

SEMINAR
CONF 695 SOCI 633 STRATEGIC NONVIOLENT CONFLICT
Fall, 2012

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Despite the practice of civil resistance or strategic nonviolent actions that goes back to at least the eighteenth century and notwithstanding a number of recent popular non-violent insurrections, including Tunisia and Egypt and other Arab popular revolts, there is still little understanding of this phenomenon by academics, policy makers and mainstream media alike. Deliberate nonviolent conflict strategically planned and implemented is a major feature of the contemporary global political culture and a poignant topic for conflict analysts.

The emergence, sustenance and dynamics of strategic nonviolent conflict, social movements and civil resistance are subjects of this seminar. We will explore the sociology, social history and theoretical bases of civil resistance as it unfolded and became a powerful agent of social change from the twentieth century onwards. We will look at issues of agency and structure, strategic planning, mobilization and cultural framing processes, backfire and security divisions and defections, digital actors and tools, democratic transitions, prevailing misconceptions and case studies of civil resistance around the world. We will do comparative analyses of these movements to examine why they work, when they fail, and how they are evolving in powerful movements for political and social change.

TEXTS

Note: all assigned readings are available online at the course website:

<https://civilresistancestudies.org/course/view.php?id=28>

Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall, 2000. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works*. NY: Columbia University Press.

Popovic, Srdja, Slobodan Djindjic, Andrej Milivojevic, Hardy Merriman, and Ivan Marovic, *Canvas Core Curriculum: A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle Students Book*. Belgrade, Serbia: Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies. Available online at

<http://www.canvasopedia.org/legacy/content/special/core.htm>

Schock, Kurt. 2005. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Stephan, Maria J., ed. 2009. *Civilian Jihad: nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zunes, Stephen, Lester R. Kurtz, and Sarah Beth Asher. 1999. *Nonviolent Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

DRAFT
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Comments welcomed.

Course Outline

27-Aug	What is Civil Resistance and Why it is Effective Relevant Historical Concepts Ideas and Practice
10-Sep	Theoretical Basis of Civil Resistance: Power and Obedience Forgotten Stories of Civil resistance
17-Sep	Misconceptions and controversies Agency and Structure in Civil Resistance
24-Sep	How Civil Resistance Works: Strategic Planning, Tactical Innovation, Mobilization and Coalition-Building
1-Oct	How Civil Resistance Works: Dilemma Actions, Backfire and Security Defections
8-Oct	Framing Civil Resistance: Mainstream Media Social Media, Digital Actors and Tools
15-Oct	Civil Resistance and External Actors
22-Oct	Civil Resistance and Ruthless Regimes Small Acts of Cultural Resistance, Parallel structures
29-Oct	Fragile States, and Resource Exploitation
5-Nov	Team Presentations on movements or the People Power game
12-Nov	Civil Resistance, Negotiations and Transitions
	Cases of Civil Resistance: Africa and Middle East
28-Nov	Cases of Civil Resistance: Asia, Europe, Latin America
3-Dec	Why Civil Resistance Works: Presentations on research papers
17-Dec	Research Papers Due

27 August: Civil Resistance: Relevant Concepts and Historical Practice

Nonviolent civil resistance had been practiced strategically for centuries before being refined further by Gandhi and adopted by scores of movements and campaigns for self-determination, political freedoms, human rights and justice in recent decades. This session will highlight and review basic theories and ideas behind the dynamics of strategic nonviolent conflict, historical writings about and practice of civil resistance, as well as the record of unarmed resistance in juxtaposition with historically more commonly used violent means of struggle. The session will also highlight specific factors that make civil resistance effective in the situation when seemingly powerless, unarmed population challenges violent opponent.

Readings

- Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler, *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*, (Praeger Westport, CT, 1994): 1-53.
- McAdam, Doug and Sidney Tarrow, "Nonviolence as Contentious Interaction" *PS: Political Science and Politics*, vol.33, no.2 (June 2000):149-154.
- Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Summer), 7–44.
- Weber, Thomas. 2008. "Nonviolence Theory and Practice." Pp. 1362-1372 in *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, ed. L. R. Kurtz. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Schock, Kurt. 2005. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1-24.

