation and to foster a critical consciousness.

This essay explores the pedagogical takeaways of a travel study program with U.S. university students in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. In short, Palestine is the quintessential lens through which to teach about the intersections of war, capitalism, and empire. We encourage more professors to integrate material on Palestine into their coursework, especially as a comparative analysis of settler colonialism and State-sanctioned violence, even if they cannot organize a travel study course. Additionally, for those who can find ways to take learning outside the confines of the classroom walls, we found that bearing witness can encourage students to take part in transnational solidarity work.

In this essay, we begin by complicating the very idea of our course. Who are we (two white, feminist, American professors) to bring them to bear witness to oppression which our government plays a major role in sustaining? We examine the challenges and critique of travel and voyeurism, while subverting the neoliberal academic paradigm of "service learning" as a neocolonial pedagogy indebted to globalizing the white-savior industrial complex. We then articulate how the course sought to help students connect the dots between settler colonialism, militarism, and racialization.

In the summer of 2019, we travelled to Palestine for a three-week course centered around political and humanitarian organizing. Students maintained regular journals and processed their day-to-day experiences in guided discussions framed around preassigned theoretical readings. Their final course assignment was to design a project that could contribute to making a more socially just world. The academic work referenced in this essay figured largely into the course discussions and reading material. This essay references student coursework and anonymous pre- and post-test survey results. Palestinian truth-telling about the impacts of the occupation were central to students' learning; however, due to the constraints of space, this essay only examines U.S. student perspectives on militarism and co-implication.

Applying Theories of Co-implication

As faculty, we had both taught several courses including curriculum on Palestine and had previously travelled to the West Bank. In preparation for teaching the course, we had many personal discussions about our motives and outcomes for teaching. Those discussions have continued, but throughout this essay, we have honed in specifically on student analysis. Two guiding practices of our shared pedagogical methods were social justice and critical analysis of power.

Since Chandra Talpade Mohanty's critical 2003 essay, "'Under Western Eyes' Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles," much has been theorized about the role of the gaze in curriculum. As she points out about women's studies' traditionally Eurocentric lens, there has been a tendency to use support pedagogy like the "*Feminist-as-tourist model*. This curricular perspective could also be called the *feminist as international consumer* or, in less charitable terms, the *white women's burden or colonial*

discourse model…In other words, the 'add women as global victims or powerful women and stir' perspective" (518). She contends that the *feminist solidarity* or *comparative feminist studies model* offers a pedagogy that focuses "on mutuality and co-implication, which suggests attentiveness to the interweaving of the histories of these communities… the focus is simultaneously on individual and collective experiences of oppression and exploitation and of struggle and resistance" (522).

Mohanty has gone on to write about her 2011 travel to Palestinian territories as part of an Indigenous and Women of Color Solidarity Delegation, examining the limitations of solidarity. Reflecting on that experience, she stated: "Learning about colonial technologies of occupation, about the intricate gendered and racialized exercises of power by the Israeli state, I was more convinced than ever of the need for theory to address fundamental questions of systemic power and inequities and to develop feminist, antiracist analyses of neoliberalism, militarism, and heterosexism as nation-state-building projects" (968). Similarly, we shared fears about the purpose of studying occupation and the neoliberal role travel studies and service-learning play in U.S. higher education, as it privileges student emotions over the experiences of marginalized people. For this reason, co-implication and understanding the comparative ways that U.S. racialization and militarism impact communities both domestically and abroad were entry points for student discussion, analysis, and final projects which were grounded in localizing a response to the militarized logics of occupation.

In order to ground student understanding of geopolitical power dynamics, we required students to read Teju Cole's analysis of the "white-savior industrial complex." In this work, he states:

> Let us begin our activism right here: with the money-driven villainy at the heart of American foreign policy. To do this would be to give up the illusion that the sentimental need to "make a difference" trumps all other considerations. What innocent heroes don't always understand is that they play a useful role for people who have much more cynical motives. The White Savior Industrial Complex is a valve for releasing the unbearable pressures that build in a system built on pillage. We can participate in the economic destruction of Haiti over long years, but when the earthquake strikes it feels good to send $10 each to the rescue fund. I have no opposition, in principle, to such donations (I frequently make them myself), but we must do such things only with awareness of what else is involved. If we are going to interfere in the lives of others, a little due diligence is a minimum requirement. (Cole, "The White-Savior Industrial Complex")

This reading is one that can be utilized in any course focused on solidarity work and refuting a "student as tourist" model in addressing national differences. Most importantly, Cole offers an application of what Mohanty calls for, an understanding of "co-implication." How do we benefit from and are we implicated in the militarized machinery and occupation of Palestine? We encourage students to use intellectual judgment, and not ungrounded bias, to navigate this difficult terrain. For instance, when students saw teargas canisters reading "Made in the USA" and met with families who suffered from this violence, it was impossible to disregard our co-implication in the violence we witnessed.

In a prior issue of *Radical Teacher,* Donna Nevel writes about her and Jewish Voice for Peace's (JVP) curriculum, which crucially approaches the conflict from its historical roots. The Nakba-- "the expulsion and dispossession of approximately 750,000 Palestinians, and the destruction of more than 400 villages, by the Zionist movement and then Israel from 1947-1949"-- is useful for those "studying what is happening in the Middle East; U.S. foreign policy; Jewish history and Zionism; Palestinian history; the relationships between Islamophobia and Israel politics; settler colonialism; and/or indigenous struggles" (46). Nevel and JVP's curriculum was inspired by Zochrot, an Israeli organization that seeks to educate Jewish Israelis' understanding of the creation of the State of Israel and "to promote acknowledgment and accountability for the ongoing injustices of the Nakba." Similarly, we began our travel study by meeting with Zochrot in Lifta, a Palestinian village outside of Jerusalem demolished following the Nakba. The tour guide asked the students to think about their work of accountability to Palestinians as being "boomerangs to the world" about what they witness. The metaphor of a boomerang is an apt description of what we outline here and of the role of the study abroad classroom as a site to engage and reflect on co-implication. In the following sections, we examine several examples from the course that expose deep connections among settler colonialism, militarism, and racialized capitalism.

During our trip, we visited museums, historic sites, and universities, as well as met with government and non-government officials, tour guides, students, professors, and activists. We also completed 14 hours of service learning. Students journaled near daily on their observations of human rights abuses in Occupied Palestinian Territories. We encouraged them to draw historical linkages to colonization and racialization, through works such as Teju Cole's and Noura Erakat's *Justice for Some*. Some students used terms like "guilt," "shame," and "anger" upon realizing their co-implication in the experiences of Palestinians as U.S. taxpayers. However, moving through those feelings and thinking critically about the power differential to feel "shame," one student pointed out the need to create "solidarity not charity" by stating: "External interference or charity may disrupt the agency of the Palestinian people and may unintentionally contribute to the removal of self-determination the Israeli government has imposed…". Interrogating charity shows the required self-reflection of interrogating the power differential as a tourist and "external interference." External interference is one form of colonial mentality the students studied in preparation for examining their relationship to power, as they read in Teju Cole's tweet: "The White Savior Complex is not about justice. It is about having a big emotional experience that validates privilege." Following a visit to the small Palestinian village of Nabi Salih, noted for its weekly marches to protest the Israeli occupation, one student wrote, "One quote that stuck out at the end to me [from today's visit] was, 'We don't like to talk about suffering

because we don't need your tears.'" While in many ways the geopolitics of privilege were unavoidable, student acknowledgement of the relationship of power to emotionality provides evidence of the reflection necessary to draw transnational parallels.

## Comparative Analyses of Settler Colonialism

IMAGE: DIRECTIONAL SIGNAGE TO THE VILLAGE OF LIFTA IN HEBREW, ARABIC, AND ENGLISH. ARABIC IS ENTIRELY ERASED BY VANDALISM. (PHOTO BY MARY JO KLINKER)

One of the first issues this course sought to explore was the lived experience of settler colonialism. As mentioned, the first day of the travel study began with a tour of Lifta by Zochrot. As we waited together looking out onto the ruined village, largely overgrown, many locals passed us to head down to the natural springs for a summer outing. We looked over a map of the total number of erased communities in Israel (now available for all classrooms globally as an iNakba app). One student who had conducted research on Native American curriculum in Wisconsin asked: "Do Israelis know to ask questions like who lived here before, based on the education system?"

The answer was a simple "no." The systemic erasure of the Nakba in Israeli curriculum is a requirement of the national imaginary of settler colonialism; Lorenzo Veracini has theorized the Israeli settler colonial project as "...successful only when it extinguishes itself—that is, when the settlers cease to be defined as such and become 'natives,' and their position becomes normalized" (28). So normalized, as we witnessed, that a group of Israeli men approached the Zochrot guide yelling: "You lie, you lie, you lie." The students quickly asked if there was potential danger to Palestinians for even being seen with us. Would telling their story to us in public space expose Palestinians to vitriolic comments from the onlooking colonizer? The experience made students more cognizant of their co-implication as non-Palestinians in Palestine. Their concern both acknowledged the potential of harm due to our presence and made them more self-reflective of the

comparative framework of settler colonialism in the United States and Israel.

Another student drew a direct parallel to the settler colonial state of the United States reflecting on the modern settlements that now surrounded the post-Nakba landscape: "My thoughts kept going back to our country and how the ruins of our Indigenous populations aren't as evident so it's easy to forget that the cities we love and live in are built on top of stolen land." This comparison provided us an opportunity to discuss transnational models of solidarity and introduce students to the work of American Studies scholar Steven Salaita. As Salaita has written, "Palestine scholars and activists increasingly use the language of Indigeneity and geocultural relationships...Sa'ed Adel Atshan speaks of 'our shared history as Indigenous peoples who have faced ethnic cleansing by European colonists'"(3). Not only could students draw comparisons to living as settlers in the U.S., but they could understand how settler colonialism and Indigenous identity become languages of commonality for shared struggle currently.
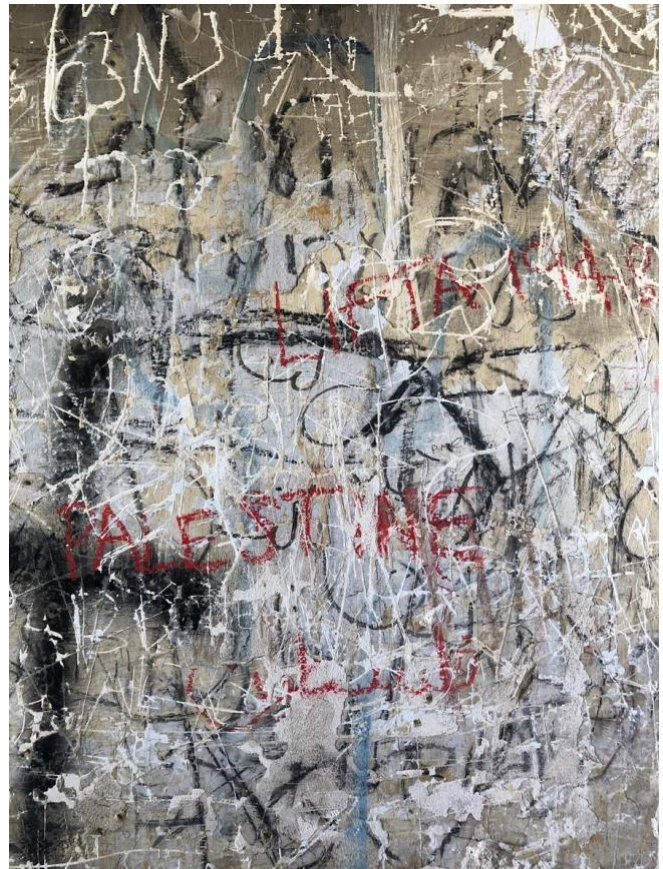
IMAGE: "LIFTA 1948 PALESTINE" TAGGED ON THE RUINS OF THE VILLAGE OF LIFTA. (PHOTO BY MARY JO KLINKER)

One student expressed a similar sentiment, perhaps incorrectly upholding American exceptionalism of settler colonialism stating, "America is the original settler project. Israel is learning from the best. Israel may not be using reservations as the US did with First People, but they instead rely on refugee camps, walls, and permits/checkpoints to control the indigenous populations." However, as another peer examined in their journal following their first view of the apartheid and annexation wall, the United States has

indeed also gleaned tools of State violence from Israel, referring to Trump's proposed border wall. Or as one student expressed it, "Where the regimes of Trump and Netanyahu converge is in exchange programs that bring together police, ICE, border patrol, and FBI from the US with soldiers, police, border agents, etc. from Israel." As Kelly points out, part of seeing Palestine is asking oneself what one is "*already doing* that makes possible the freedom of movement they are embodying and the containment under occupation they are witnessing" (738). Learning about Palestine is in fact a way of learning about the colonial violence one is already implicated in at home; for this reason, in future iterations of our course, we will start on the ground with Indigenous organizers struggling for sovereignty and communities of color resisting policing violence in the Midwest. This is especially true and critical for teaching comparative frameworks of State-sanctioned violence in regard to anti-Black racism and police brutality in the United States. We pointed students to useful resources such as Palestine is Here and the Deadly Exchange Project, which help Americans connect US-Israeli violence in Palestine and policing in their hometowns.

Settler colonialism is based on an ideology of Othering, that is to say there is an "us" who deserve rights and "others" who do not. Witnessing the Othering in Israel aided students in drawing similar parallels in the US. While in Area C of the West Bank, which is under Israeli control and comprises a large amount of the agricultural region, we learned of Palestinian child labor exploitation and the danger in such jobs. This lesson offered further comparative frameworks for students' final projects, as one student analyzed in their final work:

> I am very interested in agriculture work and how it affects minoritized populations because they are the only ones willing to do the work. There needs to be a bigger awareness around worker's rights in all aspect [sic] of our life. Food is a source of life for all. When we truly question where it comes from and make connections to its impact on the individuals doing the work to produce the food, the system will need to change. We must build a connection to where the food we eat comes from to fully understand the negative impacts it has on people and the environment.

