

Civil Resistance and Social Change

Sociology and Psychology 492P-01
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Machmer Hall Room W-11
Mondays and Wednesdays 4.00-5:15 PM

Professor Stellan Vinthagen

Endowed Chair in the Study of Nonviolent Direct Action and Civil Resistance

Director, Resistance Studies Initiative, UMass Amherst

Department of Sociology

200 Hicks Way, Thompson Hall

University of Massachusetts, Amherst,

MA 01003-9277

phone: 413.545.4072

fax: 413.545.3204

email: vinthagen@soc.umass.edu

Website: <http://umass.edu/resistancestudies>

Blog: <http://blogs.umass.edu/vinthagen/>

In the US Sep-Dec only.

Office: Thompson, Room 706

Office hours: Mondays 9.00-12:00 noon, and by appointment

Affiliated to:

*Dep. of Sociology, Gothenburg University

*Resistance Studies Network (RSN), resistancestudies.org

*War Resisters' International wri-irg.org

OVERVIEW

In recent years it has become increasingly obvious how ordinary people, within mass mobilizations of protests and resistance of different kind are able to overthrow governments, without using military means. We have seen how racist dictatorships have fallen (as in South Africa), as well as communist authoritarian regimes (as in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union), and military dictatorships (as in several South American states, e.g. Chile and Bolivia). We have also seen how major reforms have been implemented against structural violence and legalized injustices within liberal democracies (as e.g. racist segregation in the Southern states of USA). However, some of these mobilizations have encountered hard obstacles and protracted violent conflicts, with few or any achievements (as in e.g. Palestine, China, Syria, Egypt, Western Sahara, Tibet). Others have overthrown their government in sudden transitions, only to find themselves within an even worse authoritarian regime than before (as in Iran), while

others have succeeded to create a fundamentally more democratic and just society after a series of smaller challenges and reforms over longer periods (as in Scandinavia).

This course focus on what has variously been called 'nonviolent direct action', 'people power', 'unarmed insurrection', or 'color revolution'. It applies sociological perspectives on the 'resistance' that is played out in political and non-institutional mobilizations: its causes, effects and dynamics. In what way does organized, strategic and mass mobilized popular resistance bring about change, or reproduce domination?

By the end of the course you should, based on your learning from the literature and class discussions:

- show ability to read a larger text material and extract the main points claimed by different authors.
- recognize key features of nonviolent action or civil resistance when you encounter it in public discourse or media reports.
- understand the differences between key concepts such as nonviolent action, protest, direct action, civil disobedience, contentious politics and social movements.
- be familiar with several different theoretical frameworks that try to explain the movement mobilization of civil resistance.
- understand how it is possible to explain why civil resistance might be utilized effectively against authoritarian regimes.
- recognize some different choices activists will have to conduct when it comes to an appropriate tactical and strategic application of civil resistance.
- show ability to critically analyze a case or event involving civil resistance, or someone making an argument in favor or against civil resistance in a particular context, by pointing out some key questions or factors that need to be considered.
- show an ability to make independently written reviews of academic texts, and written papers, which utilize academic texts in a critical reflective way, apply an appropriate style and forms of referencing, and demonstrate theoretically informed discussions.
- demonstrate an acceptable ability to orally present information to an audience of fellow students.

REQUIREMENTS

Participation in class discussions: This course is organized with a combination of different class meetings (lectures, text seminars, movie seminars and paper seminars). During text seminars we discuss some key texts together, and during lectures and other types of seminars you will be given supplementary perspectives on the course theme. Therefore you must complete the required readings of some specified texts before the class meeting for which they are assigned (see schedule below), and it is expected that you actively participate in the discussion of the readings during seminar sessions. In addition to demonstrating an understanding of the main arguments and themes of the readings, you are encouraged to think critically about the readings (i.e. identify strengths and weaknesses), compare and contrast them to other readings or literatures, and make connections to ongoing social processes and current events.