Recommended:

- Thoreau, Henry David. 1849. "Civil Disobedience," [Available online here](#).
- Martin, Brian. 2008. "How Nonviolence is Misrepresented." *Gandhi Marg* 30 (July-September): 235-257. [Available online here](#).
- Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. 2005. "People Power Primed: Civil Resistance and Democratization." (Summer) *Harvard International Review* 42-47.
- Guntzel, Jeff Severns. 2010. "Lessons from the Godfather: Interview with Gene Sharp. Gene Sharp on the power of nonviolent struggle, and how not to screw it up." *Utne Reader* (July-August). Interview [available online](#).
- Gandhi, Mahatma. 1967. *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao. Ahmadabad: Navajivan Press. [Available online here](#) - see especially "The Power of Nonviolence" and "The Power of Satyagraha."
- Kurtz, Lester. 2008. "Gandhi's Legacies." *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, ed. L. R. Kurtz. Amsterdam: Elsevier. [Available online here](#).
- Sharp, Gene. 2008. "Nonviolent Action." Pp. 1373-1380 in *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, ed. L. R. Kurtz. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Zunes, Stephen and Lester Kurtz, *Nonviolent Social Movements*, 1-5, 303-22.

[3 September Labor Day: No Class]

Interested students who signed up for the game presentations will need to download and begin playing the game. Handout for the game presentation will be distributed.

People Power: The Game of Civil Resistance is a strategic simulation in which the user acts as a civic movement strategist, exploring situational context, people and institutions involved and planning his/her tactical options when opposing systemic injustice or an oppressive regime. People Power was created to help people understand the techniques and strategies involved in mounting nonviolent resistance movement and campaigns against power that be. The game's goals are to put the player in a civil resistance scenario in order to learn the methodology of strategic thinking and planning in carrying out nonviolent mobilization, and disruption, that would facilitate defections and undermine power structures supporting the oppressive system. Information on how to download the game will be provided soon.

[Civil Resistance Simulator Teaches Players To Topple Dictators](#)

10 September: Theoretical Basis of Civil Resistance: Power and Obedience

The context for strategic nonviolent conflict is usually an asymmetrical power arrangement, but the modern practice and understanding of civil resistance sprang from theories about the underlying nature of political power as not monolithic, hierarchical, structural and static as commonly thought. The session will discuss two basic power concepts as described by Gene Sharp, their strengths and weaknesses and their relationship with the idea of people's

obedience to powers that be, noting their implications for understanding the dynamics of conflict.

In practice, civil resistance takes its roots from new ideas about the underlying nature of political power that began to be framed at least 170 years ago. However, despite its relatively long history and impressive record of challenging oppressive structure and injustice, civil resistance has been either denied or forgotten in nations' annals and historical narratives. We will shed more light on various forms of "denials" of civil resistance, trace their origin and try to understand reasons for their existence and pervasiveness.

Readings

- Sharp, Gene. 2010. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. Fourth US Edition. East Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution. [Available online here](#).
- Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Violence" *New York Review of Books* 12 (February 27, 1969). [Available online here](#). [See her book, Arendt, Hannah. *On Violence*. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970.
- Bond, Doug. "Nonviolent Direct Action and the Diffusion of Power." In *Justice Without Violence*, edited by P. Wehr, H. Burgess and G. Burgess. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994.
- Kate McGuim, Gene Sharp's Theory of Power: A Feminist Critique of Consent, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 30, no.1 (February 1993), 101-115. [Available online here](#)

Recommended

- Attack, Iain. 2006. "Nonviolent Political Action and the Limits of Consent." *Theoria* (December): 87-107.
- Brian Martin, Gene Sharp's Theory of Power, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1989, pp. 213-22
- Jack DuVall, "Civil Resistance and the Language of Power." *openDemocracy.net*, 19 November, 2010. [Available online](#).
- Nance Bell, "Alternative Views of Power." *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, ed. L. R. Kurtz. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008.
- Kurtz, Lester R., and Daniel Ritter. 2011. "Conflict Resolution, Provocation or Transformation? Ask Gandhi." Paper for the American Sociological Association Meetings, Las Vegas, August, 2011.

