

University of Denver

Winter 2018

INTS 3702: Topics –Nonviolent Resistance in Global Politics

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Course Time and Location:

Tuesday/Thursday

4:00pm – 5:50pm

Sie Complex Room 3120

Office Hours

10am – 12pm T/R

& by appointment

Course Description

How do people struggling with violence and oppression come together to achieve change? When do such struggles succeed and fail? Recent history has seen hundreds of major nonviolent resistance movements – from the civil rights movement of the United States to the Arab Spring movements in the Middle East – mobilize huge numbers of people and initiate major political transformations around the world. This course examines this phenomenon of nonviolent resistance: the application of force without the use of weapons to achieve political change. We will discuss the central ideas behind nonviolent resistance from diverse thinkers such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr, examine some of the most important historical cases of nonviolent resistance, dig into what scholars can tell us about how, when, and why nonviolent resistance works, and seek to understand the consequences of nonviolent resistance for our world today.

Course Objectives

- Students will gain a thorough understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of nonviolent resistance.
- Students will be conversant with seminal examples of nonviolent resistance movements.
- Students will be familiar with key findings from the scholarly literature on the onset, dynamics, and outcomes of nonviolent resistance.

Required Texts

The required text for this course is *Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, & Dynamics* by Sharon Erickson Nepstad. Copies of this book are available at the bookstore. You can also purchase very inexpensive copies on Amazon and other online retailers.

Additional readings will be assigned for most class sessions. These readings will all be available to download on the course Canvas page. All readings listed in the class schedule section below are

required to be read before the class session where they are listed unless they are specifically listed as “recommended.”

There are a number of other excellent books on nonviolent resistance that we will be reading extensive selections from throughout the course. The required selections will be available on Canvas, but if you are interested in this topic then I highly recommend you purchase your own copies. A few of these titles are:

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds. 2010. *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gene Sharp. 2005. *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

In addition to the required and recommended readings listed on the syllabus, students should get into the practice of reading news stories on ongoing nonviolent resistance movements. We will discuss these periodically during our class sessions. General media sources such as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* are good places to start. There are also a number of excellent media sources specifically focused on nonviolent resistance. Students should spend some time on *Nonviolent Conflict News* from the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. The blogs *Waging Nonviolence* and *Minds of the Movement* are also good sources.

Course Assignments

1. **Attendance:** You are required to attend class. You are allowed to have up to 2 unexcused absences with no penalty. For each additional absence you will lose 2% of your total final grade. Any student with seven absences (a third of the class) or more will automatically fail. Any exceptions to this rule for religious reasons, sports team schedules, family emergencies, etc... must be approved by me before the class session that will be missed.
2. **Participation (20% of final grade):** I expect all students to participate actively in class. A significant portion of our class time will be used for discussion and other interactive activities. These are described in the class format section below. In particular, I expect students to pay careful attention to and offer meaningful feedback on the presentations given by other students at the midterm and final class sessions. Thus you are required to attend these class sessions even if you are not presenting on that day. Students who are not as comfortable speaking in front of the class may still get a good participation grade by answering online discussion questions after each class session.
3. **Discussion Facilitation (10% of final grade):** Each student will be responsible for reporting back on two of the class readings during the class session where that reading is assigned. Students should be prepared to share the core argument of the reading, their own evaluation of the reading, points of critique, and at least two questions to initiate our discussion. Students will select two reading that they will facilitate and no more than two students may select the same reading.
4. **Class Reflection (10% of final grade):** After a class session of their choice, each student will write a 300-500 word reflection on the session’s topic, including the required readings and the in-

class discussion. The reflection does not necessarily need to make a strong central argument but should critically reflect on the 2-3 things from that class session that were most compelling or that you found most problematic. Students do not need to select a class session for their reflection ahead of time, but reflections must be turned in within 48 hours of the class session in question. If you have not turned in a reflection by the end of the quarter you will be required to write one about the final class session and turn it in no later than **March 15th**.

5. **Midterm/Final Options:** The bulk of your graded work will come in the form of a midterm and final assignment. For both of these the general topic will be set, but you will have some flexibility both in the specific topic and in how to fulfill it. One of your assignments will be a 5-minute presentation in class. The other will be a 2000-3000 word essay. Students who are presenting will also be responsible for turning in a 500-word summary of the core points they will cover in their presentation and a brief Powerpoint presentation on Canvas. This one-page summary does not need to be written as an essay, and can simply be a list of bullet points, however the points should be clear and well-thought. The summary and Powerpoint will be due no later than 24 hours prior to the presentation date.