Since we live in the rural Midwest surrounded by agricultural industry and migrant workers, this project further draws from a comparative analysis of oppression under settler colonialism, and the potential for commonality of struggle and solidarity. Students learned from ways that Palestinians are using the language of international solidarity as a form of resistance. One student observed about the Israeli separation wall:

> I loved seeing the art on the walls being used as a form of resistance against the occupation. There was one piece of art that drew a transnational boundary to the US and Mexico by saying "Next stop Mexico…" This seems to be trying to bring solidarity...many people inside the United States are vehemently against the wall being built between the US and Mexico, but they do not know about all the walls that are built around the Palestinians. So, it is also a way of spreading knowledge of the conflict to Americans who can then draw a direct parallel. [sic]

Racialization and the White Supremacist Logics of Terrorism

The second major theme of this course was racism, which students observed on a daily basis as the following anecdote illustrates. "Do I look like a terrorist?" asked the Palestinian tour guide to a group of American study-abroad students visiting the Al-Aqsa mosque compound in occupied East Jerusalem. He explained that he had spent years in an Israeli prison for protecting his Palestinian neighborhood near the Old City, and he, like all of the students, was born in the Midwest of the United States. In close proximity, heavily armed Israeli soldiers monitored the holy site. This was a critical pedagogical moment. We did not fear the tour guide, who in casual cap and jeans engagingly and eruditely spoke about the history and significance of Islam's second most important religious site. This was juxtaposed to the nearby young Israeli soldiers carrying assault rifles, offering a stark contrast.

(PHOTO BY MARY JO KLINKER)

In the class discussion later that night, we pushed the students to unpack the tour guide's question. According to the American national imaginary after September 11, 2001, the students stood face-to-face with a terrorist. The guide carried the dually condemning identity of being both Palestinian and Muslim. But, what did you see today with your very own eyes, we asked the students? The students saw weapons pointed in their direction by Israeli young men who by international law are unambiguously participating in Israel's illegal occupation of Palestine. We restated the tour guide's question, and as a class discussed the racialized definitions of "terrorism," asking: "Who today looked like a 'person using unlawful violence and

intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims?'" As Daniel A. Segal writes in "Teaching Palestine-Israel: A Pedagogy of Delay and Suspension," teaching about Palestine is less about filling a void than teaching against the grain of what students already know.

This question exposed the racist and Islamophobic rhetorical framing of "terrorism" in the United States. Students' immediate response to the tour guide was "no, not at all." The immediacy of their response seemed steeped in shame about the reality compared to what some friends and family had warned of about their travels and studies. Allowing students the space to both feel discomfort and to reflect later that evening was one way to untangle racialization, militarism, and transnational Islamophobia. Unlike the confines of the classroom and pedagogy of critical analysis through reading, the role of witnessing and evolving through this discomfort is the site of student learning in a travel course. This pedagogical method also poses the possibility of further privileging the tourist student experience over the material pain of racism mapped on people of color as "terrorists." Indeed, as Saidya Hartman's work has questioned concerning literature and teaching slavery, "Why is pain the conduit of identification?" (20). Similarly, Sara Ahmed has argued of racism and academia, the insistence that every moment of classroom discomfort is one of a "learning opportunity" itself recenters the classroom as existing solely for white students (Ahmed 2012).

Upon leaving Haram el-Sharif, we observed a group of heavily armed police escorting settlers. The students pointed this out and asked why. The guide explained that settlers were allowed access to the site as it is also the location of the Temple Mount. The most violent conflict occurred in September 2000; following Jumu'ah prayers Israeli riot police opened fire killing four and wounding nearly 200 people. This history provides evidence of brutal police violence against Muslim worshippers and an important moment to explain the performativity of racializing and vilifying Muslims as dangerous. As we explained through the works of Judith Butler, the action of performing protection also codifies the hierarchy of "bodies that matter" through the power of racialized violence (Butler 2004).

The complexity of examining nationalism and racism in relation to Israel/Palestine was also present in discussing national and racial identities of Palestinians and Israelis. These are not monolithic ethnic or religious categories, despite the predominant U.S. narrative surrounding the region being one solely of religious strife rather than militarized colonization. In one example, a student could more fully comprehend racial stratification by comparatively framing racial hierarchies in Israel as colorism. They stated of Haifa:

> ...old Palestinian houses...went from being Palestinian homes to being Jewish homes after the Nakba. What Israel did was take the large homes and divide them up so incoming Mizrahi Jewish immigrants could stay at the homes, but they only got one room out of the original homes. But Jews that came from Europe would get super nice homes. So, it was very obvious and clear Israeli discriminates against Palestinians, but it's even wilder to know that they even do it against other Israeli

Jews. I'm not quite sure why I am so surprised that colorism is happening…

Similar to Segal's strategy, allowing students to be exposed to something against the grain of their understanding offered the student the ability to attach their understanding of US colorism to the history of Haifa post-1948 (84).

Privatizing the Occupation: Connecting the Dots of Militarism and Neoliberalism

The third issue students learned about in this course was privatized security. One opportunity for this arose on a very personal level. While travelling with students, we were detained at a checkpoint. Jennifer Kelly's article "Asymmetrical Itineraries: Militarism, Tourism, and Solidarity in Occupied Palestine" prepared the students for this experience of "asymmetrical freedom and mobility," which became very visible. Upon arriving, the armed guard requested our passports and directed all of us to get off of the bus, separating the students and faculty from our Palestinian driver and tour guide. This detainment required that our personal belongings went through multiple checks, including the confiscation of one student's Yasser Arafat Museum tote-- which featured a poem in Arabic-- from their luggage. While being held in a small area, one student became angry and stated: "I'm calling [Congressman] Ron Kind and telling him about how my tax dollars treated me today." This moment of bearing witness served as an impetus to be a "boomerang" regarding hostilities at checkpoints. It also required the unpacking of empathy, as students discussed their own safety at checkpoints in relation to Palestinians. As Sherene H. Razack has examined of humanitarian responses in "Stealing the Pain of Others," "This makes empathy a double-edged sword: 'in making the other's suffering one's own, this suffering is occluded by the other's obliteration'" (Saidiya Hartman qtd in Razack 377). Perhaps the greatest dilemma of deploying a boomerang is constant awareness of the process of consuming pain and recentering the student perspective of it.

The same student reflected on the incident later in their journal, analyzing how neoliberal multiculturalism presents a guise of modernity performed in the gendered dynamics of empire. Women in the military are constructed as signs of progress and democracy, glossing over the violent realities of occupation. In a sardonic tone, they stated: "While we were waiting for the guards, both male and female because you have to remember that Israel is not only a premiere example of a democratic state but also an egalitarian state in regards to gender as well, I was able to examine just how much this checkpoint could negatively affect the lives of Palestinians."

Learning that the checkpoint was privatized further complicated our discussion of Israeli State violence against Palestinians. The same student continued on the violations of the privatized checkpoints:

> Being an industrial checkpoint, workers from the West Bank would use it to pass through to do work in Israel proper. The only problem was that a lot of these

Palestinian workers had tools such as chainsaws, pliers, hammers, and nails, which could all conceivably be used as weapons. So, the private Israeli security could, and did, confiscate a lot of these tools at will, eliminating the ability of these Palestinians to do their jobs. And just as an added bonus for the state of Israel, those Palestinians who were finally let through the checkpoint were privileged enough to have to repurchase their tools… at Israeli stores, benefiting the Israeli economy.

As the 2016 Report "The Invisible Force: Privatization of War" by the International Institute for Nonviolent Action found, "Outsourcing began with the delegation of non-military services such as catering, transportation and other logistic services, then continued with the construction of military systems, including the separation Wall, and finally included the delegation of some of its functions of maintenance of public order and security in the [occupied Palestinian territories]." Ensuring the neoliberal aim of profit, privatization blurs the lines of State military and private security companies, making it difficult to determine who is responsible for violence and humiliation at checkpoints. It also insidiously disconnects State violence from the perpetrator, ensuring no recourse for actions outside of policy. These moments challenged us pedagogically; we asked if a course of this type challenged students to interrogate racialized, commodified militarism or solely made us spectators of Palestinian pain. In Kelly's observations of solidarity tourism, she describes asymmetrical freedom of mobility "as the moments that most resonated with them [tourists] and catalyzed their activism back home" (737).

We tried to connect lessons about neoliberalism not just to the inner workings of occupation and colonialism, but also to students' very pursuit of an education abroad in the first place. We intentionally made the course contain one credit of service learning in hopes of sending the message to the students that education should not be viewed as a commodity. Students take course work not simply to get degrees that lead to employment, but rather as a means of social justice. We had extensive discussions with the students about how volunteer work is not about "helping," but instead it is about being in solidarity and understanding your own relationship to power, privilege, and access. That work further entails amplifying their voices and continuing similar work at home. Unfortunately, there were moments when we found ourselves challenged by the risk of perpetuating neoliberal capitalism systems through our service-learning project. For example, before our trip began, we raised funds to support Palestinian families who had imprisoned parents, drawing parallels to the 2.7 million children in the U.S. with incarcerated parents. We planned to put the funds on the prison canteen (general store) accounts of the prisoners so they could purchase needed items. However, we revised our plan once we learned from Palestinian activists that all the items in the general store were produced in Israeli settlements, and that their support of families on the outside better served their community organizing model.

Another aspect of our volunteer work involved farming alongside a Palestinian family under threat of losing their land to unlawful Israeli confiscation. In conversations with

our students, the family emphasized that they had had the land deed since the Ottoman era. We were careful to point out to our students that private property land ownership – a hallmark of capitalism – should not be the only compelling reason for defending a person's right to exist and have a home, reminding them of the experiences of Bedouin farmers they had met. We used challenging moments such as these as teaching points about the insidious ways Western colonization continually occupies a rights-based discourse.

Boomerangs: Bringing Home the Work

Studying abroad in Occupied Palestinian Territories intensifies students' ability to become boomerangs because it cultivates a source of political mobilization via solidarity. Students witnessed the violence of occupation firsthand; for example, at the beginning of the trip, Israeli airport officials detained and questioned us as to the intent of our travels. After the group was released, one student asked: "Isn't Israel a democracy? Shouldn't we be able to go, see, and think for ourselves?" We reflected with the students about what it would feel like to be a Palestinian and experience such securitization on a daily basis.

This travel study was also a challenging educational experience for us as well. Our learning with U.S. university students in the Occupied Palestinian Territories taught us that future courses must begin at home. While much of our teaching drew from comparative studies of the rubrics of militarism and settler colonialism, lessons on human rights and transnational solidarity that begin in our home communities will further disrupt our concerns with the neocolonial mentality of "service-learning" and the white-savior industrial complex.

A month after returning from the travel study, two incidents further exposed the unequal access to mobility. First, US representatives Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib were denied entry to Israel, the only route to entering Palestine. Second, Ismail Ajjawi, a Palestinian student bound for Harvard University, was denied entry to the U.S. upon a search of his computer and the discovery of posts by Facebook friends critical of American foreign policy.

After pressure from Donald Trump, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said the Congresswomen's itinerary showed that "their intent is to hurt Israel," and he backed a decision by Israel's interior minister to block their entry. Omar and Tlaib urged their colleagues to go without them and that they should not "succeed in hiding the cruel reality of the occupation from us." Despite the contradictions of access to travel, the ability to witness the occupation, to become boomerangs, is necessary in order to shape public understanding of the occupation and the role of U.S.-Israeli Military collaboration.

Responses to these incidents prompted the prominent U.S. Twitter hashtag: "#BoycottIsrael." Much like our study abroad trip engendered, discussions surrounding injustice have the potential to expose large audiences to occupation and produce the direction for political mobilization. Since returning, the students have started a campus Students for Justice in Palestine and will be screening *Imprisoning a*

Generation on campus in order to build awareness and support of H.R. 2407, the "Promoting Human Rights for Palestinian Children Living under Israeli Military Occupation Act." The students who studied in the Occupied West Bank came home as boomerangs ready to disrupt the narratives of settler colonialism, militarism, neoliberalism, and racism -- lethal forces in which they are implicated both at home and abroad. They came home as boomerangs.

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RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Challenging a 'Warist' Society with Digital Peace Pedagogy

by J. Ashley Foster and Andrew Janco
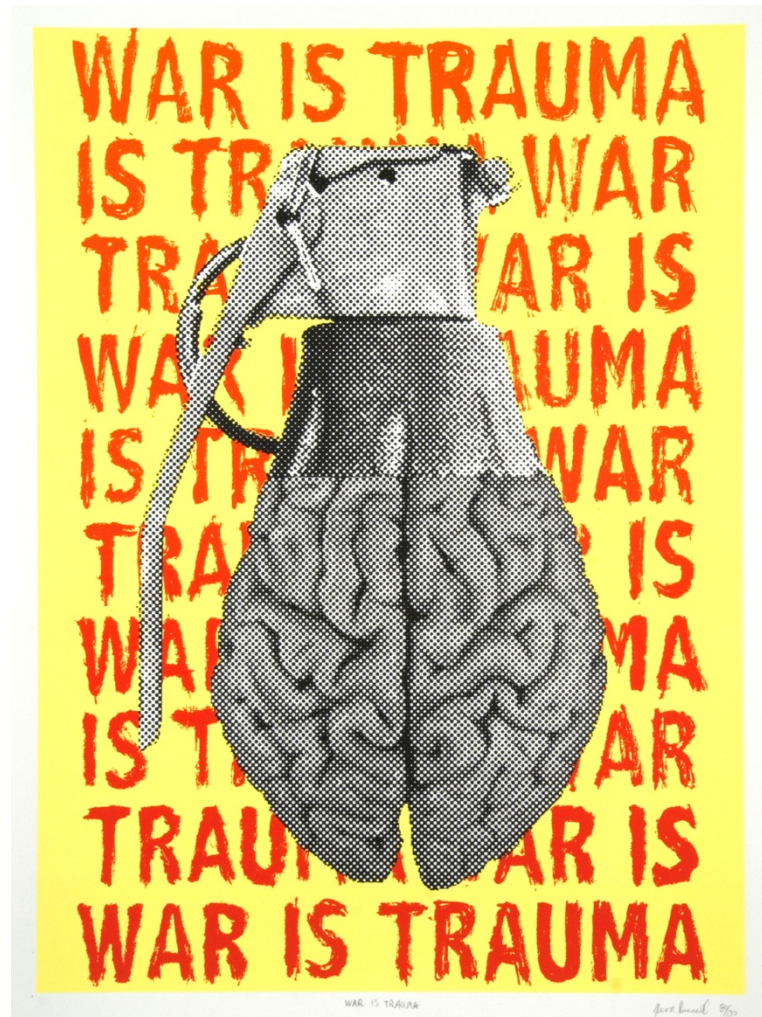
"WAR IS TRAUMA GRENADE" BY JESSE PURCELL. WAR IS TRAUMA IS A PORTFOLIO OF HANDMADE PRINTS PRODUCED BY THE JUSTSEEDS ARTISTS'
COOPERATIVE IN COLLABORATION WITH THE IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (IVAW).