17 September: Agency and Structure in Civil Resistance

Misconceptions and Controversies

A major debate in social sciences concerns the degree to which action is driven by the agency of actors, on the one hand, or the constraints of social structures on the other. Civil resistance studies recognize the power of the people as the underlying premise of the phenomenon of nonviolent conflict, but actors have to take into account structural constraints and opportunities in order to minimize or maximize their inhibiting or facilitative impact on the dynamics of a conflict. The idea of the strategic dimension in nonviolent resistance raises a premise that we will explore, i.e. can civilian-based nonviolent movements though embedded in a specific environment act autonomously with the outcomes of their actions being determined less by the outside structures and conditions and more by their skills and strategies?

The discussion about agency and structure will pave the way for the talk about the gamut of misconceptions and controversies that, often wittingly or not, are advanced by policy makers, media professionals, regional pundits, scholars, or even organizers themselves. It is important to highlight these misconceptions and controversies as they have real consequences for the study and practice of civil resistance.

Readings

Ackerman, Peter. "Skills or Conditions: What Key Factors Shape the Success or Failure of Civil Resistance?" Conference on Civil Resistance and Power Politics St. Antony's College, Oxford, 15-18 March 2007.

Marchant, Eleanor and Arch Puddington, *Enabling Environments for Civic Movements and the Dynamics of Democratic Transition* (Freedom House 2008). Available online at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/enabling-environments-civic-movements-and-dynamics-democratic-transition>

Schock, Kurt. *Unarmed Insurrections. People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005): chapter 2.

Recommended:

Nance Bell, "Alternative Views of Power." *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, ed. L. R. Kurtz. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008.

Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall, "The Right to Rise Up: People Power and the Virtues of Civic Disruption," *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 30, No. 2 (May 2006), 33-42.

Maciej Bartkowski and Annyssa Bellal. 2011. "A Human Right to Resist." *OpenDemocracy* (May 2011) Available online at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/maciej-bartkowski-annyssa-bellal/human-right-to-resist>

Available online at http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9351/index1.html

Kurt Schock, "Nonviolent Social Movements." Pp. 4458-4463 in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by George Ritzer. Blackwell, Oxford (2007).

Stephan, Maria J., and Jacob Mundy. 2006. "A Battlefield Transformed: From Guerilla Resistance to Mass Nonviolent Struggle in the Western Sahara." *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 8 (Spring).

24 September: How Civil Resistance Works: Strategic Planning, Tactical Innovation, Mobilization and Coalition-Building

The civil resistance movement often provokes conflict rather than resolving it, relying on rich repertoires of nonviolent organizing and actions in order to deny the adversary legitimacy and material resources, increase the cost of oppression and reduce loyalty of the adversary's supporters. This session will explore the literature on strategic planning and discuss categories of tactics used by civil resisters to mobilize and challenge opponents nonviolently and apply the theories in a strategic planning exercise.

Readings

Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi. Nonviolent Power in Action*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993): Chapter 4

Robert L. Helvey, *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*, chapters 6 and 9, [Available online](#)

McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *The American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-1241. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2777934> (Accessed September 7, 2010).

Hardy Merriman, *The Trifecta of Civil Resistance*, *Open Democracy*, 19 November 2010 [Available online](#)

198 Methods of Nonviolent Tactics - by Gene Sharp. [Available online](#)

Recommended

J. C. Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory." Pp. 14368- 14371 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.¹

Benford, Robert, and David Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 2000. 26:611-39

Srdja Popovic, Slobodan Djinojic, Andrej Milivojevic, Hardy Merriman, and Ivan Marovic, *Canvas Core Curriculum*.