Text seminar rapporteurs (oral and written performance): For each of the seminars for which we have required readings, students will be designated as rapporteurs, who are responsible for presenting to the class a concise summary of the main points and arguments of the readings (time limit: 20 minutes). This report also has to be written and copied to everyone in the class as a handout. It can be made in form of definitions of key concepts, quotes of main theses and bullet-points. It is **not** suppose to be a full review paper, although it has to be comprehensive and understandable. It is helpful if it has references to page numbers or chapters, making it possible to follow the summary.

Text seminar questions (oral and written performance): Each student will have to hand in a paper with one question to the seminar. Based on the reading of the required reading for the seminar your question has to be well informed, and one that is a *problematizing* one. (It is not accepted to hand in a question that can be answered with a simple yes or no, or where the answer is to find on a certain page.) It is strongly advised that you team up with another student and develop your questions together. That ensures quality of the question you hand in. Make a copy of your question to the professor to hand in before the meeting starts (and make sure you have the original, making it possible to ask the question!).

News rapporteurs for “Here are the news” (oral and written performance): News about activism within mainstream media is generally sporadic, misguided, distorted and incomplete. In order to counter that we at several class meetings have a news report of about 10 minutes with a selection of highlights relevant to the course theme. Students, according to a elective schedule, conduct this report function. Making the news report is only possible if you have actively searched for news from activist sites and alternative media outlets using Internet (for some suggested outlets to begin with, see below). You are suppose to search for relevant news on activism globally that are of interest for the class and that occurred in the time since the last report was given. In this way the class will stay updated on what happens on the activist front. Once the report is done you hand in your notes to the professor (as plain text or keywords in a bullet list). Only when the notes, with full name stated at the top of the paper, are handed in is the assignment complete.

External Events Rapporteur (the Speaker Series/Workshops/Movies, etc.) (oral and written performance): This class happens in a context. There are many civil resistance studies relevant events occurring at the UMass Amherst Campus and outside it during any given semester, so also this year. The *Resistance Studies Initiative* (RSI) organizes some of that; see <http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies> RSI is a special effort by UMass Amherst to promote studies of civil resistance and a resource for both academics and activists. So, these activities are of relevance to the theme of the class, and in a way it makes sense for us all to attend all of it. I hope you do, however, that might not be possible, and therefore, to ensure the class get the core ideas from these events, we assign some of us to report back in written and oral form from these events. More information on the different events is given below in the Schedule, and the assignment requirements are described in the section on Grading.

Review essay (written performance only): Each student is required to choose one recent scholarly book (published the last ten years) that falls within the substantive domain of this course, such as a social movement organization, contentious political

event (e.g. a regime change) or a relevant theoretical issue, and to make a review essay of the book. The book needs approval from the professor before you start to write. This you do by sending a mail with a description of the content of the book to the professor. However, even if you get approval you are still responsible for that the chosen book fits the theme of the class, and is possible to relate to the course literature. Since each student need to choose a book someone else has not yet chosen, it is good to be quick in reporting which book you choose. This essay should consist of 6 double spaced pages, and the text shall be evenly distributed with 1/3 of the text (2 pages) per section: (1) Summary of the main content and points of the chosen book, (2) Analytical comparison with the mandatory literature at this course, and (3) Your critical reflection of the strengths and weakness of the chosen book. The review is due on **Oct 17**.