One issue contributing to division in the United States that could be changed, however, is the political polarization occurring nationwide… in the United States, political divisions have only grown deeper. Statistics website FiveThirtyEight tracked data from the most recent election only to find that counties across the country are becoming more extreme in their political leanings as evidenced by nationwide voting patterns (Wasserman). This is problematic because as communities become more unified in a singular ideology, it becomes harder to accept outside viewpoints, and as [Doris] Panzer would emphasize, it becomes harder to agree with others on what problems need to be addressed.

- Jake Kutchins, Final Paper, Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art Spring 2017 Writing Seminar

Pacifist activism is not easy. It requires intense commitment and bravery. It asks a lot of its participants and cannot promise any substantial progress. A person must dedicate their life to the struggle for peace so that future generations don't have to. This kind of activism is truly selfless and dependent on a person's courage and devotion to helping others. However, it is absolutely necessary if we are to combat inequality and violence.

- Alyssa Kerper, Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art Spring 2017 Writing Seminar

This year marks the nineteenth anniversary of 9-11, a day that changed contemporary history. It made ostensibly permissible the "War on Terror," what is now a nineteen-year violent involvement in the Middle East. The Watson Institute of Brown University announces that

All told, between 480,000 and 507,000 people have been killed in the United States' post-9/11 wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. This tally of the counts and estimates of direct deaths caused by war violence does not include the more than 500,000 deaths from the war in Syria, raging since 2011, which the US joined in August 2014. (Crawford 1)

What this anniversary also means to the radical teacher in the United States is that, if many first-year students entering colleges are 18, these recent few years are the first mass matriculation of a generation of students born into a post-9-11 world. They have never not experienced the United States at war, and they certainly cannot remember first-hand the iconic images of the Twin Towers falling, the falling man leaping from the towers, or the public cry for militarization that ensued days after the attacks. Indeed, they have been born into what Paul Saint-Amour calls "perpetual inter-war," which "denote[s] not only 'between wars' but also 'in the midst of war'" (306). And even if most of our students *experience* peace because the war is "over there," they have been raised amidst what peace scholar

Duane Cady calls a "warist" society, where "war is both morally justified in principle and often morally justified in fact" (17).

One of the many consequences of a "warist" society is that it privileges a discourse of war over a discourse of peace. This is why, in response to a call for papers that features "Teaching about Capitalism, War, and Empire," we have decided to shift the emphasis to teaching peace. It becomes clear in studying peace theories that capitalism and empire, along with racism, sexism, and imperialism, are essential elements to address in order to create a world without war. In a warist society, "war is taken to be natural and normal. No other way of understanding large-scale human conflict even comes to mind" (Cady 22). It "obstructs questioning the conceptual framework of the culture" (22). Part of this obstruction is twofold: firstly, warism posits such an extreme version of pacifism, reliant on clichés and stereotypes, that an intellectually or morally viable pacifist theory becomes a large-scale impossibility. Secondly, the glory of war renders peace histories almost unteachable because they do not fit into normative discourses and social frames. Seen as impractical and utopian, even successful nonviolent struggles get cast to the periphery of education, reinforcing the ideals of a warist society. Subverting these ideals "involves recovery of lost or neglected history, consideration of a full range of options beyond traditional social constraints holding the forms of domination in place, and serious, systematic, and legitimized study of conditions constituting positive peace" (116). This is why the authors feel that, in the discussion of war, we need to include ways of constructively building peace. To this end, peace studies focuses on "positive peace," where peace is not simply the absence of war, but the active creation of a world that can sustain peace. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. makes the distinction in his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail," where he compellingly argues that "negative peace... is the absence of tension" and a "positive peace… is the presence of justice."[1] This creation of positive peace, the presence of justice, contains many different elements and positions, and can be expressed and advocated for in numerous ways. Virginia Woolf, in her feminist pacifist polemic *Three Guineas* asks readers to consider the deep relation between capitalism, education, patriarchy, and war, asking pointedly,

For do they [history and biography] prove that education, the finest education in the world, does not teach people to hate force, but to use it? Do they not prove that education, far from teaching the educated generosity and magnanimity, makes them on the contrary so anxious to keep their possessions, that "grandeur and power" of which the poet speaks, in their own hands, that they will not use force but much subtler methods than force when they are asked to share them? And are not force and possessiveness very connected to war? (38)

Woolf challenges us to question, then, how we can construct a society without war. From battling racism, to addressing poverty, to pointing out gender privilege and imbalances, to answering ethical calls from refugees, the ways to undertake a construction of a positive peace are multivalent. Digital humanities, combined with peace pedagogy dedicated to a feminist ethics of care, can open

critical and creative paths that allow students to assess, analyze, and come to terms with the complicated range and expressions of pacifist and warist positions, and engage discussions of positive peace building. Together these theories interlace to create a transformative pedagogy with an emphasis towards thinking peace.

This essay offers strategies for a peace pedagogy that is informed by combining techniques from feminist theory and peace studies with the digital humanities. Here we describe how our first-year Writing Seminar "Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art," taught in Spring 2017 at Haverford College, collaborated with the activist organization American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) to participate in the collection and curation of oral histories projects. Foster was the primary instructor and Janco the embedded librarian of this class. Foster and Janco had collaborated on pedagogy projects in previous courses and continued this collaboration through the Spring of 2017. Janco assisted Foster in developing the technical aspects of the course, designing the assignment for use with Oral Histories Metadata Synchronizer (OHMS), worked with the students to create transcriptions, and taught classes on the usage of OHMS, an online system from University of Kentucky that allows one to index and render oral histories searchable. Oral histories themselves are radical undertakings that invite those who remain on the outside of history and academic society into its center. If history, as Michel-Rolf Trouillot says, lies somewhere between "'what happened'" and "'that which is said to have happened'" (2), and as the "process and conditions of production of such [historical] narratives" (25), then oral histories enact the recovery of those histories that lack institutional seals of approval, and create "documents" that have thus been excluded, but can now be introduced, into the archive. As Trouillot points out, the creation of history is ensconced in power dynamics, as are its silences. In a warist society, peace histories become those "muted voices" whose imperative it is for educators of peace to recover. In our class, students conducted oral history interviews of peace activists to unmute those voices at the 2017 AFSC symposium "Waging Peace: AFSC's Summit for Peace and Justice" (April 20-23 in Philadelphia, PA), and then analyzed the videos of these interviews through the Oral History Metadata Synchronizer (OHMS) and the video editing software Camtasia. We constellate a number of key terms throughout this paper: feminism/t, peace studies, pedagogy, digital humanities, and pacifism, sometimes with slippage between the categories. The variety of constellations are deliberate, for feminist theory, digital humanities, and peace studies all have their own pedagogies whose theories are complementary and overlap in interesting and generative ways. As we explain, they can all be framed under the larger umbrella of "transformative pedagogy." It is the combining of feminist thought and pedagogy, peace studies and peace pedagogy, and digital humanities and digital pedagogy that we find so fruitful here. The questions that the interplay between war and peace raise are some of the biggest moral issues to affect global citizenship, and a peace studies that engages feminist theory can help us think through some of these problematics. The pedagogies that stem from these fields, coupled with digital and feminist pedagogy, we argue, can help us teach them.

Oral Histories and Partner Collaboration with the American Friends Service Committee

It is from this background of peace studies and digital pedagogy that we engaged students in the "Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art" course in the American Friends Service Committee oral histories. The AFSC, founded in 1917 by members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), has an established history of pacifist work. The AFSC was created "during World War I to give young conscientious objectors ways to serve without joining the military or taking lives. They drove ambulances, ministered to the wounded, and stayed on in Europe after the armistice to rebuild war-ravaged communities" (AFSC History). The AFSC has continued this mission of peace and service throughout the years. In the summer of 2016, Donald Davis, archivist of the AFSC on Cherry Street in Philadelphia, mentioned to Foster that he had always wanted to collaborate with a school on an oral histories project, recording the accounts of some of the peace activists who worked with the AFSC. Haverford College, with its Quaker roots and close proximity to the AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia, lent itself to this kind of collaboration. Foster and Davis started to dialogue about the possibility, and decided that the upcoming conference, "Waging Peace: AFSC's Summit for Peace and Social Justice," would offer an exceptional opportunity for students to conduct interviews. The scope of papers and the diversity of panelists would cast into full relief the variety of activist pacifism. Students had the opportunity to engage topics as wide ranging as the conflicts in Northern Ireland, South African Apartheid and the Cold War, Israel-Palestine relations, the Poor People's Campaign, and the Open Housing Movement, just to name a few. The Spring 2017 "Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art" Writing Seminar was thus planned with the oral histories project in mind. Readings concerning First World War and Spanish Civil War pacifism were taught along with pacifist literature and art to prepare students with the theoretical frame that would allow them to engage their interview subjects. Studying Virginia Woolf, Langston Hughes, and Pablo Picasso connected the way in which capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and war are intertwined. Students worked in pairs or triads to read the abstracts for conference papers, research the speakers, and choose who they wanted to interview. They emailed their intended interviewees, inviting them to be involved in the project, and arranged logistics and scheduled the interview. Students created a list of questions to ask the interviewees, based on their interests concerning questions of peace and pacifist activism that had arisen during the semester. On April 21, students traveled to the AFSC, attended the conference, and conducted their interviews, which were video recorded.

The recordings were automatically transcribed using a program called PopUpArchive, which was originally intended for radio stations as a way to make their content discoverable on the Internet. That program was acquired by

Apple in 2017 and no longer exists; however, there are a variety of current voice-to-text services such as Otter.ai as well as open-source options from Mozilla. The text output was put in individual Google Docs for the students to review and edit. The written transcriptions were then synchronized with the original video using the Oral History Metadata Synchronizer (OHMS) from the University of Kentucky. Using OHMS, we added a simple timestamp to the transcription (Boyd 2013). With two or three clicks, the machine identifies a rough correspondence between a point in the written transcription and the original video or audio. The OHMS viewer then allows researchers to search the text to find specific points in the interview. The audio and video of the interview become searchable. Additionally, students added metadata tags to the interviews to detail, at a more abstract level, clear sections and topics, adding what might be called an "index" and a "table of contents" to the video interviews. These annotation tasks called for interpretations of the interview, its periodization, and an assessment of the major topics, turning points, and notable references. This, in turn, asked students to identify what contextual information would be useful to others as they view the interview.

Using OHMS to render these oral histories searchable is an essential part of making them user-friendly to both students and scholars. Doug Boyd and Mary Larson observe in *Oral History and Digital Humanities* that the struggle with untranscribed oral histories is that they are difficult to access, and even more difficult to use for teaching and research:

> Without the transcript, the archive might have no more information about an oral history interview on its shelves beyond a name, a date, and the association with a particular project. Archives simply do not have the time of resources to actually listen to each and every moment in each and every interview in order to provide accurate and useful descriptions of the contents to their researchers. (4)

Bringing the digital humanities and oral histories together, OHMS offers a way for students to synthesize the video and transcript text, and also provides tools for indexing and the creation of metadata. This is both reflective of the interactive engagement and production of knowledge that peace pedagogy advocates and offers students a way to create critical interventions in history. First, the students are participants in the creation of an archive of peace histories, and second, they have a scholarly contribution in the indexing and tagging of concepts, thus cataloguing the histories in meaningful ways. For example, in their interview with Doris Panzer, Jake Kutchins and Paige Walton indexed their interview transcript with titles that allow a researcher to understand the main topics of the interview: "Beginnings in Ethnographic Research"; "Background on

Conflict in Northern Ireland"; and "Peace Process and Rebuilding Efforts" give an overview of what was discussed [See Figure 1]. Keywords in each section of the index, such as "Catholic; Government; Peace; Policy; Protestant," create tags of metadata, and the "Segment Synopsis" allows students to give a quick gloss of each section of the interview [See Figure 2]. Together, these elements render the oral histories more accessible and usable, while maintaining the integrity of the importance of voice, body language, and gesture in our modes of communication. It brings the text and video together in a way that working with a video and corresponding paper transcript fails, and allows the students to use their critical facilities in cataloguing and the creation of metadata.
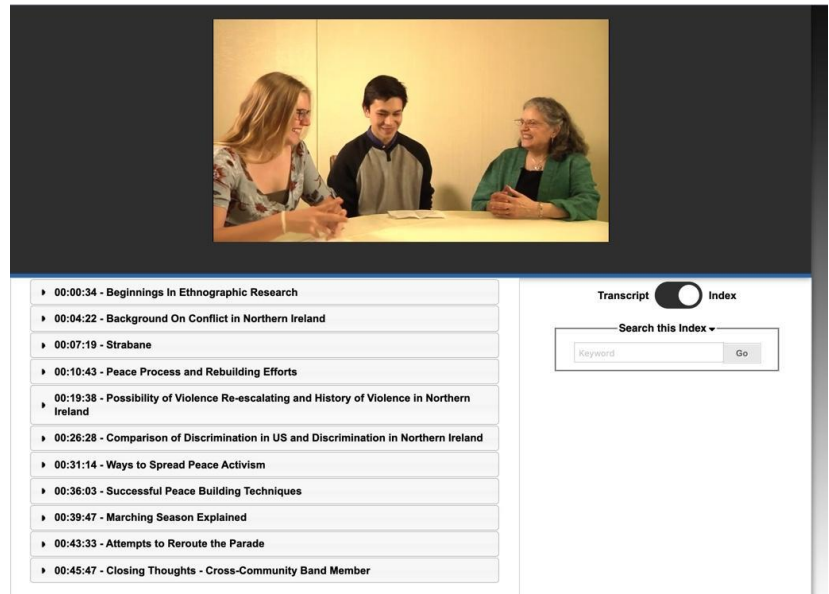