<http://www.canvasopedia.org/legacy/content/special/core.htm>

Fall for the Book Event: Todd Gitlin, <i>Occupy Nation</i>	
Date	27 September 2012
Time	7:30 PM - 9:00 PM
Location	Research I, Room 163 George Mason University, Fairfax

1 October How Civil Resistance Works: Dilemma Actions, Backfire and Security Defections

Nonviolent civil resistance movements usually have to operate in repressive environment - the subject of considerable research in recent years. Regimes' repressions are designed to hinder and eventually destroy the movement. However, repression can also "backfire" either increasing a movement's mobilization, thus facilitating domestic and international sympathy or/and divisions as well as defections within the regime itself. The movement can also engage in repression management, magnifying regime's problems in suppressing the resistance and creating dilemmas for the regime so that whatever actions the regime undertakes the movement nonetheless benefits. The session will discuss various cases and examples to illustrate these phenomena, their occurrence, dynamics and outcomes.

Readings

Kurtz, Lester R., and Smithey, Lee. Forthcoming. "The Paradox of Repression." Forthcoming in *The Paradox of Repression*, Edited by Lester R. Kurtz and Lee Smithey.

Brian Martin and David Hess, Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events, *Mobilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, June 2006, pp. 249-267, [Available online](#)

Brian Martin, Backfire Basics, [Available online](#)

Anika Binnendijk, and Ivan Marovic, Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004). *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, (2006), 411-429

Watch Barrel of Laughs [here](#)

Recommended:

Kurtz, Lester. 2010. "Repression's Paradoxes in China." *OpenDemocracy* 17 November 2010. [Available online](#).

Martin, Brian. 2007. *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*. Lanham [Md.]: Rowman & Littlefield. [This and other relevant Brian Martin material available online](#).

9 October (Columbus Day/Monday classes meet on Tuesday):

Framing Civil Resistance: Mainstream Media

Social Media, Digital Actors and Tools

Guest Speaker: [Daryn Cambridge](#)

Readings

- Gamson, William A., and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (Jul., 1993): 114-125
- Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement. Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 114-117
- Al Giordano, *Authentic journalism: weapon of the people*, Open Democracy, 19 November 2010, [Available online](#)
- Courtney Radsch, *Double-Edged Sword: Social Media's Subversive Potential*. [Available online](#)
- York, Jillian C. [The Dangers of Social Media Revolt](#). (Al Jazeera)
- Sean Aday, Henry Farrell, Marc Lynch, John Sides, John Kelly, Ethan Zuckerman, *Blogs and Bullets: New Media in Contentious Politics*, Sep.2010, USIP [Available online](#)

Recommended

- Gamson, William A. "Media and Social Movements." Pp. 9468-9472 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.
- Lutz, Monte. 2009. *The Social Pulpit: Barack Obama's Social Media Toolkit*. Edelman. [Available online](#)
- Shirky, Clay. *How Social Media Can Make History*. ([TED Talk](#))
- Narco News TV. *How the Egyptians "Televised" the Revolution When the Media Would Not*. ([YouTube video](#))
- Meier, Patrick. 2011. *Using a Map to Bear Witness in Egypt #Jan25*. "iRevolution: From Innovation to Revolution." Accessed online <http://irevolution.net/2011/02/03/egypt-jan25-ushahidi/>
- Gitlin, Todd, 2012. *Lecture on "Media and popular movements in the age of the web."* Available [online](#).

15 October

Civil Resistance and External Actors

Role of Diplomats

International NGOs, human rights organizations, intergovernmental organizations and various governments, including their diplomatic missions have provided assistance to indigenous groups that engaged in dissent and resistance to autocracy. Some undemocratic governments have denounced this as foreign interference, and either tried to hinder or, in some cases, ban the work of these actors. This session will highlight the role of external actors in the countries that have seen or are experiencing popular nonviolent resistance, and will assess both positive and negative impact of external actors in the context of challenges and opportunities that the groups using civil resistance face. We will, in particular, focus on the role and work of diplomats in the countries that experience civil resistance and discuss evolving diplomatic principles to accommodate a more 'hands-on' approach that some diplomats take in their interactions with civil society activists in the host countries.