Course Paper and presentation, and peer-review (oral and written performance):

A paper is required on an *unarmed campaign* that falls within the substantive domain of this course. You will have to chose one of the over 1 000 campaigns described in the *Swarthmore Global Nonviolent Action Database*, see <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu> The assignment is to write a longer and more developed analysis based on the one that is presented in the database, but by adding something substantially new to the description. Preferably you add new sources, other theories or perspectives on the case, and you might also, if you find problems, discuss the accuracy of the Database description. You might for example take a gender or race perspective on the case described, and through that contribute to our understanding of that case. Or, you might take a deeper look on one of the aspects briefly mentioned in the case description, e.g. defection of soldiers, the role of an economic crisis, the role of trainings or preparations of the activists, the effects of repression from the state, the role of building alternative or parallel institutions (or ‘constructive resistance’). Or, you might take a particular theoretical framework (e.g. resource mobilization theory, political process theory, etc.) and make a different kind of analysis of the case. Your unique contribution to the case description does not have to be something that proves the entry in the Database wrong, it is enough if it is an aspect ignored, or treated in a summary way in passing. You have the opportunity to get direct feedback on your choice if you have one idea to present at the class **Sep 26** (see schedule). You must get approval from the professor of your topic before starting to write. To get an approval you need to send an email with the title and an abstract of the content to your professor (include a copy of the original Database entry for easy assessment). In the abstract you need to focus on what is your unique contribution to the case description.

After getting approval, hand in a 2-page paper that describes your topic (in the form of a developed abstract) and includes a preliminary bibliography with at least 5 scholarly sources you plan to use (books or articles produced by academics), while also other additional sources are most likely needed (news reports, activist texts, etc.). This is due at the beginning of class on **Oct 11**. Those submitting in time (and include their email address on the paper) will get written feedback from the professor.

A draft version of the paper is due on **Nov 30** in an email (for reference you should also include a copy of the Swarthmore Database entry that describes your case). Note that you also will have to upload your paper at the class page at Moodle. The paper should be between 4000 to 5000 words on double-spaced pages (including references), with a consistent style of specific referencing to the literature throughout. However, you are

NOT supposed to refer to the original Swarthmore entry for your case, except when you are critically discussing its accuracy. The Swarthmore entry is not a source you can use to substantiate your claims, since you will have to base your discussion on the original sources or complementary sources. On the other hand, all course literature that is relevant for the chosen topic should be referred to and discussed. It is absolutely necessary to follow conventional principles of academic honesty and not use any concepts or text (even shorter sections) from other sources without referring to the source. Failure to follow this basic principle of academic honesty might have severe consequences (see specifications below).

Oral presentations of your draft will be scheduled for some of the last classes (more information later). The length of presentations depends on how many will be presenting, but count on no more than 10 minutes in length. We will utilize a comprehensive written peer-review of papers from within the class (which will only be presented in summary in class, but shared in detail with the author). That means each student will read one paper carefully and give peer-review comments. Details will be provided in a separate handout.

Always remember to identify yourself: Remember to state your full name and class when you communicate with the professor via email, handing in papers or in any other way hand in material for the grading of the course. The only exception is the written evaluations that are done anonymously.

Grading: The importance of the different assignments is shown below. Most of them are completed if you fulfill the criteria specified. Only the review and the course paper will receive a letter grade.

You will have to choose between one of these options:

- 1: Text Seminar rapporteur 10 %
[You will have to be rapporteur once at one of the four text seminars, and make the oral and written rapport that summarizes the key points from the literature, coordinating the presentation with one other student at the same occasion]
- 2: News rapporteur..... 10 %
[You will have to by yourself make a search, summarize and present the news in front of the class at least once to complete this assignment]
- 3: External events rapporteur..... 10 %
[You will attend at least two of the four evening activities: the talks at the Speaker Series Sep 21 and/or Oct 3 at 6-8 PM, the movie 'Disturbing the Peace' on Nov 1 7-9 PM, and/or the movie 'Power Surge' on Oct 23 at 1.30 PM, *or* you alternatively attend only the Oct 15 workshop on 'Dialogue Among Resistance Movements' at 10 AM to 6 PM, *and* write a report of 2 pages, which you also briefly present to the class on for Nov 9]

And all will have to complete these assignments:

- Class participation..... 10 %

[You are expected to attend all ordinary scheduled class events at 4-5.15 PM. If you are absent from more than two class events, without extraordinary and documented reasons accepted by the professor, you will fail this assignment.]