FIGURE 1. (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) HERE, PAIGE WALTON AND JAKE KUTCHINS INTERVIEW DORIS PANZER. NOTE THE INDEX AT THE BOTTOM, THAT ALLOWS RESEARCHERS AN OVERVIEW OF THE TRANSCRIPT.
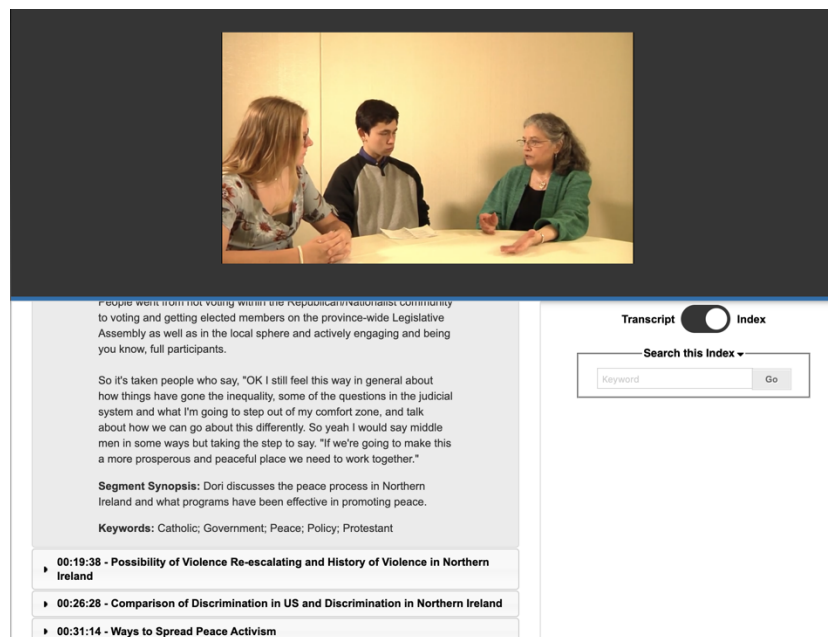

FIGURE 2. DETAIL IMAGE OF THE INTERVIEW ABOVE. NOTE HOW OHMS ALLOWS THE STUDENTS TO INCLUDE THE TRANSCRIPT, SEGMENT SYNOPSIS, AND KEYWORDS.

Initially, we utilized automated voice transcription in an effort to focus student work on the more intellectual tasks of description and analysis. Recent advancements in machine learning make transcription affordable and nearly as accurate as human transcribers. However, the students did not engage with this technology as expected. The students needed only to comb over the text to find the occasional machine error or typo. While this seemed like an opportunity to teach proofreading and close reading skills, the students either accepted the machine's output relatively uncritically, which left the errors in place, or they started again from scratch to maintain full ownership and authorial control of the transcription. Students preferred to maintain control of the text and to transcribe the interviews by hand. The process of transcribing each word also made it easier to write more abstract summaries of the interviews and to mark distinct sections and topics.

After creating their OHMS interviews, students used Camtasia to create interpretive videos. In collaboration with Sharon Strauss from Haverford's Instructional and Information Technology Services, students chose a five-minute segment of the video and analyzed it, adding voice-overs, context, and analysis. This is where they were able to insert historical information and commentary, and critically grapple with the material yielded from the oral histories. Foster and Strauss chose this program to allow students to have experience creating a multi-modal, creative argument. Strauss taught several class sessions on the use of Camtasia. The assignment prompt specified that the final video should contain an analysis, voice over and verbal commentaries, one moment of historical context, still images, written annotations, and a works cited list. The use of Camtasia juxtaposed with OHMS in the final stage of the project allowed the students to perform the role of critic, after they had been in the roles of interviewer, researcher, archivist, and cataloger. Camtasia is an editing program where one can interpolate other videos, still images, voice overs, and animations into the video. This gives the students both critical and creative control, and allows them to literally insert their voices into the "text" of the interview. For example, Jake Kutchins and Paige Walton set up their Camtasia video as a scene in "Real News 1." They interspersed video clips of news and information from Northern Ireland and interviews that they conducted throughout the Haverford College dorms with fellow students into their interview with Doris Panzer. They combined rich research, visual elements, and humor to create an informed and insightful video. Ari Kim and another student were able to critically engage with the interview they conducted with Dr. Carolyne Lamar Jordan, who served on the board of the AFSC and the Africa and Women's Program. This was a special interview, as Dr. Lamar Jordan has had an incredible and established career, and was very generous with her time and stories. Folded into their interview clips, Kim and another student offered historical context of the Third World Coalition (TWC), "created to address the lack of representation of POC [people of color] in the AFSC," and to interrogate, "what is the TWC's most important work today?" They poignantly and critically analyzed promotional videos from the AFSC in light of the interview, constructing a fascinating and nuanced narrative around diversity in the AFSC.

Oral Histories and an Ethics of Care

Several particular ideas from Carol Gilligan's ethics of care, peace pedagogies, and feminist digital humanities emerge from these projects. In analyzing the student work, themes of "connectedness or interdependence" (Gilligan, ethicsofcare.org), critical thinking, dialogue, giving voice, and public engagement become clear. In the oral history project with the AFSC, student initiative and community engagement were foundational. Oral histories are collaborative in nature, and bring out the feminist ethics of care. In addition to the readings concerning the First and Second World Wars and the Spanish Civil War, in order to prepare students for the oral histories and discussions that may evolve, we invited Librarian Krista Oldham and Professor James Krippner from the Department of History to speak about the ethics and considerations of conducting interviews. They also advised the students on how to construct their questions and Foster and Janco on the informed consent forms gathered from interviewees. Due to the nature of the project, it was deemed that the risk to the participants was not greater than daily living. Given that the interview subjects were scholars and researchers speaking on similar topics at the AFSC summit, the Peace Testimonies class was granted an exemption from the IRB (Institutional Review Board of Human Subject Research) process. However, students were included in this discussion of exemption, and they were aware and privy to the way in which Special Collections developed with Foster an informed consent form that all the interviewees signed. All students also signed forms expressing their willing participation in the project, solidifying Oldham's lessons around interview ethics.

Oldham pointed out to the students while they were developing research questions that oral histories are a co-authored project between the interviewer and interviewee. Because "[a] revolutionary practice of peace education attempts to strike at the root of the ideologies and conditions that perpetuate patriarchal fantasies of war and dominance" (Darder 101), we cannot forget our feminist roots in the creative interpolation of peace pedagogies in the classroom. Carol Gilligan's theoretical construct, the ethics of care, has been taken up by peace studies theorists in recent years to further develop this relationship.[2] An ethic of care, according to Gilligan as described by Kimberly Hutchins, "is embedded in the practicalities of relationships of responsibility for others" (11). In other words, women's social education as caregivers have oriented them towards thinking of themselves, morality, and ethics relationally, in the context of what it means to provide and nurture life in others. In *In A Different Voice*, Gilligan maintains that, "in the different voice of women lies the truth of an ethic of care, the tie between relationship and responsibility, and the origins of aggression in the failure of connection" (173). She continues on, "While an ethic of justice proceeds from the premise of equality--that everyone should be treated the same--an ethic of care rests on the premise of nonviolence--that no one should be hurt" (174). From the focus on equality and nonviolence, the understanding of the interconnectedness of life and relationality of existence, and the privileging of caretaking as the gestural mode to the other, a feminist ethics of care lends essential elements to the discourses of

peace studies and peace building. The engagement in dialogue and listening, the giving voice to the interviewee's experience and the role of the interviewer in bearing witness to this experience, develops the elements of an ethic of care. The emphasis on voice, relationships, and dialogue are consistent with the values of peace pedagogy. This ethic became really pronounced in student interviews with Tracy K'Meyer. The students started the interview with a personal gesture, admitting nervousness and asking Meyer about her first interview experience. This verbal exchange created a relation between the team of interviewees and interviewer, where students gave Meyer an opportunity to listen, respond, and share, creating the groundwork for a very generative conversation. This group of students used the interview as a way to investigate not only the Open Housing Movement, but also the nature of oral histories themselves. The students' indexing walks us through subjects such as "How Oral Histories Interact with Daily Life" and "The importance of multiple perspectives in oral histories" as well as topic-related questions like "What accounts for white panic?" and "the AFSC and black leadership." Indeed, the responsiveness here, with its listening and interactive components, encapsulates many of the steps outlined in UNESCO's "peace builders' competencies" (19), which are mentioned as:

> collaboration and teamwork, self awareness, sensitivity to gender religious and cultural difference & openness to otherness, mediation and negotiation, interpersonal and intercultural communication, critical thinking, nurturing values: respect, empathy, responsibility, and reconciliation and forgiveness, and active listening. (19)

In this interview, we see an exchange of empathy, collaboration and teamwork, self awareness, a sensitivity to difference, and interpersonal communication unfold.

The collaboration with the AFSC proceeded as part of an academic course whose aim it was to encourage students to develop their own research questions and lines of inquiry. Significant leeway was granted to the students and space was deliberately created for them to design their oral histories. They worked together to identify research questions and interview subjects that were important for them, thus having the freedom and control to develop their own research agendas. This deliberate accounting for student interests and voice builds on traditions of collaboration in the digital humanities. Given the prominence of project-based research in the digital humanities, much thought and attention have been paid to models of collaboration in the field. The most common model of collaboration in DH is what Tom Scheinfeldt calls the "additive" model (Scheinfeldt, 2018). A faculty member initiates a project and adds project partners to augment the professor's skills and expertise. Staff and students make prescribed contributions to the project as assigned by the Principal Investigator. Guidelines on the evaluation of digital scholarship often require this model of tenure-track faculty who need to retain the primary "authorship" of the project. While we might have adopted an "additive" approach, early discussion between Foster and Janco followed more of a partnership model and it seemed logical to extend this mode of collaboration to student work as well.

In an effort to address the hierarchy (and indeed, subverting these hierarchies are prioritized in both peace and feminist studies) of the "additive model," Alison Langmead et al. have introduced a role-based approach to collaboration (Langmead et al., 2018). This model recognizes that each of the project partners has their own intellectual research interests and professional motives. This diversity of interests and needs must be accounted for in the project design and its outcomes. Will students come away with a clear portfolio item for their resume? Will the project research new technologies or methods? If the professional or intellectual stakes for the technologist or data steward are not accounted for, then the exchange is better understood as contract labor than collaboration. Such an exchange often misses the opportunity to benefit from the full creativity and intellectual curiosity of technical partners. We might take this one step further to account for student engagement and community partnerships. What spaces are made for student initiative and interests in the design of the project and its outcomes? Are community partners engaged as co-producers of knowledge? Foster and Janco established early in their planning that a collaborative project-based approach was the best way to de-centralize authority. If there were a clear spectrum of collaboration, we could place the centralized "additive" model at one end with a completely decentralized and egalitarian model at the other extreme. Such a communal model would fully benefit from the perspective and motives of all participants. In many cases, this could be the best approach for effective collaboration, but there are often structural forces at work that demand some form of distributed authority. Additionally, for a project of this scope, Foster and Janco now recommend adjusting the syllabus of the entire class to be a project-based learning seminar, instead of introducing it as a module to a class already constructed. This would mean that the complete semester would be concentrated on the skills necessary to develop the oral histories and required technological components. These transferable skills of research, digital literacy, critical analysis, writing, and verbal communications are precisely the things that most writing seminars value and adding more tasks can overwhelm these lessons.

The "Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art" course fulfilled the first-year writing seminar requirement for incoming students. While students had a choice as to which seminar they wanted to take, they did not have many college classes to compare it to, and sometimes this course challenged the expectations of students as to what a college class should look like. Our efforts to create spaces for student initiative and creativity were meant to appeal to a broad range of students and learning types, particularly those for whom the instructor's authority and knowledge of the subject matter are not a given. Shifting the focus of learning work to a real-world problem or tangible project such as the AFSC interviews can be highly effective. Writing for an external audience or other exercises that place student work in the world and not just the grade book can generate motivation. However, this is also not always the case and we cannot automatically assume student buy-in. One of the values that peace pedagogy espouses is "affirmation" -- according to Ian Harris, "Affirmation in the classroom helps to develop a sense of competence" (265).

After working on the AFSC project, Foster also now believes that affirmation not only develops a sense of competence, but that it develops a warm emotional feeling between the students and the work. As previously mentioned, this semester included a number of readings on peace theory. Students at times struggled with resistance to Virginia Woolf, which then alienated a discreet few from the material. In this case, Foster's normal practice of providing more information on the subject did not help overcome this resistance. In hindsight, and with more reading on peace theory, Foster started to internalize the peaceful value of "affirmation." She realized the resistance students felt was an emotional, not necessarily an intellectual one, and they did not need more thoughts and information crowding high feelings, but space to work through the rocky terrain of the heart and the psyche. Though Janco did participate in classroom teaching, his role was specifically project-based. He worked closely with students on OHMS and their transcriptions. Due to the differing nature of the roles of Foster and Janco, they had different learning moments for their own pedagogy. Janco's experiences with the class led to the observations above concerning students' desire to have total control of their transcriptions. From her experiences, Foster adopted certain practices. When a student speaks in class and it is not a free-flowing discussion, but a response to a question or an intervention in the material, she says "thank you" and gives a bit of a pause around their comments. This recognizes the student's contribution, even if they are feeling negatively about the readings. To get a diversity of voices in the class, instead of citing other critics, Foster will now often ask if other students have alternate readings. And finally, Foster has come to understand that attending to the emotional atmosphere of a class is as valuable, if not more, than tending to the intellectual atmosphere--something that those who lead with their head often forget.

