

Civil Resistance: Global Implications of Nonviolent Struggles for Rights and Accountability

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Spring 2017 (Second Half of the Semester Only)
Fridays 10:30am-12:30pm, Mugar 200

Course Instructors:

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and

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Office Hours

Hardy Merriman, March 17, March 31 and April 14

Maciej Bartkowski, March 17, April 7, April 21, April 28

All Office Hours will be held in Cabot (Exact Time and Room To Be Confirmed)

Ben Naimark-Rowse, By Appointment

This course is an in-depth conversation about civil resistance—understood as a nonviolent struggle that is planned and waged by ordinary people—and its force to bring about major political, economic, or social change. In civil resistance, one side that is unarmed but mass-based, organized and disciplined challenges an adversary that is usually highly skilled in violence and other forms of repression and that has access to all elements of traditional power structures such as security forces, bureaucracy, media access (or control) and material resources. In such a perfectly asymmetric conflict where a completely unarmed contestant takes on an armed and well-resourced opponent, all odds seem to favor the materially and physically stronger.

Yet, for over a century more than 100 conflicts were waged nonviolently by movements of ordinary people against brutal occupation and dictatorial regimes. In more than half of these cases unarmed people proved a superior force over violent adversaries. In light of this fact, civil resistance has increasingly come to be recognized as a distinct phenomenon that can generate significant political change. It has become clear that this force must be understood in its own right, as a shaper of national and international affairs, and that if we want to fully understand global trends and politics, become effective readers of current foreign affairs and informed

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policy experts and conversant advisors to decision-makers on domestic politics of other countries, we must understand civil resistance and its potential.

This course will address how and why civil resistance movements work, their historical record and outcomes, and the dynamics of asymmetric conflicts waged by civil resistance movements. We will come to understand why civil resistance can be effective against brutal regimes; how ordinary people nonviolently mobilize to fight corruption, push back against aggressor-states and violent groups; how repression against nonviolent activists can backfire, and how civil resistance undermines the loyalty of a regime's pillars of support. We will also examine the role and impact that external actors can have on civil resistance movements; what impact civil resistance has on democratic transitions; and how civil resistance movements can better prepare themselves for the "day after." Drawing from this basis of understanding, we will look at how knowledge of civil resistance can better inform foreign policy formulations, including an assessment of the highly complex issue of external assistance to civil resistance movements.

Our classroom will be a space where students become analysts and strategists of civil resistance. Students will be asked to reach out to and interview an activist, have an opportunity to play a sophisticated computer-based simulation game on civil resistance and prepare a policy memo to a government on the best strategy towards a country and society that is experiencing nonviolent uprising.

Course participants are advised to keep abreast of civil resistance-relevant developments in countries around the world by reading regularly some of the media listed below:

- [*Nonviolent Conflict News*](#)
- [*The Guardian*](#)
- [*Al Jazeera*](#)
- [*New York Times*](#)
- [*Foreign Affairs*](#)
- [*Foreign Policy*](#)
- [*Global Voices*](#)
- [*Waging Nonviolence*](#)

Recommended Books

Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)

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Kurt Schock, *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Non-Democracies*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005)

Kurt Schock, *Civil Resistance Today*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015)

Maciej Bartkowski (ed.), *Recovering Nonviolent History. Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles* (Boulder CO., Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013)

Maria Stephan and Mathew Burrows, ed., *Is Authoritarianism Staging a Comeback?*, (Washington: DC, The Atlantic Council, 2015)

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

Shaazka Beyerle, *Curtailing Corruption. People Power for Accountability & Justice*, (Boulder Co., Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014)

Course Outline

Week 1 - March 17 (Merriman & Bartkowski)	Civil resistance in historic context: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is civil resistance? What is its effectiveness and outcome? Discussion of Course Assignments: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The computer-based game, policy memo, and activist brief• The final course assignment
Week 2 – March 31 (Merriman)	Structure and agency: Understanding the role of structural conditions and strategic and tactical choice in civil resistance movements
Week 3 – April 7 (Bartkowski)	The dynamics of civil resistance and repression <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Defections• Backfire Note: Students must inform course instructors which mid-term project they plan to pursue no later than April 7.
Week 4 – April 14 (Merriman)	Civil resistance and external actors
Week 5 – April 21 (Bartkowski)	Civil resistance against violent armed groups and aggressor-states
Week 6 – TBD April 20-27 (Merriman)	Presentations: policy memos, game presentations, activist briefs
Week 7 – April 28 (Bartkowski)	Civil resistance and transitions
Saturday, May 6 (by 5:00pm)	Submission of final assignment: Assessment of civil resistance campaigns

Grading Policy & Course Assignments

Final grades for this course are calculated as follows:

1. Class Participation and Weekly Online Submissions of Comments & Questions: 35%
2. Policy Memo or Presentation of Game Play or Activist Brief: 30%
3. Final Assignment: Civil resistance campaign assessment: 35%

Course Assignments:

1) Class participation and weekly online posts

Students are graded on how actively they participate in class discussion and weekly online posts.