Text Seminar questions..... 10 %

[You will have to give in an acceptable written question to each of the four text seminars before the seminar begins to pass this one. You will be noted if your question is not accepted.]

Review essay 25 %

[You will have to follow the instructions above for the review, and make an acceptable review in order to complete this assignment. The quality of your work will be letter graded.]

Paper, presentation and peer-review of other paper..... 45 %

[You will have to follow the instructions above for the paper, including the deadlines, and make an acceptable paper, presentation and a peer-review of the work of another student, in order to complete this assignment. The quality of your paper will be graded.]

If a student fails to attend any of the key lectures when you are suppose to present an assignment (e.g. a text seminar or presentation of the course paper), and you have a legitimate reason for the absence (documentation might be needed), there will be the possibility of completing a compensatory assignment. If that is the case, email the professor to get a new assignment.

Concerning the grading of the review essay and the course paper: Higher grading of your performance demands an ability to show *a critical understanding and application of the core ideas formulated in the course literature and the key themes* of the course. That demands that you read, formulate core ideas of different authors, critically reflect upon their claims and show an ability to draw reasonable conclusions, based on the literature. What that means will be further explained with illustrating examples during class.

The final grade is based on the whole class performance and will be graded according to mainly combining the grade of the review essay and the course paper, but if a student fails on any of the other assignments it will reduce the final course grade.

Accommodation Statement

The University of Massachusetts Amherst is committed to providing an equal educational opportunity for all students. If you have a documented physical, psychological, or learning disability on file with Disability Services (DS), you may be eligible for reasonable academic accommodations to help you succeed in this course. If you have a documented disability that requires an accommodation, please notify me within the first two weeks of the semester so that we may make appropriate arrangements.

Academic Honesty Statement

Since the integrity of the academic enterprise of any institution of higher education requires honesty in scholarship and research, academic honesty is required of all

students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Academic dishonesty is prohibited in all programs of the University. Academic dishonesty includes but is not limited to: cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and facilitating dishonesty. Appropriate sanctions may be imposed on any student who has committed an act of academic dishonesty. Instructors should take reasonable steps to address academic misconduct. Any person who has reason to believe that a student has committed academic dishonesty should bring such information to the attention of the appropriate course instructor as soon as possible. Instances of academic dishonesty not related to a specific course should be brought to the attention of the appropriate department Head or Chair. Since students are expected to be familiar with this policy and the commonly accepted standards of academic integrity, ignorance of such standards is not normally sufficient evidence of lack of intent (http://www.umass.edu/dean_students/codeofconduct/acadhonesty/).

MANDATORY COURSE TEXTS

Seminar 1:

1. Schock, Kurt (2003) "Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions: Insights for Social Scientists", *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Oct., 2003), pp. 705-712. Published by: American Political Science Association. Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3649265>
2. Edelman, Marc (2001) "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 30 (2001), pp. 285-317.
3. Martin, Brian (2006) [Paths to social change: conventional politics, violence and nonviolence](#). In: Ralph Summy (ed.), *Nonviolent Alternatives for Social Change*, in *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*, developed under the auspices of the UNESCO (Oxford: Eolss Publishers, <http://www.eolss.net>, 2006). (Accessible at <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html>)

Seminar 2:

4. Chabot, Sean and Stellan Vinthagen (2007) "Rethinking Nonviolent Action and Contentious Politics: Political Cultures of Nonviolent Opposition in the Indian Independence Movement and Brazil's Landless Workers Movement", *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, Elsevier Sciences/JAI Press, Oxford, Vol. 27, pp. 91-122.
5. Sørensen, Majken & Stellan Vinthagen (2012) 2012 "Nonviolent Resistance and Culture", *Peace & Change*, Vol. 37, No. 3, July, pp. 444-470.