Readings

- Mark Palmer, *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil: How to Oust the World's Last Dictators by 2025* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005): Chapter 6.
- A Diplomat's Handbook*, Chapter 2 and 3, and Chapters on Ukraine, South Africa and Chile [Available online](#)
- Jorgen Johansen, *Analysing External Support to Nonviolent Revolutions*, in Jorgen Johansen and John Y Jones, eds., *Experiments with Peace, Celebrating Peace on Johan Galtung's 80 Birthday*, (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2010): 103-14.
- Erica Chenoweth, *Regional Players Criticize Assad: Implications for Civil Resisters*. [Available online](#)
- Stellan Vinthagen, *People Power and the New Global Ferment*. openDemocracy.net. [Available online](#)

Recommended

U.S. Ambassador Greeted With Roses by Syrian Protesters in Hama, New York Times, July 8, 2011 [Available online](#) and Crowds in Syria Attack U.S. and French Embassies, New York Time, July 11, 2011 [Available online](#)
Ritter, Daniel P. 2012. "Inside the Iron Cage of Liberalism: International Contexts and Non-violent Success in the Iranian Revolution." Pp. 95-121 in *Nonviolent civil resistance*, ed. Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Lester R. Kurtz. Bingley, UK: Emerald.

22 October: Civil Resistance and Ruthless Regimes

Small Acts of Cultural Resistance, Parallel structures

Can civil resistance be really effective against the regime that is extremely brutal and is skilled at using most extreme measures to suppress internal and external dissent. This session will look into various mechanisms and leverages by which civil resistance can remain a potent force to be reckoned with despite extraordinary level of violence and oppression perpetrated by its opponent.

Readings

Ralph Summy, Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent, in M. Kumar and P. Low (eds.), *Legacy and Future of Nonviolence*, (New Delhi, Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1996),141-57.
Michael C. Stratford, Can Nonviolent Defence be Effective if the Opponent is Ruthless? The Nazi Case. *Social Alternatives*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1987, pp. 49-57 [Available online](#)
Response to Stratford by Brian Martin, The Nazis and Nonviolence, *Social Alternatives*, vol. 6, no. 3, August 1987, pp. 47-49 [Available online](#)

Recommended

Jorgen Johansen, Hitler and the Challenge of Non-violence, *Open Democracy*, 26 March 2010 [Available online](#)
Stephan, Maria J. 2006. "Resistance in the East Timorese, Palestinian, and Kosovo Albanian Self Determination Movements." *Fletcher Journal of World Affairs* 30 (2 Summer): 57-79.
Zunes, Stephen. 1994. "Unarmed insurrections against authoritarian governments in the Third World: a new kind of revolution." *Third World Quarterly* 15: 403-426.
Shaykhutdino, Renat. 2010. "Give peace a chance: Nonviolent protest and the creation of territorial autonomy arrangements." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(2) 179-191.
Satha-Anand, Chaiwat (Qader Muheideen).The Nonviolent Crescent: Eight Theses on Muslim Nonviolent Actions. [Available online.](#)

29 October: Civil Resistance against Exploitation of Resources

Civil Resistance in Fragile States

Transnational corporations (TNCs) often engage in exploitative practices to extract natural resources without paying much regard to environment or local population, be it in Cochabamba in Bolivia, West Papua or Niger Delta in Nigeria. Domestic and international regulations fail to stop the abuses of TNCs that are often occluded from scrutiny because of the paid protection offered by a corruptible host government. In these circumstances, it is the indigenous population- often in coalition with other domestic and international groups- that self-organize and engage in direct forms of nonviolent actions in order to pressure TNCs to change their behavior. This session will explore various examples of people's power against foreign corporate entities and evaluate the extent to which what we have already learnt about civil resistance is applicable to the cases of abusive business actors.

In the second part of this session, we will talk about environments of fragile societies that are ravaged by violence, day-to-day insecurities, weak or/and unaccountable governing in-

stitutions. We will bring in a civil resistance perspective to consider ways in which people's nonviolent organizing and the use of civil resistance can capture and augment civic space and provide an alternative approach to addressing basic needs and grievances of the distressed societies. The presentation will reference a number of cases to illustrate how, through their grassroots mobilizations, seemingly powerless groups have attempted to grapple with the problems of fragile states, including violent non-state actors.