> *She realized the resistance students felt was an emotional, not necessarily an intellectual one, and they did not need more thoughts and information crowding high feelings, but space to work through the rocky terrain of the heart and the psyche.*

In many cases, novel pedagogical approaches could be met with resistance. Students are often required to be highly strategic in how they distribute their time and energy across courses in various disciplines. An oral history project can seem relatively open-ended with unfamiliar assessment criteria and greater time demands than a traditional essay. What might seem to the instructor to be an opportunity to express creativity and assume greater responsibility for the design and implementation of a project can easily be both a source of excitement and anxiety -- excitement because the material is new and innovative, and often fun to construct, but potentially anxiety inducing because students worry about assessment and working outside of traditional modes of receiving grades. This note of caution is not an argument
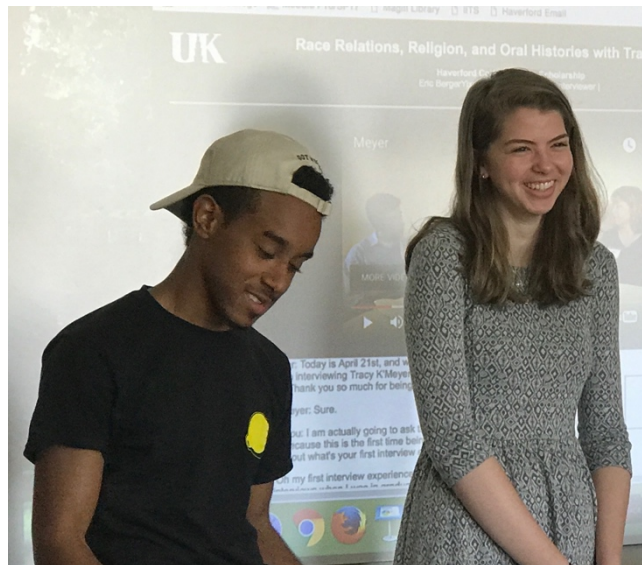
FIGURE 3. (LEFT TO RIGHT): RUDOLF HERNANDEZ AND ALYSSA KERPER PRESENT ON THE LAST DAY OF CLASS ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH THE ORAL HISTORIES PROJECT.

against project-based teaching methods. Rather it highlights the need for coalition-building amongst various student groups in the classroom and clear communication of the instructor's values and reasoning for the assignment as planned, including specifying where the deliberate introduction of student voices into the architecture of the class project lies. One thing that Foster adopted in the years following this course is what she calls "transparent teaching" -- offering a meta-analysis of pedagogical methods and explaining to students the reasoning and logic behind assignment construction and choice.

We addressed collaboration concerns with digital pedagogy by empowering the students to pursue their own research interests and questions, thus creating unique scholarship in each case. First, students were able to choose their interview subjects from anyone who had been accepted to the conference. The diversity of speakers and topics already allowed the students to see a panorama of possible peace activist modes, and to concentrate on what specifically interested them. Instead of having a standard set of questions, which an official study would mandate, students proposed questions about ideas that they wanted to explore in depth. While constructing their questions, students were asked to research the specialties of their interviewees and compile an annotated bibliography. This allowed the students to co-construct the discourse based on research and information they had found, and the questions asked reflected the different interests of the students. For example, Rudolf Hernandez and Alyssa Kerper constructed questions for Gordon Mantler, who specializes in African American and Latino civil rights social justice movements, that had both specific and universal implications. One of their questions extended into the present day: "Given the fire the current presidential administration has come under, and the resulting marches on Washington, would the public's interest and efforts on important issues such as climate change move our political agenda forward even if President Trump does nothing to change his current plan of action?" Another of their questions was more abstract and

philosophical, but one of the central interrogations of the class, "What do you think is the connection between ending poverty and achieving peace?" [See Figure 3] Additionally, the students were the primary investigators and interviewers in each of their own oral histories. They were not simply working on the technology after the fact of the academic discourse, but by being at the AFSC conference for the day and engaging directly with the activists and academics, were a central part of the discourse.

Towards a Transformative Pedagogy of Peace Studies

Haverford College is a small, elite liberal arts college with an amazing amount of resources and a vibrant embedded librarianship and instructional technology support system. While a great deal of energy and resources were dedicated to this project in order to ally with the ASFC, there are also less intensive ways of folding oral histories of positive peace building into a multiplicity of classes at colleges that may not share Haverford's privileges. Students could be assigned to interview local activists or citizens within their immediate community working on social justice and human rights issues. Classes could partner with public libraries in community collaborations to include oral histories in their course work. For an interested radical teacher, we recommend starting with the Oral Histories Association guide of principles and best practices, most recently updated in 2018. It also behooves us to remember that building peace does not always mean the most elaborate or public engagement; it does not always mean attending a rally or serving in an international program or movement; sometimes peace building occurs in the granular and everyday habits of existence. Sometimes planting a beautiful garden for neighbors to see is peace building; sometimes raising a family sensitive to the call for equality and human rights is peace building. Peace building does not need to be grand, and indeed most of its important elements are in the everyday simplicities of kindness and the ethics of care. From that perspective, students could do oral histories on each other and loved ones that interrogated the work they are already doing in the world to build peace. They could then take these videos, shot on a phone or tablet, and render them searchable through OHMS (available online for free) or any of the numerous free video-editing programs.

From the experiences and approaches outlined in this article, we have come to understand that combining digital, feminist, and peace pedagogies opens onto a transformative pedagogy that allows students to move beyond the absorption model of education and become key producers of knowledge and researchers in their own right. Transformative pedagogy, according to UNESCO's *Transformative Pedagogy for Peace Building*, allows students to internalize the material so that the learning extends beyond the classroom. Indeed, the study writes:

A transformative pedagogy is an innovative approach that occurs when learning goes beyond the mind and connects also with hearts and actions thereby transforming knowledge, attitudes and skills… Transformative pedagogy also emphasizes and prioritizes the process of learning (how to learn) [rather] than the association and memorizing of information itself: **fostering the curiosity of the learners is more important than delivering knowledge and information.** (Adaye 27)

As the title indicates, UNESCO's guide advocates for using approaches towards peace building that center on process, student engagement and participation, and critical thinking. Peace pedagogy is collaborative in nature, sparks dialogue in a multiplicity of ways (within the classroom, between the classroom and community, between different groups and demographics), encourages critical and creative thinking, and is active and participatory.[3]

Students took these projects and transcended our vision every time, expanding it and making the work better than anything that could have been anticipated. Furthermore, students were able to form personal relationships with individuals that personify peace activism and pacifist ethics of care. Through social interaction with the AFSC symposium speakers, students had the opportunity to encounter pacifism as lived practice and critically reflect on warist culture. Through the oral histories project with the AFSC, students were able to explore the multifaceted ways of building peace. Through OHMS and Camtasia, they devised creative and critical ways to add to an archive of pacifist activism that is severely under-documented. The Oral Histories are currently available from Haverford Libraries Digital Scholarship and should be available from the Bi-College digital archives with a password when that service is completed. A definite majority of the students acknowledged the pedagogical benefits of the project, and their comments ranged from specific growth in researching and questioning to deeper self-discoveries. It became clear that the combination of oral histories with the technology facilitated the most growth. Henry Nye wrote about his final paper that:

The OHMS and Camtastia portion of this Oral Histories project were new to me, and very exciting on the whole. I felt that being able to watch an interview whose usefulness I originally questioned was very helpful for me to tease out some important thoughts… Further, I believe I made a nearly opposite argument in this paper than I did in the Camtasia project, which was an interesting dialectical experience that I don't believe I could've achieved without deep engagement in the OHMS project."

Ari Kim wrote that:

The entire project was very insightful for me, both on life and on academia. I was blown away by my interview with Dr. Carolyne Lamar Jordan. She is a phenomenal woman who has done amazing work. Although [my interview partner] and I expected more answers relating to Dr. Jordan's abstract, the experiences she shared were far more interesting and inspiring. The idea of co-creation in the interview, and in the OHMS and Camtasia projects with [my interview partner], gave me a new perspective on academic content. I've always been taught to be the sole creator of some cutting-edge idea or invention, but working with others, as this project has proved, gives birth to something more

fantastic than what only one mind can create. The entire process was also a lot more bearable having someone else with me than working alone.

Thank you for the opportunity to work on this project. It has truly been a blessing.

From the language of this student, we can see the feminist ethics of care developing. Emphasis on co-creation and cooperation, on listening and response, was developed through the oral histories, and OHMS and Camtasia facilitated a deep critical thinking. These same values--connection, listening and responding, cooperative engagement with others, and a respect for the diversity of stories and experiences that make up human existence--are also foundational to peace pedagogies, and combine with feminist thought to encourage a transformative pedagogy that asks us to think the multiple meanings of peace in the wake of a warist society.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. Also quoted in Lynch, xv.

2. See for example Fitz-Gibbon, Hutchins, and Gay.

3. Our understanding of peace pedagogy is informed by several important sources in addition to the UNESCO Transformative Pedagogy guide. Setiadi et al., in their study of implementing peace programs in Indonesian schools, cite SL Deck in "Transforming High School Students into Peacebuilders: A rationale for the Youth Initiative model of peace education," to identify five main components to peace pedagogy: "transformative, process-centered, participatory, relational and sustainable" (183). Ian Harris likewise identifies five important elements to peace pedagogy that are sympathetic to the aforementioned: "dialogue, cooperation, problem solving, affirmation, and democratic boundary setting" (255).

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RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

In Memoriam
Louis Kampf (1929 – 2020)
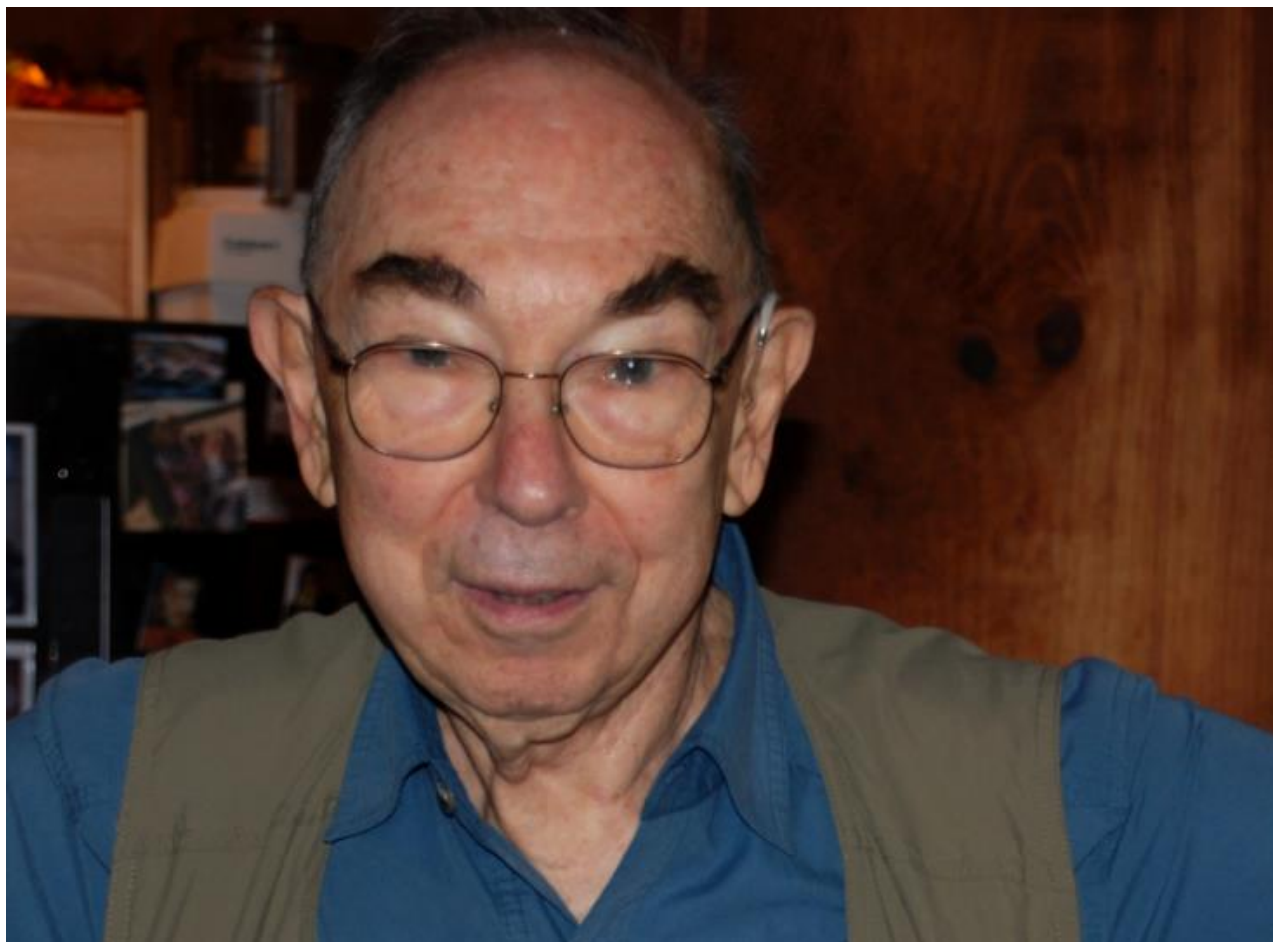
LOIUS KAMPF (1929 – 2020)

W e are deeply saddened by the loss of Louis Kampf, our dear friend and *Radical Teacher* founding member. Louis died on May 30, 2020 in hospice care of non-COVID related illness.