Students will choose which assignment they would like to do as a presentation and which they would like to do as a paper. However, since the number of presentation slots will be limited to half the class, presentation slots will be assigned on a first-come, first-served basis. Once a particular class session is full you will have to do your presentation during the alternate session. If you wish to do two papers or presentations you must find another student who is willing to switch with you (for instance, if you wish to do two presentations you must find a student who wants to do two papers). The Midterm will be due no later than **February 6th, 2018**. The final will be due no later than **March 13th, 2018**.

Both of these assignments give students some flexibility in picking a particular case to present or write about. You must get those particular cases approved by me no later than two weeks before the assignment is due (for the midterm this is **January 23rd**. For the final this is **February 27th**). If you do not get your topic approved by these dates then you will receive a half-letter grade penalty on the assignment in question.

- a. **Midterm (30% of final grade):** Examine a particular country's current politics and society and make an argument, based on evidence from the country and the readings from class, as to how likely the emergence of a nonviolent resistance movement is and what issues such a movement would likely focus on. You may choose any country you like as long as you conclude that there is at least some possibility of a movement there.
- b. **Final (30% of final grade):** Prepare a strategic estimate for a nonviolent resistance campaign of your choice. The campaign may either be a historical campaign, a contemporary campaign that has not yet occurred, or even a movement that you are personally involved in. The format of the strategic estimate is somewhat flexible but should cover the general areas laid out in Gene Sharp's "Preparing a Strategic Estimate" which we will read in Week 3 and which will be available for your reference on Canvas. Strong strategic estimates will take into account the various aspects of nonviolent resistance covered throughout the quarter.

Class Format

The majority of our class sessions will be structured as *discussion-based seminars* rather than lectures. I will typically give some brief words introducing the day's topic, after which we will spend the

bulk of the class time discussing the most central ideas in the readings for that day, as well as relevant current events. Because of this class format, it is absolutely crucial that students have done the reading before the class session. In some class sessions we will also have more structured exercises or simulations.

The conversations we have in class may be particularly emotional or politically charged for students. I encourage lively debate, but demand that all students treat one another with dignity and respect. Critique ideas, not people. Disrespecting other students will not be tolerated, and students who engage in it may be asked to leave the class.

Non-class related use of laptops, cell phones, or other electronic devices is not allowed during class time. Using laptops to check social media or engage in other non-class activities not only distracts you but is also highly distracting to the students around you. If I observe that you are using your electronic devices for anything other than note-taking or looking up references for class exercises I may ask you to leave the class, and **you will be marked as absent for that day.**

While it is a good idea to have a phone or laptop handy to look up information for class exercises, I strongly recommend that you take notes using a pen and notebook. There is a lot of research showing that taking notes using an electronic device actually makes it much harder for your brain to retain information – you’ll get a lot more out of the class if you use a pen.

Tips on Reading and Writing

All written assignments should be turned in on Canvas. I have no preferences regarding font, margin-size, etc... (within reason). However, you should make your submissions double-spaced to make my comments easier. I give all guidelines on appropriate paper length in terms of words, not pages. I have no preference on citation style (in-text citations, footnotes, etc...) as long as you do clearly cite all of your sources and use the same consistent style throughout.

Clear and professional writing can be a challenge, particularly for those first entering college, however, it is one of the most useful life skills you can get from your higher education. To that end, I do evaluate written assignments both on the quality of the content and also the clarity and style of the writing. Written work should be clear and not have grammatical and spelling errors.

All of your written work should advance an argument, with an introduction presenting the key points of your argument, a body giving evidence in support of your argument, and a conclusion drawing the connections between the evidence presented and the key points from the introduction.

The Writing Center here at DU is an excellent resource. For students who need or want to improve their writing I strongly recommend you take advantage of their services. In free, 45-minute consultations, graduate and advanced undergraduate consultants work with writers on any piece of writing, for any purpose, at any stage of the process. Consultants take a collaborative and non-evaluative approach: they work *with* you to help you develop strategies for improving your writing in light of your specific assignments, goals, and needs. To make an appointment, call 303-871-7456 or go to MyWeb/Student/Writing Center. You can find more information at www.du.edu/writing/writingcenter.