Seminar 3:

6. David Hess and Brian Martin (2006) [Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events](#). *Mobilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, June 2006, pp. 249-267. (Accessible at <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html>)
7. Majken Jul Sørensen (2016) Constructive Resistance: Conceptualising and Mapping the Terrain, *Journal of Resistance Studies*, Volume 2, Number 1.

(Accessible at <http://resistance-journal.org/product/constructive-resistance-conceptualising-and-mapping-the-terrain/>)

8. Majken Jul Sørensen and Brian Martin (2014) The dilemma action: analysis of an activist technique. *Peace & Change*, Vol. 39, No. 1, January 2014, pp. 73-100. (Accessible at <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html>)

Seminar 4 (A book)

1. Erickson Nepstad, Sharon (2015) *Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics*, New York: Oxford University Press.

NOT REQUIRED COURSE TEXTS

Relevant extra readings

These texts are not part of the required course-literature but they are useful suggestions for your own choice of literature. When you chose your own literature you need to choose a minimum of scholarly texts, but you are encouraged to also, in addition, choose other literature. That could be more “popular” literature as novels, poetry, or “activist” literature, as activist biographies, collections of stories from movements, etc.

Classical examples of activist literature:

- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand ([1910] 1997) *Hind Swaraj: And Other Writings*, (red. Anthony J. Parel), New Delhi: Foundation Books.
- Gandhi, M. K. (1927) *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Trans. Ahmedabad: Mahadev Desai, Navajivan.
- King, Martin Luther Jr. (1963) *Why We Can't Wait*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers. The essential writings of Martin Luther King, Jr. , James M. Washington, ed.
- King, Martin Luther Jr. (1958) *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Here are some suggestions of relevant scholarly literature:

- Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow (2007) *Contentious Politics*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Weber, Thomas (2001) "Gandhian Philosophy, Conflict Resolution Theory and Practical Approaches to Negotiation", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 493–513.
- Bayat, Asef (2000) "From 'Dangerous Classes' to 'Quiet Rebels': Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South", *International Sociology*, Sept. Vol. 15(3): 533- 557.
- Foran, John (2005) *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (278 pp.)

- Rigby, Andrew (1995) "Unofficial Nonviolent Intervention: Examples from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 32, No. 4, Nov. pp. 453-467.
- Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth (2008) "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict", *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 7-44.
- Lakey, George (1973) *Strategy for a Living Revolution*, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Brian Martin. [Revolutionary social defence](http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html). *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 22, No. 1, March 1991, pp. 97-105. (Accessible at <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html>)
- Chenoweth, Erica and Maria J. Stephan (2011) *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, New York: Columbia University Press. (231 pp.)
- Schock, Kurt (2005) *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Melucci, Alberto (1996:a) *Challenging Codes - Collective Action in the Information Age*, Press Syndicate University of Cambridge, USA.
- Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew (1991/1996) *Social Movements - A Cognitive Approach*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, USA.
- Jo Freeman's *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (1975)
- *The Rebellious Century* (1975) by Charles, Louise, and Richard Tilly;
- *The Strategy of Social Protest* (1975) by William Gamson; Jeffery Paige's *Agrarian Revolution* (1975);
- Michael Schwartz's *Radical Protest and Social Structure* (1988 [1976]);
- *Poor People's Movements* (1977) by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward;
- Charles Tilly's *From Mobilization to Revolution* (1978);
- Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979);
- *The Whole World Is Watching* (2003 [1980]) by Todd Gitlin;
- John Gaventa's *Power and Powerlessness* (1980);
- *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* (1999 [1982]) by Doug McAdam;
- *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (1984) by Aldon Morris.
- Bondurant, Joan V. (1988 [1958]) *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, Princeton University Press.
- Chabot, Sean Taudin (2011) *Transnational Roots of the Civil Rights Movement: African American Explorations of the Gandhian Repertoire*, Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Hardiman, David (2003) *Gandhi in his time and ours*, Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Naess, Arne (1974) *Gandhi and Group Conflict*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Sharp, Gene (1960) *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Stories*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- Sharp, Gene (1973) *The Politics of Nonviolent Action: Part 1, 2 & 3*, Extending Horizons Books, Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.
- Sharp, Gene (1979) *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, Extending Horizons Books, Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.
- Sharp, Gene (2002) *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*, Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter mfl (1995) *New Social Movements in Western Europe - A Comparative Analysis*, UCL Press Limited, London.