Readings

Renner, M. 2002. "Breaking the link between resources and repression." *State of the world* 149–173. [Available online.](#)

Laura Woldenberg and Juan Jose Estrada Serafih, "The Rebellion in Cheran", VICE July 20, 2012. [Available online.](#)

Lilian Palma, "The Courage of Cheran: Organizing Against Violence", *Open Democracy*, 14 Democracy 2011. [Available online.](#)

Watch [Presentation](#) on Cheran from 46:00

5 November Team Presentations on movements or the People Power game

12 November: Civil Resistance, Negotiations and Transitions

Civil resistance is a powerful democratizing force that plays a role in transforming violent conflicts into political battles. An increasing number of studies suggest that countries that experience popular political upheavals spearheaded by civic nonviolent movements have a much better chance of more peaceful and successful democratic transitions than states where the regimes fall as a result of top-down pressure of reformist-minded powerholders, outside military intervention or violent insurrection. Civil resistance movements are more likely than their violent counterparts to engage in negotiations with their opponents if and when the opportunity arises.

This session will consider a long-term constitutive impact of nonviolent movements on successful democratic transition and explore the interplay between civil resistance tactics and strategies and negotiations.

Readings

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, *How Civil Resistance Works*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 201-220

Karatnycky, Adrian, and Peter Ackerman. "How Freedom is Won: From Civic Struggle to Durable Democracy." Washington, DC: Freedom House. [Available on line here](#)

Maciej Bartkowski and Lester R. Kurtz. 2011. "Egypt: How to Negotiate the Transition. Lessons from Poland and China. *OpenDemocracy* 4 February 2011. [Available online here.](#)

Olena Tregub and Oksana Shulyar, The Struggle After People Power Wins, *Open Democracy*, Nov. 17, 2010 [Available online](#)

Recommended

Kurt Shock, "Trajectories of Unarmed Insurrections," *Unarmed Insurrections*, 142-172

19 November: Cases of Civil Resistance: Africa and Middle East

This session will discuss the events known as the Arab Spring that began in Tunisia in December 2010 and spread throughout North Africa and the Middle East.

Readings

Stephan, Maria J., ed. 2009. *Civilian Jihad: nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Blight, Garry, and Sheila Pulham. 2011. "Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests." *The Guardian* (8 June). Available online

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>

Map of Tahrir and Nonviolent Struggle [Available online](#)

Support for Assad Government Shows Signs of Weakening. [Available online](#)

View ICNC's library of [nonviolent conflict summaries](#) (Egypt and elsewhere in Africa)

Recommended

Kuran, Timur. 2011. "The Weak Foundations of Arab Democracy." *New York Times* 28 May. Accessed 28 May 2011

(<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/29/opinion/29kuran.html?src=recg&pagewanted=print>)

Dajani, Souad. Nonviolent Resistance in the Occupied Territories." Pp. 52-74 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*

Codur, Anne Marie, 2010. "The Palestinian Popular Resistance Movement: past, present, and perspectives for the future." Presented at the Summer University of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, June 28-2

Barca, Salca, and Stephen Zunes. 2009. Pp. 157-168 in *Civilian Jihad: Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*, edited by Maria J. Stephan. Palgrave Macmillan.

King, Mary E. 2008. "Nonviolent Struggle in Africa: Essentials of Knowledge and Teaching." *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal* 1:1 (December): 19-4

26 November: Cases of Civil Resistance: Asia, Europe, Latin America

Explores struggles for change on three continents in recent decades, from East, South, and Southeast Asia to the Soviet bloc (especially 1989) and Latin America.

Readings

Csapody, Tamás, and Thomas Weber. 2007. "Hungarian Nonviolent Resistance against Austria and Its Place in the History of Nonviolence." *Peace and Change* 32 (October): 499-519.

Ackerman and Kruegler, *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*, chapter 8 (Solidarity vs. the Polish Communist Party, 1980 -81)

Kurt Shock, *Unarmed Insurrections*, 91-142 (Burma and China or Nepal and Thailand).