Regarding in-class participation, we will discuss required readings for each week's class, including current affairs related to civil resistance struggles and movements that students may have read about in the week prior to each class.

Regarding online participation, each student is expected to post to the e-class their thoughts, ideas, and questions (approximately 400-words long) on the assigned readings. The posts for the upcoming class are due no later than 5pm on the day (Thursday) prior to the scheduled class session. Students are also expected to make at least one, short response to any of the posts made by their classmates no later than 5pm on the day (Saturday) after class session. A lack of, irregular or late posting will negatively affect the participation grade.

Because the class has only seven full sessions, absences can impact a students' overall grade. Please see our "Class Attendance Policy" below:

Unexcused absences: Because of the short course length no unexcused absences are allowed. **For each unexcused absence a full letter grade will be deducted from your final grade.**

Excused absences (e.g. pre-existing travel plans; medical emergencies, etc.): One excused absence during the course is permitted. For those who are absent, we expect an 800-word (instead of 400-word) post responding to the readings that week. We cannot permit more than one excused absence because that would functionally mean that a student is missing nearly 30% of the total class time. Absences are excused only in exceptional circumstances of health concerns, pre-existing travel plans, or other outstanding circumstances beyond a students' control which should be notified to the professors in advance.

Finishing masters theses, capstones, any work for other classes, meetings with advisors, etc. should be scheduled to not conflict with class time and are not excusable absences.

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2) Mid-term assignment

Students can choose one of three options for mid-term assignments. These options are:

- a. A policy memo and recommendations (working in pairs),
- b. Presentation and analysis of the People Power game (working in pairs), or
- c. Interview a civil resistance campaign participant (individual work).

Notifying course instructors about your mid-term assignment choice

You must select one of the mid-term assignments and inform course instructors about your selection no later than Friday, April 7th and send answers to the following questions to the course instructors:

1. Which of the three midterm options have you chosen?
2. If you are working with a partner, who is your partner?
3. If you are choosing the policy brief option, which government will you advise, and what external crisis situation do you plan to evaluate?

If you are choosing the interview with an activist option, let us know which movement/campaign you would like to focus on and which activist(s) you plan to interview.

All students will present in class regardless of which mid-term option you choose.

Midterm PPTs and handouts should be uploaded into a special folder in the e-class by 5pm on the day prior to the scheduled mid-term presentation class session (date TBD – sometime between April 20-27). *Files and file names must include students' first and last name.*

Policy memo (work in pairs)

Identify a real, past or ongoing, crisis situation in another state in which domestic national or local elites or authorities have been or are being challenged by a nonviolent movement or campaign.

Your selection of the crisis situation must be reviewed and pre-approved by the course instructors no later than Friday, April 7th.

In a group of two you are then asked to play the role of a policy advisor to a foreign government or government agency that has a strong political, economic, historical or cultural interest in the outcome of that conflict. Prepare a PowerPoint presentation, short memo (one page in length [can be double sided]), or both with a bullet point summary of your main arguments, on possible government responses to the crisis situation in another country.

Your in-class presentation (and accompanying PowerPoint and/or memo) should include:

1. A brief outline of the selected situation involving the nonviolent movement in the country of interest

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2. Identification of your government's interests in the outcome of the crisis in the selected country and your government's goal(s) in the crisis situation
3. Identification of at least two possible courses of action for your government, including short-, mid-, long-term objectives for the proposed course of action;
4. Cost, benefit, and risk analysis of each possible course of action; and
5. A recommendation for how to proceed, with clear supporting rationale, including:
 - why suggested actions must be undertaken;
 - what the timeline for implementing such actions is;
 - what the potential short-, mid-, and long-term outcomes are for the recommended actions and when to expect the results;
 - what resources are needed and how to deploy them effectively to implement the proposed courses of action.

You should include factual evidence and accurate information regarding the situation together with course material in support of your main arguments.

Or:

Computer-based game (work in pairs)

In a group of two you are asked to select one of the four civil resistance campaigns included in *People Power: The Game of Civil Resistance* that is available for free download at:

peoplepowergame.com

You are expected to execute at least 100 actionable moves with specific tactics during the game time unless you achieve your objectives sooner.

As a group you will be expected to deliver a PowerPoint presentation where you explain:

1. What actions you took in the game;
2. Why you chose to take those actions with emphasis on how you took stock of and analyzed the ongoing development of the conflict environment in the game;
3. What the results of your actions were;
4. What you learned about strategic planning and civil resistance from the process;
5. How was your experience working in pairs? How did you make decisions among both of you on your next moves? How did you manage to resolve diverging or conflicting views, if any, on an appropriate course of action?