Some recommended activist news outlets to start with when preparing “Here are the news”:

The primary recommendation is the unique collected sources of news at one site:

<http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/related-news>

Other sources:

<http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/index.php/news-and-media>

<http://www.indymedia.org/or/index.shtml> (not very active nowadays, but there are 50+ sites from different countries and cities with updates)

<http://zcomm.org/zmag/>

<http://www.earthtribe.co>

<http://newsactivist.com>

<http://www.trueactivist.com>

CLASS SCHEDULE

More details on class meetings will be provided during the course.

This schedule may be modified. If so, changes will be announced in class and via email.

Civil Resistance and Social Change

Wednesday, September 7 Course introduction

Presentation of the course, assignments, literature, etc. Presentation of students and the professor. Speaker Series on Resistance, and Special events (Workshop, movies) and visits. Sign up for assignments (News, External Events and Seminar rapporteurs) and a non-professional videographer. Order the Nepstad book NOW! See Amazon.com. Advice on how to read social science literature.

September 12: Civil Resistance and Social Change (And News Report)

Introduction of the thematic and its guiding problems and questions. Video on Nonviolent strategy, trainings and campaigns in the Civil Rights movement. Readings: Schock, Kurt (2003) "Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions".

PART 1: Key concepts/frameworks

September 14: Social movement theory, part 1 (the underlying factors)

Basic theoretical frameworks on social movements are presented and explained, and illustrated (frustrations, historical change, resource mobilization, collective identity, etc.). Video on 'mobilization'
Readings: Edelman, Marc (2001) "Social Movements".

September 19: Social movement theory, part 2 (the strategies and tactics) (And News Report)

Video and discussion on a social movement campaign against apartheid in South Africa. Through an effective organizing of a local boycott, the movement created a crisis within the regime, which although the boycott in itself only achieved local change, was used to mobilize more (demonstrations, conscious objections, international boycott, etc.), which some years later forced the regime to enter negotiations.

Readings: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-african-blacks-boycott-apartheid-port-elizabeth-1985-86>

September 20: Professor Emeritus George Lakey talks on his own long history of combining activism and academic work, the Swarthmore Database and Case studies of nonviolent campaigns (and talks again at 6-8 PM on **Revolution**, see <http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/events>)

Readings: Martin, Brian (2006) "Paths to social change". Also check the <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu>

September 26: Unarmed revolutions (Time for collection of ideas for Course Paper)

Definition and examples of unarmed revolutions are presented, research results, and also theories explaining why they work, and sometimes fail. We will reflect upon why unarmed revolutions have a much higher success rate than armed ones, but still fail to achieve social justice and equality.

Readings: Erickson Nepstad, Sharon (2015) Chapter 5-6.

September 28: Nonviolent action and Civil resistance, part 1 (And News Report)

Basic concepts of civil resistance is explained and outlined (such as 'nonviolence', 'direct action', 'civil disobedience', 'protest', 'constructive resistance', etc.). The power theory of nonviolent resistance is explained through the 'pillars of support'.

Readings: Erickson Nepstad, Sharon (2015) Chapter 1-4.

October 3: The activist-author Jai Sen talks on World Social Forum and the Global Justice Movement

(and talks again at 6-8 PM on a **historical case of Indian indigenous/low-caste resistance**, see <http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/events>)

Readings: Erickson Nepstad, Sharon (2015) Chapter 8.

October 5: 'Bringing down a dictator'

We see the movie about how the Serbian opposition succeeded with what the NATO-bombings failed to do: bringing down the dictator Milosovic. They used combinations of strikes by the miners, alliances between opposition parties, parallel votes counting, creative activism, and mass demonstrations. Here we also see the role of humor as a form of resistance by the youth activist group Otpor.