A holocaust survivor, who managed several close escapes from the Nazis before immigrating with his parents to America, Louis became an extraordinarily gifted radical teacher—teaching literature and courses addressing social and political problems at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1961 to 1995. In 1970 he became Professor of Literature there, later adding Women's and Gender Studies to his title and helping to establish MIT's Women's Studies Program, which became official in 1984. In 1995 the Louis Kampf Writing Prize, sponsored by The Program in Women's and Gender Studies, was established in his honor.

During a now somewhat infamous uprising of anti-Vietnam War activists and feminists at the 1968 convention of the staid Modern Language Association (MLA)—a professional organization for scholars of literature--Louis was arrested for putting up political posters, then later nominated during the organization's business meeting as second vice-president. He would rise in two years to the MLA's presidency, and spearhead a revolution in radical curriculum and institutional change that reverberated throughout the profession.

Along the way Louis was a founder of the MLA's Radical Caucus and our journal, *Radical Teacher.* In 1967 he published *On Modernism: The Prospects for Literature and Freedom,* which received rave reviews and won a Modern Language Association prize. In 1972 he co-edited, with Paul Lauter, *The Politics of Literature*. He also published many essays and reviews on literature, education, feminism, the proper role of the academy, and national and international politics. And he served on the Reprints Committee of The Feminist Press and the editorial board of *Signs, A Journal of Women and Culture*.

Throughout his entire life Louis was active in Left politics and played a key role in the development of "movement" organizations, among them RESIST, The Center for Critical Education (publisher of *Radical Teacher)*, and the New University Conference. Louis' encyclopedic mind astounded those of us who had the opportunity to witness the breadth of knowledge stored therein, not only of linguistics, literature, history and philosophy, but in music (especially classical and jazz) and sports (especially baseball, with a special animus toward the Red Sox and the Yankees).

It is hard to imagine a *Radical Teacher* gathering without Louis there. We will miss—so, so much--his institutional memory, dialectical wit, political integrity, and big heart.

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Poetry

Dead to Rights: The State
of the Union

by Marty Marion Denton

"THE MILITARIZATION OF EVERYTHING" BY DOUG MINKLER. NO ROOM FOR ANYTHING BUT WAR! VIA JUSTSEEDS.

Dead to Rights : The State
of the Union

What once was great now is gone, never to return
There aren't any more of the truths, that as a child we had to learn
A new world order is the resounding cry, hold on things are soon to change
They can't fool us anymore with words that they twist and rearrange

From the grasslands to the cities, the time is slowly growing nigh
Hoping that we will close our eyes and let our rights just pass on by
They think we will just lay down and lick our wounds and dry our eyes
But now the time has come, cause "we the people" finally realize

Chorus
We're dead to rights, lost like a clown without his circus and arcade
A country now living with all the lies and promises that were made
Democracy bows its head and slowly slips into the night
And the powers of this country laugh and leave us all, dead to rights

To become who we desire to be, will come at such a price
As they slice the pie of human rights we must stand firm and demand a slice
Change only comes from action not the muttering of meaningless words
A country waits impatiently for a voice of reason to be heard

Chorus
Dead to rights, lost like a clown without his circus and arcade
A country now living with all the lies and promises that were made
Democracy bows its head and slowly slips into the night
And the powers of this country laugh and leave us all, dead to rights
Yes we're all dead to rights
Democracy bows its head and slowly slips into the night
And the powers of this country laugh and leave us all
Dead to rights
Dead to rights
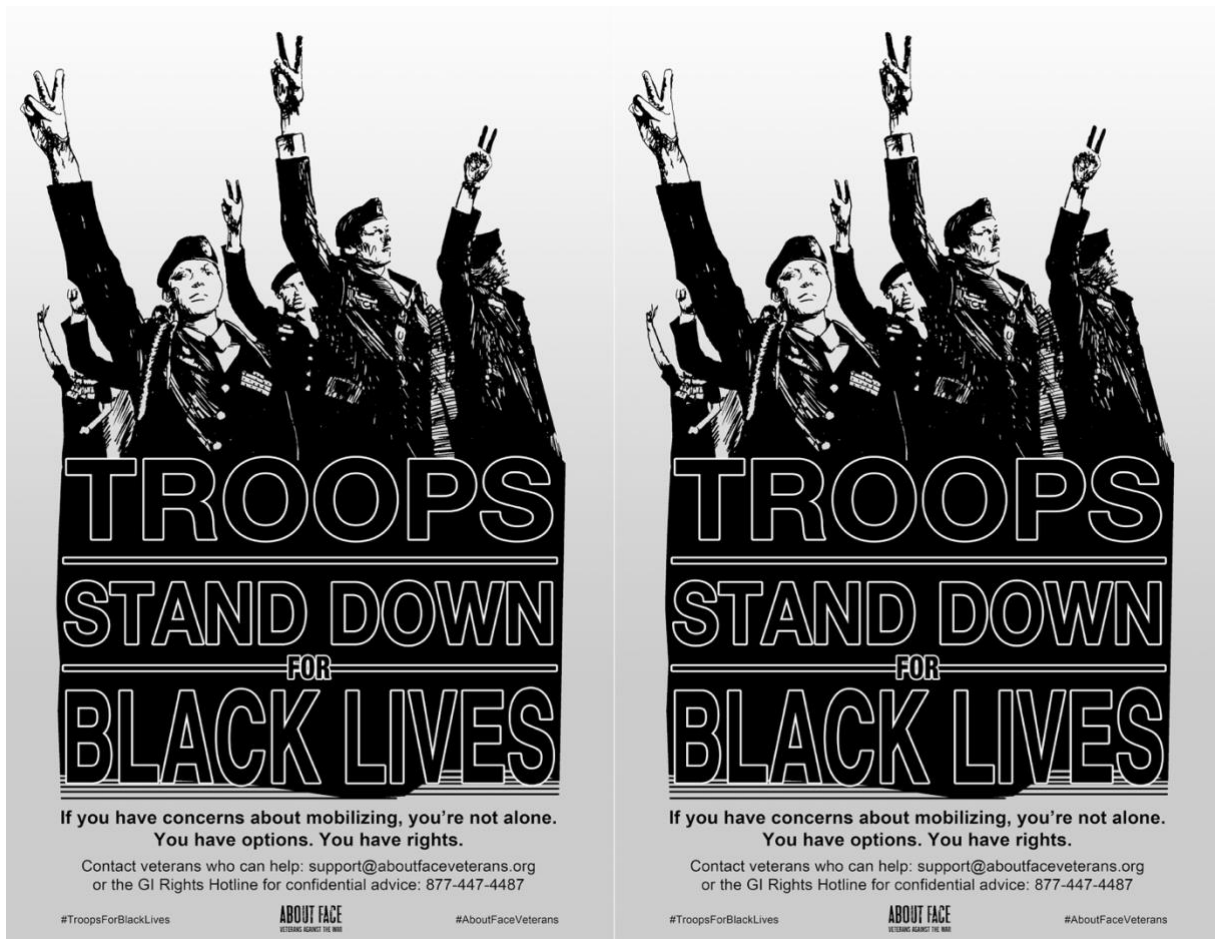Yes we're all dead to rights
Dead to rights

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Review

Poor Queer Studies: Confronting Elitism in the University

Reviewed by Sarah Chinn

"TROOPS STAND DOWN FOR BLACK LIVES" BY AARON HUGHES. I HAVE BEEN HONORED TO MAKE A SERIES OF GRAPHICS FOR ABOUT FACE: VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR. OVER THE COURSE OF THE CURRENT UPRISING FOR RACIAL JUSTICE ABOUT FACE HAS BEEN REACHING OUT AND SUPPORTING SERVICE MEMBERS REFUSING TO DEPLOY AGAINST DEMONSTRATIONS FOR BLACK LIVES.

Brim, Matt. *Poor Queer Studies: Confronting Elitism in the University* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).

In a recent article in the *New Yorker*, Corey Robin, who teaches Political Science at Brooklyn College, part of the City University of New York, pointed out that CUNY was probably the institution of higher education hardest hit by COVID-19. Given that New York has been the epicenter of the epidemic nationally, and that hundreds of thousands of students study at and tens of thousands of New Yorkers are employed by CUNY, and, finally, that CUNY students are mostly working-class and poor (hence more likely to be employed in the high-risk service and health sectors), the university has become, in Robin's words, "a cemetery of uncertain dimensions, its deaths as unremarked as the graves in a potter's field." At the same time, he argues that the public conversation about higher education is too often limited to the experiences of students and faculty at elite institutions: small, well-endowed liberal arts colleges and large, research-heavy public and private universities. Ultimately, he maintains, "The coronavirus has revealed to many the geography of class in America, showing that where we live and work shapes whether we live or die. Might it offer a similar lesson about where we learn?"

It is this challenge that Matt Brim's bracing new book, *Poor Queer Studies*, takes up. After all, as he says, "it is difficult to find an institution in the United States that sorts people by socioeconomic class as effectively as higher education" (4). To prove this crucial point, he offers meticulously researched breakdowns of who goes to which colleges, what they study, and where they end up. For all their claims to diversification, elite institutions enroll more students in the top 1% than they do those from the bottom 60% of the population, financially speaking. They also struggle to enroll Black and Latinx students and retain faculty of color. Beyond the usual suspects, elitist attitudes from the selective senior colleges within CUNY have pushed SAT scores up by up to 30 percent, as enrollment by Black and Latinx students has dropped. By contrast, the open-admission College of Staten Island, the CUNY school where Brim teaches, has seen a rise in the enrollment of students of color since 2008: Latinx enrollment alone has increased by 12 percent, and white enrollment dropped by almost 20 percent. It is hard, in the end, not to see "class stratification [within academia as] an intentional, defining, structural

feature of the U.S. academy" and one that, almost needless to say, "overlaps with race sorting" (8).

How does this connect with Brim's focus here, the production and teaching of Queer Studies as a field? His argument is twofold. First, it is that "with notable exceptions, the field of Queer Studies as an academic formation has been and is still defined and propelled by the immense resources of precisely those institutions of higher education that most steadfastly refuse to serve representative numbers of poor students and to hire faculty without high-status academic pedigrees" (9). Moreover, those institutions – Duke, Berkeley, Yale, Columbia, to name a few – have low teaching loads, generous research funds, and (on the whole) an absence of the austerity politics that bedevil poorer regional and urban public colleges and universities.

Brim's second point is that Queer Studies is happening in less-resourced colleges and universities all the time, but it is Poor Queer Studies, a field defined by lack of resources, the financial struggles of its students, and the need to expand its purview beyond the theoretical. Unlike Rich Queer Studies, which rarely "conceptualize[s] its poor queer blindspots, making cross-class relationships and ideas less visible" (19), Poor Queer Studies is profoundly aware of class inequities in both theoretical and practical ways. What would happen, Brim asks, if we imagined Queer Studies from the perspective of its least privileged practitioners? "What," he wonders, "does the work of Queer Studies look like from the point of view of regional or mid/lower tier or unranked schools that occupy the margins of – or don't figure at all in – influential Queer Studies narratives and field assessments?" (33).

Poor Queer Studies does that important work. It privileges "the places where queer experience saturates education and should robustly inform the production of the field" (36). Brim is interested not only in the production of queer work and pedagogy, but also the conditions under which that work takes place, and how the realities of under-resourced institutions profoundly inform the kind of theorizing that emerges. For example, Brim takes seriously the motivations of his working-class and poor students to leverage their college education into class mobility and job placement. Rather than insisting that academic pursuits should not be somehow sullied by the reality of the marketplace, he explores how students versed in Queer
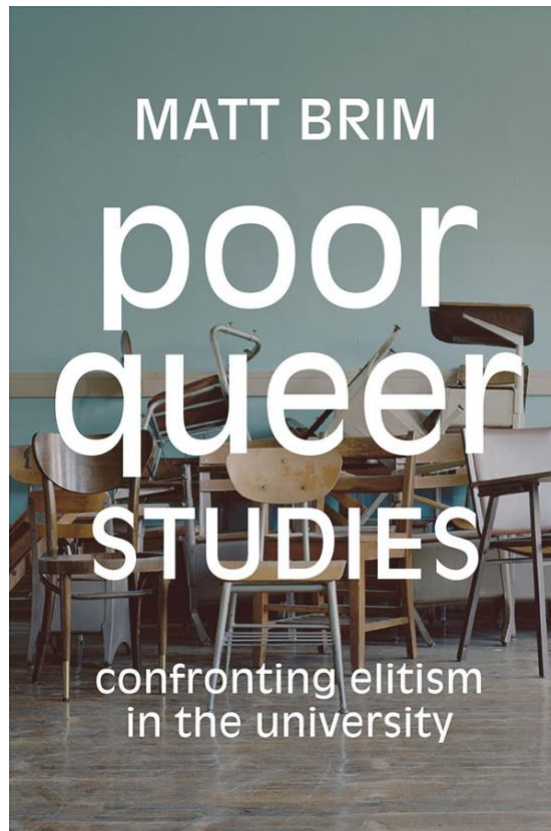
POOR QUEER STUDIES: CONFRONTING ELITISM IN THE UNIVERSITY BY MATT BRIM (DURHAM, NC: DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2020).

Studies might enter the workplace differently, how they might effect change on their jobs, how they might imagine gender, capitalism, desire, intellectual inquiry itself in relation to everyday lived experience. (I should point out here that this is a place where Feminist and Gender Studies has been far ahead of Queer Studies in bridging the theory/praxis divide). What would it mean, he asks, to have a "queer career" – not just a job in Queer Studies or a queer-oriented workplace, but a trajectory of labor (at the MTA, in the police force, as a nurse, in an office) fully informed by queer consciousness? Brim points to an encounter he had with a former student, a cop working on his beat, and recognizing that "this cop has queer knowledge with him on the job, and that is better than not, for him and for the rest of us" (113); in the wake of the waves of police violence in recent weeks, Brim's realization has additional power: how might that queer knowledge reduce the occasions of police brutality, for example?