Students may find completing all of the reading for this class challenging. There are a few tricks that you can use to make the reading load easier and ensure that you are prepared to discuss the readings in class.

1. Always read the introductions and conclusions of articles carefully. These will typically have the most important points for you to remember.
2. Always ask yourself: “what are the one or two main things the author is trying to say in this piece?” It is helpful to write this down and have it with you to refer to in class.
3. If necessary, skim the central parts of articles, particularly if the introduction gives you a clear sense of the core argument. If, after skimming, you’re not sure what the article was about, you may need to re-read in a little more depth.

Grading Scale and Policies

I do not grade on a curve. Each student’s work will be evaluated independently based on its quality. Thus it is theoretically possible for every student in the class to get an A. However, getting such high marks will require hard work on your part. Here is how grades should be interpreted, as well as how a letter grade translates to a 0-100 numeric scale.

A (94 and higher) = The student performed far beyond my expectations, displaying a grasp of the analytical and empirical material as well as creativity or insight beyond the material itself.

A- (93-90) = I was impressed by the student’s performance. The student has strong analytical, theoretical, and empirical skills.

B+ (89-87) = The student met all of my expectations in the course.

B (86-84) = The student met most of my expectations, but demonstrated weakness in either analytical or empirical skills.

B- (83-80) = The student demonstrated weakness in analytical and empirical skills, but clearly attempted to prepare for assignments.

C (79-70) = The student demonstrated disregard for the course requirements.

D (69-60) = The student demonstrated negligence or disrespect in their assignments.

F (Below 60) = The student violated a class policy, did not attend class, or did not perform to a level that I knew they were attending.

If a student wishes to dispute their grade on an assignment they must contact me within 48 hours of receiving their grade and set an appointment to discuss it. At this appointment they must bring a typed summary of the reasons why they believe the grade is unfair. I will then reevaluate the assignment on the basis of these reasons. All revised grades are final, and they may be lower than the original grade.

All assignments must be turned in by the due date on the syllabus. An assignment turned in late at all will receive an automatic half-letter grade point deduction. Assignments turned in more than three days late may receive heavier penalties, at my discretion.

Accommodations for Disability

Any student who feels they may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss your specific needs. Please also contact the **Disability Services Program** located on the 4th floor of Ruffatto Hall: 1999 E. Evans Ave., to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities. Their phone number is 303-871-2278. Information is also available online at <http://www.du.edu/disability/dsp>. See the *Handbook for Students with Disabilities*.

Policy on Cheating

Cheating (using unauthorized materials or giving unauthorized academic exercise), plagiarism (the use of someone else's ideas without clear acknowledgment), and fabrication (the intentional falsification or invention of information) are serious academic offenses that may result in a failing grade for the particular assignment, for the course, or in suspension or expulsion from the university. Refer to the DU Student Honor Code for further detail:

<http://www.du.edu/studentlife/studentconduct/honorcode.html>

Class Schedule

Week 1: Introducing Nonviolent Resistance

- **January 4th**
 - No readings assigned. Students should review the syllabus, as well as news sources on ongoing nonviolent resistance movements.

Week 2: Theories of Nonviolence

- **January 9th**: What is Nonviolent Resistance?
 - Nepstad – Preface and Chapter 1
 - Walter H. Conser. “The United States: Reconsidering the Struggle for Independence, 1765-1775.”
 - Recommended: Nepstad – Chapter 4
- **January 11th**: Ethical Approaches to Nonviolence
 - Nepstad – Chapter 2
 - Martin Luther King, Jr. – Letter from a Birmingham Jail
 - Mohandas K. Gandhi – *Hind Swaraj*, Chapters 16-17
 - Recommended: The rest of *Hind Swaraj*
 - Raghavan N. Iyer. *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, Chapter 10: *Satyagraha*

Week 3: How does Nonviolent Action Work?

- **January 16th**: Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Action
 - Nepstad – Chapter 3
 - Gene Sharp – *Waging Nonviolent Struggle* Chapters 29-31
 - Recommended: Gene Sharp – *Waging Nonviolent Struggle* Chapters 2-4
- **January 18th**: Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Action
 - Gene Sharp – *Waging Nonviolent Struggle* Chapters 32-34, 36, and Appendix A
 - Recommended: Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler – “The Principles of Strategic Nonviolent Conflict.”