Readings: 8. David Hess and Brian Martin (2006) "Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events". Erickson Nepstad, Sharon (2015) Chapter 7 and 9. See also: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/serbians-overthrow-milosevic-bulldozer-revolution-2000>

October 11: Constructive Programs (aka Building the New Society) (Time to hand in the 2-page summary of your planned course Paper) (And News Report)

We discuss how the failure of unarmed revolutions perhaps could be altered through the key idea that Gandhi suggested: the 'constructive program'. Examples are given and illustrations of the idea. The new society is shown through its 'pillar of support'.

Readings: Chabot, Sean and Stellan Vinthagen (2007) "Rethinking Nonviolent Action". Majken Jul Sørensen (2016) "Constructive Resistance".

October 12 (NOTE we are in 423 Tobin Hall, 4-6 PM): Professor Richard Jackson talks on "Pacifism as a discursive resistance to contemporary studies in International Relations" (see <http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/events>)

Oct 15 (extra opportunity): Dialogue Among Resistance Movements with Mandy Carter, The Lounge, First Congregational Church, UCC, 165 Main St, Amherst, Mass. 10 AM to 6 PM. (See info attached to the Syllabus). For more info and registering: joanne@warresisters.org or 860-639-8834

PART 2: Text seminars on mandatory literature (see above)

Note: Seminar questions must be handed in at the start of each seminar, see above.

October 17: Articles Seminar 1 (Note: Time to hand in the review essay)

Text seminar rapporteurs present (20 min.), give us their handout and then we discuss the rest of the time in groups based on participants questions.

Readings: All the text specified above for that seminar.

October 19 (NOTE we are in a different room, probably 423 Tobin Hall, or you will get to know otherwise): Professor Lory Dance talks about the use of humor, satire and comedy as tools against racism

(see <http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/events>)

October 23 (extra opportunity): The movie 'Power Struggle' is shown at 1.30 PM Power Struggle is the documentation of the campaign that shut down Vermont Yankee nuclear plant. There will be a special tribute to Frances Crowe, the local 97 year old activist who was repeatedly arrested at VT Yankee. Tickets should be bought in advance as it will fill. Go to website of Academy of Music Northampton: <http://www.aomtheatre.com/event/power-struggle-the-vermont-yankee-story-frances-crowe-tribute/>

October 24: Articles Seminar 2 (And News Report)

Text seminar rapporteurs present (20 min.), give us their handout and then we discuss the rest of the time in groups based on participants questions.

Readings: All the text specified above for that seminar.

October 26: Articles Seminar 3

Text seminar rapporteurs present (20 min.), give us their handout and then we discuss the rest of the time in groups based on participants questions.

Readings: All the text specified above for that seminar.

November 1: Nepstad Seminar 4

Text seminar rapporteurs present (20 min.), give us their handout and then we discuss the rest of the time in groups based on participants questions.

Readings: Nepstad's book

November 1 at 7 PM (Extra opportunity): The awarded movie 'Disturbing the Peace', about the unique peace and justice group Combatants for Peace, a bi-national

group of Palestinians and Israelis, all former soldiers or armed fighters. Urgent to book at ticket if you want to see the movie: <http://amherstcinema.org/films-and-events/disturbing-peace>

PART 3: Case stories of civil resistance (movies, narratives and discussions)

November 2: Case story of civil resistance (Campaigns in Chile, and Poland)

We see videos that describe two successful nonviolent campaigns in two very different contexts. In Chile an alliance of different political groups mobilized against the right-wing military junta and the dictator Pinochet, forcing a referendum about the regime. In Poland the trade union Solidarnosc fought for the right to negotiate working conditions within a socialist state and military rule during the state of emergency, and – after a long struggle – not only forced the state to negotiate and recognize the trade union, but became key to the fall of the Berlin Wall in East Germany.