Brim looks for queer inquiry in unusual places – or rather, in places unusual for Queer Studies, not for faculty in working-class institutions like CUNY. For example, he claims that "where student mothers go, Poor Queer Studies goes" (137), if only because we have student mothers in our classes, absorbing queer material, thinking about the role of gender and sexuality in their lives. Poor Queer Studies is by definition Black and Latinx studies, and works "for, toward, and in the service of queer blackness," if only because of the ways social class and racial marginalization map onto each other. But Brim isn't satisfied with the "if only." Student mothers, students of color, poor and working-class students *define* Poor Queer Studies in all meanings of the word: give it meaning, limn its boundaries, make it material.

Poor Queer Studies is as unconventional in its structure as it is in its subject matter. Sometimes this slows the book down: while I understand the political value of printing the cvs of Brim's Queer Studies colleagues at the College of Staten Island to show that queer theorizing is thriving outside of elite institutions, that same information might have served just as well as an appendix rather than interrupting the rhythm of Brim's argument. At the same time, poverty and austerity make for strange and unfamiliar formations, and do not follow a single narrative. We must think about their sites of articulation, the bodies upon which both poverty and queer knowledge leave their impression, and the work those bodies take up in the world -- hence chapters on the College of Staten Island, "the queer career," and queer counternarratives that seem disjoined from each other but all follow the twisty logic of Poor Queer Studies. In *Poor Queer Studies*, Matt Brim offers up both a challenge and a model. We would do well to follow.

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Review
Teaching While Black

Reviewed by Eben Wood

"THERE IS NO TRUTH IN RECRUITING" BY JESSE PURCELL. THIS IMAGE IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY JUSTSEEDS, IVAW, BOOKLYN, REPETITIVE PRESS, AND THE CIVILIAN SOLDIER ALLIANCE.

Henry, Matthew E. *Teaching While Black* (Charlotte, NC, Main Street Rag Publishing Company, 2020).

At the onset of the "novel coronavirus" pandemic, as public schools, colleges, and universities were closed and "remote learning" replaced the face-to-face, collectively shared experience of the classroom, the nature of that classroom became more visible in its absence, as a crisis of presence. For radical educators—I teach in a two-year college of The City University of New York, a system already devasted by years of fiscal austerity—it was a moment, still ongoing, to reflect on the practices of a socialist, antiracist, and feminist pedagogy. How "unprecedented" was this moment in history, when both the form of the classroom as we imagined and practiced it, as well as the content of the texts or other materials we teach, have always challenged us to consider the place of the classroom in society, and what, how, and why we teach in the first place?

I began this review of Matthew E. Henry's excellent first poetry collection, *Teaching While Black*, before the May 25 murder of 46-year-old George Floyd by Minneapolis police, reigniting national and global outrage at police violence and systemic racism. Floyd's last words, "I can't breathe," were the same as those spoken in 2014 by Eric Garner when he was killed by NYPD officers on Staten Island, demonstrating first the shared suffering of those individuals and second the pervasive structures of racism and violence in the U.S. Those words also demonstrated all too painfully the cyclical nature of situations in which racism's deep structures become visible. The resulting protests in communities across the country, along with the excessive use of force by which a clearly racist "law and order" was defended in the name of public safety, have only heightened the sense that this moment in history is both "unprecedented" and all too familiar.

Many of the issues, and the cyclical history in which they are displayed in one situation before being overtaken by the next, each identical and unique in a signifying chain, are anticipated by *Teaching While Black*. The issues of classroom roles, racial as well as class and gender positioning, and the policing of social spaces that are so visible at this historical moment are raised immediately by the collection's title as well as by MEH's choice of epigraphs to frame the poems that follow. The first is drawn from Toni Morrison's debut novel, *The Bluest Eye*, which explores the intergenerational and personal effects of systemic racism on a specific community and individuals linked by shared experiences of race, class, and gender violence.

The passage chosen by MEH is narrated by nine-year-old Claudia MacTeer at the novel's end. She's reflecting—and in doing so drawing a kind of lesson from the narrative that precedes this moment—on the cycles of time that have trapped and doomed her older foster sister Pecola Breedlove, a child made ancient by brutal experience. It's equally Claudia's attempt to understand the nature of the social spaces that make up the Black community of Lorrain, Ohio, spaces divided internally by the white, capitalist, patriarchal society that contains and exploits that community: "when the land kills of its own volition, we acquiesce and say the victim had no right to live. We are wrong, of course, but it doesn't matter. It's too late."

As the epigraph reflects, Claudia understands all too well the failure to understand, that what is learned through experience can itself be a repetition of the conditions by which the experiences of particular individuals or groups are created. *Teaching While Black*, a slim, searing collection, shares some of *The Bluest Eye*'s despair at America's cyclical re-affirmations of racial inequalities. MEH's poems are essential reading at this moment, not overtaken by the events of recent weeks but precisely articulating their condition. These poems are especially important, I think, for those of us who seek in our classrooms and pedagogies both to identify and to overturn the received social codes that those spaces and practices represent. Not the least of which, of course, are blithe liberal affirmations of patience and progress. Certainly most teachers that I know—especially those of us who work with student populations for whom those structural inequalities are a daily, lived reality, inequalities that are all-too-often replicated by the institutions in which we work—share moments of despair that the experiences, ideas, and language that students bear into the classroom are overwhelmingly obdurate, that "it's too late" to effectively transform those things from negation to liberation. By their repetition, even as teachers and students grapple critically with them, these codes become the naturalized matter of our lives, matter that seems to possess, like the land Claudia described, a will of its own.

Faced with the brutalizing, repetitive facts of our lives, the press of our flesh against matter that rebounds with silence or violence, we may defer to the received codes by

TEACHING WHILE BLACK BY MATTHEW E. HENRY (CHARLOTTE, NC, MAIN STREET RAG PUBLISHING COMPANY, 2020).

which we experience our past, our present, and our future. The victims of that disembodied will have already been stripped of self-determination, of their right to live. That so many people blame the victim, wrongly, indicates what has already happened, overtaken by history and the media images that seek to contain it: the tendency can be to acquiesce to the authority of something that seems beyond our individual or collective reach, disembodied and relentless. It is an imperative of the radical tradition and of radical education that we recognize what it is that we acquiesce to: not some brute facticity of matter but the history that positions us within it. Both as educators who have ourselves been and continue to be students, reflecting the real process of solidarity with our students and against our prior positioning in roles of subjection or authority, this is our challenge. Not, that is, to provide an alibi for those positions through acquiescence, but to recognize in them the impetus to resist and transform them. It is this breaking and reframing of historical cycles, cycles replicated in and through personal experience, that MEH invokes with his second epigraph, by Pakistani political scientist and activist Ayesha Saddiqi: "Be the person you needed when you were younger."

The proof of this imperative unfolds in the poems that follow, from "my third grade teacher," which opens the collection, to the complex work that closes out its third and final section, "when asked what I learned in elementary school being bussed from Mattapan to Wellesley." The same teacher is evoked in both poems, less an individual persona than the disembodied force of white authority. This circular structure from past through the present and back doesn't become the trap of bad history that Claudia both sees and rejects in the tragedy of Pecola and of Lorrain, but a dialectical pedagogy: poetry as site of encounter, conflict, reflection, and resolution. Not the resolution of despair, of acquiescing to a status quo, but the will or resolve to understand and change it. The collection read as a whole provides the radical context for the specific situations, moments of teaching and learning, that compose it.

As teachers in the radical tradition, we work to address the mediations of our own classrooms and the institutions and social relations that they reflect. MEH suggests this in the opening poem when its title, "my third grade teacher," becomes the opening line, breaking through the mediation of a formal title, which seems to sit outside the poem and determine its meaning, to the content of the work itself. This was the teacher who "explained skin, / the undercurrents / of blood and how / my face lacked / the ability to bruise / or blush." Its nature assigned to it by negation, by what it lacks, by the voice of authority, the speaker's body is a foreign or alienated object to itself. Formally this is reflected by the diminution of the capital "I," the subject of the sentence that continues from that moment of subjection: "i tried / to show her a patch / darker than the rest." The skin, a zone between subject and object, internal and external, private and public, resembles the land of Claudia's reflections. Instead of that alienated, obdurate matter and the acquiescence it seems to demand, history isn't "out there," distant and untouchable or inexorable, but as present and intimate as the skin. Not what protects or nurtures the self, an empowering of history and identity, but

what divides the self internally and displays the meanings that society in the form of the teacher has projected upon it.

But here, and this is the crucial point, the acquiescence isn't to the codes that the teacher unreflectingly imposes on the speaker's third-grade self, with the assumption that he will passively accept them. His skin, of course, isn't one, indifferent thing but the very site of contestation that will inform that speaker's experience and education from that point on and that runs through the rest of poems to follow. When the speaker attempts to call the teacher's attention to his own self-awareness and power to signify his own body, to the "patch / darker than the rest," whether or not—as seems to be implied—that patch is a bruise, the scar of past experience, or simply the fact that his skin isn't one thing but many, the teacher simply repeats and reaffirms her own acquiescence to her normative codes: "she nodded, explained / it was harder to see / on my skin."

From his title through the epigraphs and opening poem, MEH invokes and overturns the cliché of a "teaching moment." In our vernacular, such moments represent a situation or encounter in which the matter-of-fact obduracy of the familiar appears open to self-reflection or raised awareness. In the classroom itself, as all educators experience at some point or many points in their careers, it's a moment in which the intent of a lesson prepared in advance is disrupted, an unexpected response or disruption or conflict. Rather than acquiesce to that disruption as such, to ignore it or place it outside the intended lesson, we can create with and around it a reflective space for our students as well as ourselves. This moment can, of course, simply reaffirm our authority, invested in us by the institution, and reinforce the acquiescence of students to that authority. But crucial to the situations explored by MEH is what happens when he, as a Black teacher, encounters the white privilege of the students and of the institutions in which he works. These are poems very much of this moment in U.S. and global history, of Trump and MAGA and American power politics, even as they reach through the immediacy and intimacy of the situations he describes. The poems articulate a pedagogy *in* the classroom but also *of* it, a site of conflict and contestation by which it is opened to the larger systems through which both he and his students have passed to arrive there.

In these moments, the speaker encounters the students as "them." He also encounters himself, his intermediary position between them, the classroom and institution, and his own identity. As he states at the conclusion of "the surprising thing," in which he reflects on the fact that he's "only been called 'nigger' once by a student—at least / in my presence," he wonders whether he's "doing something wrong, if it's my fault it happened / only that one time." As a teacher of literature, through and beyond his advanced education and the materials both canonical and anti-canonical of his discipline, has he not also engaged racism, red-lining, mass incarceration, stop and frisk in ways that require his largely white, privileged students to recognize their own "complicity / through complacency"?

In the complacency of "them," the speaker despairs at simpler, deeper contradictions beyond the literary analysis

that those privileged students have been well prepared to perform: "the subtle things give me pause," he says. The most obvious surfaces, that is, that like the skin itself conceal deeper or more enduring social conflicts, the marks and scars of history. That his students are comfortable with the subjectivities of literary characters that they encounter in Shakespeare, for instance, but are completely unmoved by those they encounter in works by Chinua Achebe, Zora Neale Hurston, or Toni Morrison. These Black characters or heroes are "wholly 'other' / their stories inscrutable—lives they 'can't relate to.'" This is a contradiction that the speaker turns on himself, reflecting on his position as a Black educator in a privileged institution: "here i stand: still employed—picking cotton / from fresh aspirin bottles after every utterance / which slices a peace from my soul—and asking questions / that make them cringe." At the margins of these teaching moments, all too often, there are only blank stares and silences.

Teaching While Black arrives at the darkest promise of its title in the poem "an open letter to the school resource officer who almost shot me in my class." Here the situation is recalled through an epistolary address to the officer, a traumatized veteran of the war in Afghanistan who is able to read that situation only by acquiescing to the codes of his race and class conditioning. The letter takes the form of questions to the officer, an interrogation not of the individual but the situation itself. The walls of the classroom separated the officer from the speaker and his students, but the situation includes all of them when the distinction between inside and outside the classroom and individual teaching moment is broken. From the outside, the officer sees only the speaker's brown arms and unkempt beard, and not his professional dress and position of authority. The speaker asks, was it his own appearance, along with the unfamiliar language of the lesson unfolding inside the classroom, that "triggered / rules of engagement normally absent halls so affluent?" The "mostly white faces" in the classroom are oblivious to the "drama" playing out in front of them as the officer enters, unholstering his firearm. Except, that is, for "the two / who share my skin" and "saw everything. made eye contact. / held it for two solid seconds." The silent exchange of glances is an unspoken language, framing the distinction between the authority of racial codes that unite the officer and the white students despite their class differences, on the one hand, and the shared, traumatic history of racist violence that unite the few students of color and the teacher.

In the final poem, "when asked what i learned in elementary school being bussed from Mattapan to Wellesley," the speaker explicitly links the situation described in the opening poem to a situation in his adult, professional life. Like Claudia, he has learned by his failure to learn, or rather to acquiesce to, the codes of that earlier lesson, a failure that allows him to understand the otherness of the students as well as his own otherness, reciprocally, to them. Confronted with his white students' sense of entitlement and the complacency it entails, he considers "what they think is appropriate." They have internalized the lesson the speaker was meant to have learned very differently in his recollected third-grade experience, that Black bodies belong to them and their codes of knowledge

as power, "under skin our teacher said / doesn't bruise because she can't see the blood- / screams beneath."

In a lifetime of situations, a collective and national history of such situations, the speaker struggles to reconcile the progress and privilege of his own education with the immediate negation of that progress in the scenes of subjection he describes. Framed by the pathologies by which his students have been taught to "read" race as something other than their own privilege, pathologies that frame out his own stable and apparently middle-class upbringing, the speaker "learned to master // Simon-says skills; to be a chameleon, to code-switch; / to bite my tongue instead of theirs; to make excuses / for them, yet allow awkwardness to pant circles around heads / asking what I prefer to be called (*Colored? Negro? African / American? Black?*) never landing on my name. I learned to execute…."