Week 4: When and where does Nonviolent Action Happen?

- **January 23rd**: Domestic factors
 - Erica Chenoweth and Jay Ulfelder. “Can Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Nonviolent Uprisings?”
 - Timur Kuran. “Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.”
 - Doug McAdam. “The US Civil Rights Movement: Power from Below and Above, 1945-70.”
- **January 25th**: International Factors
 - Nepstad – Chapter 8
 - Mark Beissinger. “Promoting Democracy: Is Exporting Revolution a Constructive Strategy?”

- Recommended: Mark Beissinger – “Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions.”

Week 5: The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action (1)

- **January 30th:** Repression and Backfire
 - Nepstad – Chapter 5
 - David Hess and Brian Martin. “Repression, Backfire, and the Theory of Transformative Events.”
 - Recommended: Jonathan Sutton, Charles Butcher, and Isak Svensson. “Explaining Political Jiu-Jitsu: Institution-Building and the Outcomes of Regime Violence Against Unarmed Protests.”
- **February 1st:** Nonviolent Discipline and Radical Flanks
 - Gene Sharp – *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action*, pages 615-633
 - Tom Lodge. “The Interplay of Non-Violent and Violent Action in the Movement Against Apartheid in South Africa, 1983-94.”
 - Maciej Bartkowski and Mohja Kahf. “The Syrian Resistance: A Tale of Two Struggles.” Available at <https://www.opendemocracy.net/civilresistance/maciej-bartkowski-mohja-kahf/syrian-resistance-tale-of-two-struggles>

Week 6: The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action (2)

- **February 6th:** Presentations – Predicting Civil Resistance Onset
 - No readings assigned. Students should prepare for presentations or finish up essays.
- **February 8th:** Military Defection
 - Nepstad – Chapter 7
 - Anika Binnendijk and Ivan Marovic. “Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004).”

Week 7: The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action (3)

- **February 13th:** The Crucial Role of Women
 - Anne-Marie Codur and Mary Elizabeth King. “Women in Civil Resistance.”
 - Marie Principe. “Women in Nonviolent Movements.”
 - Leymah Gbowee. “The Dream” (film being watched in class)
 - Recommended: *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* (film, not available on Canvas)
- **February 15th:** Extremely Brutal Opponents
 - Ralph Summy: “Nonviolent and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent.”
 - Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall: *A Force More Powerful*, Chapter 5
 - Michael Stratford. “Can Nonviolent National Defense be Effective if the Opponent is Ruthless?: The Nazi Case.”

Week 8: Outcomes of Nonviolent Action

- **February 20th:** Success
 - Nepstad – Chapter 6
 - Marshall Ganz. “Introduction: How David Beat Goliath.” From *Why David Sometimes Wins: Leadership, Organization, and Strategy in the California Farm Worker Movement*.

- Recommended: Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan: *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Chapters 1-2
- **February 22nd**: Democratization
 - Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan: *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Chapter 8
 - Pinckney. “Between Liberation and Freedom.”

Week 9: New Frontiers

- **February 27th**: Resistance Against Armed Groups
 - Oliver Kaplan: “Protecting Civilians in Civil War: The Institution of the ATCC in Colombia.”
 - Carla Suarez: “Living Between Two Lions: Civilian Protection Strategies during Armed Violence in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.”
 - Recommended: Juan Masullo. *The Power of Staying Put: Nonviolent Resistance Against Armed Groups in Colombia*
- **March 1st**: Information Technology and Nonviolent Resistance
 - Zeynep Tufekci: “Social Movements and Governments in the Digital Age: Evaluating a Complex Landscape.”
 - Malcolm Gladwell. “Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not be Tweeted.”

Week 10: New Frontiers

- **March 6th**: Civilian-Based Defense
 - Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack – *War Without Weapons* Chapters 2 and 3
 - Recommended: Gene Sharp – *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*
- **March 8th**: Nonviolent Action and Electoral Politics
 - Omar Wasow. “Do Protests Matter? Evidence from the 1960s Black Insurgency.”
 - Andreas Madestam. “Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement.”
 - Recommended: “The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973.”
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Week 10.5: Final Presentations

- **March 13th**: Presentations – Strategic Plans
 - No readings assigned: students should prepare for presentations or finish up final essays.