Readings: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/solidarno-solidarity-brings-down-communist-government-poland-1988-89>, and <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/chileans-overthrow-pinochet-regime-1983-1988>

November 7: Case story of civil resistance (the movement of landless workers in Brazil, MST) (And News Report)

MST is an amazing example of both a successful resistance movement that achieved remarkable results, and a movement that illustrates the combination of resistance and constructive programs. MST is also an example of a movement that is not focused on regime change or a revolution that puts the national state in focus, but one that focus on autonomy, self-governance and a network of local change that amounts to a revolution of its own kind.

Readings: Sörensen, Majken & Stellan Vinthagen (2012) 2012 “Nonviolent Resistance and Culture”. Also: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landless_Workers%27_Movement and <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/landless-workers-win-land-rights-nova-ronda-alta-brazil-1982-1984>

November 9: Case story of civil resistance (Praying the Devil back to Hell)_(And: External events reports)

We see selected parts of the movie ‘Praying the Devil back to Hell’. This winner of Best Documentary award at Tribeca Film Festival and Official Section of Sundance Film Festival, chronicles the remarkable story of the courageous Liberian women who came together to end a bloody civil war and bring peace to their shattered country. Thousands of women ordinary mothers, grandmothers, aunts and daughters, both Christian and Muslim came together to pray for peace and then staged a silent protest outside of the Presidential Palace. It is a compelling testimony of how grassroots activism can alter the history of nations.

Readings:

Most important reading is <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/liberian-women-act-end-civil-war-2003> But read also: <https://tavaana.org/en/content/how->

[women-liberia-fought-peace-and-won,](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_of_Liberia_Mass_Action_for_Peace)
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Liberian_Civil_War,](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Liberian_Civil_War)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_of_Liberia_Mass_Action_for_Peace

November 14: Case story of civil resistance (Ship to Gaza and the Freedom Flotilla)
(And News Report)

Here we will learn about the situation in the ‘biggest outdoor prison’ in the world, where a humanitarian crisis is ongoing since several years, due to the imposed blockade of all transport in and out of this area of Palestine. Palestinian diaspora activists in Europe, Israeli Jews, and solidarity activists from all over the world joined forces and created a ‘dilemma action’ for the Israeli government: the Freedom Flotilla to Gaza. An action that had strong international impact, decreased the blockade, but failed to lift it.

Readings: Majken Jul Sørensen and Brian Martin (2014) “The dilemma action”. Also:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Freedom_Flotilla and
<http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/freedom-flotilla-gains-partial-victory-eases-blockade-gaza-strip-2010>

Nov 16 (NOTE we are in 423 Tobin Hall between 4-6 PM): Professor Lelia Kawar talks about “Legal activism and deportation resistance: comparative and historical perspectives” (see <http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/events>)

No teaching Nov 21-25, Thanksgiving holiday week

Part 4: Course Papers

NOTE: No teaching November 28 and 30: Course Papers Writing Period

NOTE: On November 30, latest at 4 PM you must hand in the draft version of the course Paper via mail to the professor and by uploading the paper to the course site at Moodle. Everyone will then get a mail with information on December 1 distributing the papers for peer-review, and identifying the groups for the paper seminars next week.

December 5 and 7: Draft Paper Seminars

Draft Paper Seminars are done in groups, where authors and reviewers are divided into the same groups. Circa 10 minutes per paper. Details will be provided in a separate handout. Based on comments from the reviews you will have the chance to rework your paper, and submit at the latest Dec 20.

December 12: Course evaluation (And News Report)

The theme of the course is evaluated in an end-of-semester teaching evaluation, both written and orally. We take up course content and form, as well as other practical issues (examinations, information, administration, student service, etc.).

No teaching on Dec 14!

Dec 20: NOTE: This is the absolute deadline for the final version of your course Paper. Submit via email to the professor. Late submissions are not accepted.