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapter 1 and 2.

View ICNC's [library of nonviolent conflict summaries](#) (read the case studies on Guatemala and Chile or Argentina and El Salvador as well as any others that interest you)

Recommended

Lyons, Matthews, "The Grassroots Movement in Germany 1972-1985" Pp. 81-95 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.

Satha-Anand, Chaiwat, "Imagery in the 1992 Nonviolent Uprising in Thailand," Pp. 158-173 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.

- Pagnucco, Ronald, and John D. McCarthy. "Advocating Nonviolent Direct Action in Latin America: The Antecedents and Emergence of SERPAJ." Pp. 235-258 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.
- Stephen Zunes, "The Origins of People Power in the Philippines," Pp. 129-157 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.
- Beer, Michael. "Violent and Nonviolent Struggle in Burma: Is a Unified Strategy Workable?" Pp. 174-184 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.
- Brett, Roddy. 2008. *Social Movements, Indigenous Politics and Democratisation in Guatemala, 1985–1996*. Leiden: Brill.
- Smithey and Kurtz, "We Have Bare Hands: Nonviolent Movements in the Soviet Bloc." Pp. 96-124 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.
- Cooper, Joshua. "The Ogoni Struggle for Human Rights and a Civil Society in Nigeria." Pp. 189-202 in Zunes et al., *Nonviolent Social Movements*.
- Binnendijk, Anika Locke, and Ivan Marovic. 2006. "Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent strategies to influence state security forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39: 411-429.

3 December: Why Civil Resistance Works - Presentations/Reports
Readings: Paper drafts prepared by seminar participants

17 December: RESEARCH PAPERS DUE
Please mail an electronic copy to each instructor

Requirements

Every participant should come to class having read the material for the class, and prepared for a discussion of the assigned readings. Participants will take turn being responsible for a brief (5-10-minute) introduction to a class session, providing a summary and discussion questions.

Further course requirements include class presentations, one report on a case study of their choosing or on the experience of playing the People Power simulation game and a final 4,000-5,000-word research paper on a relevant topic incorporating materials and frameworks from the course readings (please see the paper guide posted on the Moodle site).

Participants will present their reports on the case studies or the game play on Oct. 31.

Participants will distribute a draft of their final research paper to each class member by Dec.1 and present it to the class on Dec. 5 . The class will then be able to offer feedback on the paper when it is presented so that it can be incorporated into the final paper due on Dec. 12.

Evaluation

Since we have to turn in a grade, we will determine it by the quality of the following the assignments, weighted as follows:

- Research paper 80%
- Participation & presentations 20%

OFFICIAL MASON NATION

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

GMU is an Honor Code university; please see the University Catalog for a full description of the code and the honor committee process. The principle of academic integrity is taken very seriously and violations are treated gravely. What does academic integrity mean in this course? Essentially this: when you are responsible for a task, you will perform that task. When you rely on someone else's work in an aspect of the performance of that task, you will give full credit in the proper, accepted form. Another aspect of academic integrity is the free play of ideas. Vigorous discussion and debate are encouraged in this course, with the firm expectation that all aspects of the class will be conducted with civility and respect for differing ideas, perspectives, and traditions. When in doubt (of any kind) please ask for guidance and clarification.

GMU EMAIL ACCOUNTS

Students must activate their GMU email accounts to receive important University information, including messages related to this class.

OFFICE OF DISABILITY SERVICES

If you are a student with a disability and you need academic accommodations, please see me and contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS) at 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through the ODS. <http://ods.gmu.edu>

OTHER USEFUL CAMPUS RESOURCES:

WRITING CENTER:

A114 Robinson Hall; (703) 993-1200; <http://writingcenter.gmu.edu>

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

"Ask a Librarian" <http://library.gmu.edu/mudge/IM/IMRef.html>

COUNSELING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES (CAPS):

(703) 993-2380; <http://caps.gmu.edu>

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

The University Catalog, <http://catalog.gmu.edu>, is the central resource for university policies affecting student, faculty, and staff conduct in university affairs.