This is a telling and ironic term in the aftermath of George Floyd's murder. What the speaker learned to execute, in the context of the poem and its situation, was "an affirmative action of elementary arithmetic," that "history is an art / painted in primary colors," those of white supremacy and privilege and fragility. The "darker shades / are plucked out, passed over," unified into a "single story (slavery, / civil rights, poverty) muting a talented tenth." The speaker has learned, ultimately, the lesson "that I should be grateful." Bussed into a majority white school in a more affluent community of suburban Boston, the speaker was confirmed in his otherness, enduring the cultural appropriations of his white classmates who referred to each other as "my brothah" and "my sistah," perversely "hoping / for the day they can reclaim 'my nig…'." With the commodification of hip-hop culture and the fluidity of "post-racial," social media-fueled cultural appropriation, that day has clearly since arrived. Fighting for the space of his own identity, rendered both invisible and at the same time judged by his own teachers as incapable of "owning" his own voice and body and intellect, of the art that he makes, the speaker closes with a melancholy memory: his daily retreat "down checkered halls to my seat / beside the school secretary, she who understood / the intersection of round pegs and square holes; / to enjoy solitary confinement recess; to admire the ants / who rebuild their lives after every collapsing storm / or malicious white sneaker. i learned // that they think i can't swim."

It is with the skin that the flesh presses, that we swim in and press against. "Pressing the flesh" means to place palm against palm, meeting the other. But a handshake is more than a physical action, it reflects a code of behavior, the language of gestures between people that both connects and separates. This language, with its grammar and syntax, its meanings both explicit and implied, governs these encounters. Such gestures exert force even in their absence, as the canceling of physical contact or even proximity in the current pandemic demonstrates. The COVID pandemic has required us—many, seemingly for the first time—to become self-conscious about such encounters, about the ways that bodies meet, touching even at a distance, negating even by affirming. About the ways that we approach and depart the other, and what happens in the situations between.

Masked and gloved, or with the consciousness that we ought to be, our every gesture is mediated. In unmasking these encounters, probing them for what lesson they seem to hold or even what a "teaching moment" really means in the structural repetition of racist violence, and acknowledging the feelings of helplessness and despair as well as anger that can accompany them, Matthew E. Henry's poems have arrived not too late but right on time.

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Teaching Note
Reading Masculinity in *Much Ado About Nothing*: Notes from an Indian Classroom

by Saradindu Bhattacharya
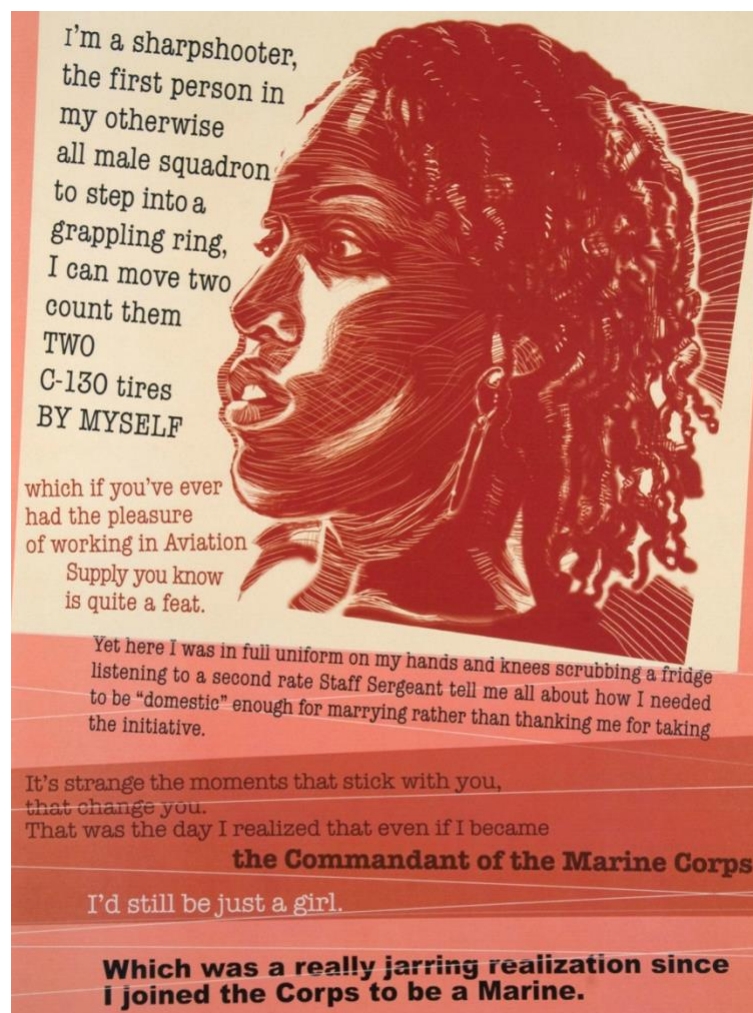
"I'M A SHARPSHOOTER—CHANTELLE BATEMAN" BY SIRI MAGERIN. WAR IS TRAUMA IS A PORTFOLIO OF HANDMADE PRINTS PRODUCED BY THE JUSTSEEDS ARTISTS' COOPERATIVE IN COLLABORATION WITH THE IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (IVAW).

Reading *Much Ado About Nothing* (c.1599) in a course on Renaissance literature, students of M.A. English at the Central University of Tamil Nadu, India, detected resonances between the generic conventions of Shakespearean comedy and the cultural codes of gender and matrimony in contemporary India. In a class where a majority of the students were female – studying literature and the arts in India being still considered a more appropriate choice for women than for men – the play presented a surprisingly rich ground for a comparative analysis between the literary construction of "romantic love" through the conventions of Elizabethan drama and the gender politics of family and marriage in contemporary India. The students, from both rural and urban centres in southern India, identified and responded to the dominant code of masculinity operative within the Shakespearean play as one that informs their own understanding of the genre of romantic comedy as well as exposes the dramatic and cultural inequity underlying such generic representation of relations between men and women. My attempt in class was to critically examine how Hero, one of the central female characters in the play, functions as the dramatic means of defining and performing masculinity for the male characters around her, and how her palpable silence in the unfolding of her own "romantic" plot can point to the similarity of the gender politics of romance and marriage between Elizabethan England and 21st century India.

I initiated discussion in the class by suggesting that both the "complication" and the "resolution" in the play – ending with the conventional promise of marriage – depend crucially on the performance of gender roles that privilege "masculine" codes of honour and allegiance at the expense of "feminine" desire and agency. (This is true, of course, only of the Hero-Claudio plot, as Hero, unlike her wilfully rebellious cousin, Beatrice, never speaks for herself, and Benedick, unlike Claudio, learns to trust and respect the woman he loves.) Thus, Claudio's initial infatuation with Hero is based, as students were quick to observe, not on a close familiarity between the two (of the kind Benedick and Beatrice seem to share) but on the former's admiration of Hero's physical charms (she is "modest", "sweet", "fair" and "a jewel") and his awareness of her economic status (she is Leonato's "only heir"). Significantly, Claudio can be sure of his own romantic intentions towards Hero only after seeking Benedick's opinion of her beauty and Don Pedro's assurance that "the lady is very well worthy". The romantic suitability of Hero is thus subject to assessment and confirmation by Claudio's male peers in a display of fraternal support and approval. One of the male students pointed out that a similar "bro code" is a standard ingredient in the recipe for "romantic love" in popular Indian cinema, especially Bollywood, wherein the hero's friends often assist him in his romantic pursuit of the heroine and thus implicitly corroborate her "value" as an object of desire. Another male student admitted, rather coyly, that there exists an informal system of peer ranking among young male friends based on the perceived desirability of young women that one might want to date. Students familiar with the emphasis on women's physical beauty and their familial wealth – Indian matrimonial advertisements typically demand "fair" and "slender" brides and parents of the groom negotiate in advance over the dowry the bride is expected to bring to her in-laws – were quick to realize that the romantic "love-at-first-sight" trope in the play operates within a patriarchal system where men judge women's "worth" as matrimonial objects. In fact, Don Pedro's active role in courting Hero on behalf of Claudio and in formally proposing their marriage to Leonato, as well as Leonato's instructions to his daughter "that she may be the better prepared for an answer" to Don Pedro, indicate Hero's silent passivity in the entire matter. The students perceived a resemblance between this romantic alliance (in which Shakespeare turns on its head the comedic convention of parental opposition to their children's romantic pursuits) and that peculiar, hybrid phenomenon popularly known in India as "love-cum-arranged" marriage, where the respective (usually) male guardians negotiate, organize and fund the wedding of a young couple in love.

If Claudio relies on a fraternal network of friends to express, evaluate and advance his romantic interest in Hero, he also falls prey to false male testimony about female character through Don John and Borachio's manipulative plot to besmirch Hero's reputation the night before the wedding. While I drew attention to Shakespeare's use of gossip and eavesdropping as central plot devices to create a dramatic crisis in the Claudio-Hero romantic track, the students diagnosed Claudio's over-dependence on other men's accounts of Hero's character as being the *real* cause behind the misunderstanding. In this, they felt, Hero's situation in the play is similar to that of Imogen, Hermione, Desdemona and Gertrude, since these women are also subject to the tragic consequences of men's construction of their characters. While most students concurred with this line of thought, a few of them (both male and female) from conservative familial backgrounds, pointed out that in their own cultural context, where interaction between young men and women prior to marriage is considered taboo, the risk of falling prey to rumour is built into the social system and renders Claudio's duping rather more credible, if not justifiable. The masculine anxiety over feminine "virtue" (indicated, as I pointed out, in the title of the play through the pun on "nothing," Elizabethan slang for
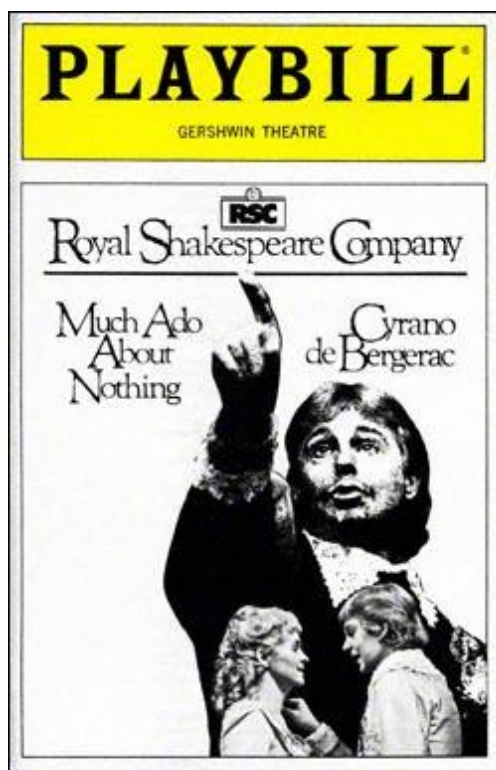
vagina) is one that enabled students to locate the play thematically within the cultural context of India, where the idea of sexual purity is central to a woman's desirability in the marriage market. Many of the students cited the unflattering portrayal of unwed mothers and sex workers in popular Indian cinema as a symptom of the stigma associated with women's sexual expression outside the domain of matrimony. In fact, Hero's public interrogation and humiliation is predicated on a sense of hurt masculine pride, as Claudio and Don Pedro complain about being "dishonoured" by Leonato, who they think has tried to gift them "a rotten orange," "a common stale." Hero's supposed transgression of femininity is thus perceived as a source of threat and contamination to the fraternal order that binds these men. Leonato himself wishes for Hero's death, as it would be "the fairest cover for her shame" and proposes to "strike at [her] life" should she revive; the Friar recommends that Hero be proclaimed dead for the time being or be sent away to a nunnery; Benedick, upon Beatrice's oath, swears to challenge Claudio to a duel to claim justice for the "wronged" Hero and so does Leonato's brother, Antonio. To a class of students all-too-familiar with media reports of "honour killings" in India, the idea of a father disowning or even killing his own daughter for her "misgovernment," or of male members of the family/community embarking upon murderous revenge on unapproved male suitors, was more a grim social reality than rhetorical flourish.

The resolution of this crisis, necessary for the play to end "happily" in marriage, occurs only once Hero's "wounded reputation" is restored by the very men who first maligned her. Claudio's penance, as recommended by Leonato, is a matter of public performance and of restoring the masculine alliance of honour through marriage – an epitaph proclaiming Hero's innocence and the promise to wed her (fabricated) identical cousin is the form it is to take. This matrimonial contract, mirroring the first one "arranged" between Leonato, Claudio and Don Pedro, easily substitutes Hero even if, and perhaps because, she exists only as a story of who she is/was. There is no reference in the play to Hero's own feelings on the matter, since she is once again commanded by her father to play along with the final stratagem of deceit. As a student pointed out, Hero is like Ahalya in the Indian epic *Ramayana*, a woman who is seduced by Lord Indra (a Zeus-like figure, the Hindu god of thunder and lightning) in the guise of her husband, the sage Gautama, who in turn curses her with petrification for her "infidelity," and is ultimately brought back to life with the touch of Lord Rama's feet. Both women become victims of character assassination by the men around them and subsequently also the tools of restoring masculine honour and justice. As irksome and un-romantic as many students found the Claudio-Hero reunion at the end of the play, they also recognized that in their own cultural context, where rape victims often become the subject of public scandal and juridical harassment, leading, in many cases, to suicide or even a forced marriage between the victim and the perpetrator, and legislation to criminalize marital rape meets open administrative resistance, female sexuality continues to be the subject of patriarchal definition and control. The survival of a Hero, in Renaissance England and in 21st century India, depends on the subsuming of her voice to the stories men tell of her: "She died, my lord, but whiles her slander lived."

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Contributors' Notes

Teaching about War, Capitalism and Empire

"OKINAWA SOLIDARITY" BY ASH KYRIE. THIS IMAGE BY ASH KYRIE IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY JUSTSEEDS, IVAW, BOOKLYN, REPETITIVE PRESS, AND THE CIVILIAN SOLDIER ALLIANCE.

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