When possible, you should reference concepts, ideas and research findings related to civil resistance that have been addressed in class, the class online forum, and/or assigned readings. For example, did you draw on these in your decision-making about what to do in the game and how? Were there events or developments in the game that confirmed, or contradicted, some of these concepts, ideas and research findings? While playing the game, did you learn anything

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new about civil resistance that had not been previously discussed in our class sessions and readings, and if so, what?

Game teams must develop PowerPoint presentations. They do not need to develop handouts, but they can if they choose. You are asked to incorporate the game log, screen shots, relevant game graphs, and your own reflections and analysis into your presentation.

Or:

Interview with a civil resistance movement or campaign participant (individual work)

Conduct background research on an active or past civil resistance movement or campaign—the selection of which must be reviewed and pre-approved by the course instructors no later than Friday, April 7th. Then identify, contact and interview at least one person that took an active role, or is currently actively engaged, in that civil resistance struggle in his or her native country. The purpose of this interview is to learn first-hand about:

1. How civil resistance emerged and how the specific campaign or movement is conducted;
2. How activists in the campaign/movement have organized and mobilized supporters;
3. What nonviolent strategies and tactics have been used (and why they were chosen) to propel a campaign or challenge the adversary;
4. How effective or ineffective these methods were and why;
5. How the campaign/movement maintained its momentum and nonviolent discipline or failed to do so;
6. What were the challenges faced by activists in the conduct of their campaign/movement and how did they address them?; and
7. How can you account for the specific outcome(s) of the campaign/movement? How important were skills and strategic choice as opposed to conditions?

You must prepare a power point presentation or, alternatively, a page-long (can be two sided) handout (or both if you choose to) with a bullet point summary of your conversation with the activist(s), addressing the questions specified for this assignment. To supplement your findings, some students may choose to interview more than one activist in the same campaign, but this is not required for this assignment.

Notes on presenting mid-term assignments

All presentations of the mid-term assignments will take place during one class session between April 20 and April 27 (the exact date is still to be determined, depending on student availability). Students will have between 7 to 10 minutes to present and discuss their completed assignment in front of the class. The exact length of time for each presentation will depend on the number of enrolled students and will be finalized after all students have chosen their mid-term assignments.

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Because presentation time is short, students are strongly encouraged to practice their presentations ahead of time. Presentations should focus on covering the main points for a particular midterm option. Anything the presenters do not have time to say but want the class and the instructors to know can be included in the handouts and/or PowerPoints that will need to be uploaded onto the course e-classroom ahead of time.

Students who intend to use handouts in their presentations will need to print out enough copies to be distributed to the entire class during their presentation.

3) Final assignment: Movement/Campaign assessment (approximately 3,000 words, double space, 12pt. font size)

You are asked to identify a present or historic civil resistance movement or campaign. Then write an in-depth analysis of your case, addressing the following:

1. Why and how the movement/campaign emerged;
2. What challenges and opportunities the movement/campaign faced in the conflict environment, and how these challenges and opportunities evolved (or did not) over the course of the conflict;
3. The impact of the strategies and tactics that the movement/campaign chose, and why;
4. The impact of the movement's/campaign's messaging and communications, and why;
6. Challenges to the movement's/campaign's unity, and how the movement/campaign responded to those challenges;
7. Challenges to the movement's/campaign's nonviolent discipline, and how the movement/campaign responded to those challenges;
8. The longer-term outcomes and residual effects of the movement/campaign on the society and/or political system; and
9. Assessment of lessons learned, and what the movement/campaign can or should have done differently.

While you are addressing the nine points above, you should also try to reference and/or cite course literature. You can also reflect on the role of movement/campaign skills, on the one hand, and the impact of conditions, on the other hand, as you consider the campaign's strategic choices, the dynamics within the campaign, and/or the impact of strategies and tactics used by the campaign. For the purposes of this exercise, you should focus significantly (though not exclusively) on a movement's strategic choices and their impact, even if you ultimately conclude that conditions rather than activists' skills and strategic choices were a greater factor in influencing that movement's trajectory and outcome.

If the assessment focuses on an ongoing movement/campaign about which there does not exist significant academic research, it is fine if the citations in your paper are mostly or all taken from interviews, online media or news reports.

A note on case selection for the final paper

In selecting a present or historic civil resistance movement or campaign, consider these criteria:

1. Your movement or campaign must primarily be engaged in civil resistance. As such, cases focusing only on institutional methods of making change (elections, lawsuits, lobbying, advocacy, party or electoral politics) are not sufficient. Cases that only focus on public advocacy and public communications (i.e. billboards, slogans, and radio ads) are not sufficient. However, cases that mix repertoires of institutional action and civil resistance (extra-institutional actions) are acceptable.
2. Civil resistance movements and campaigns have a significant bottom-up, grassroots, and voluntary element to them whereby people (often people who have no special privilege or status) participate and engage in nonviolent acts of omission and commission. Thus, predominantly top-down (elite-driven) or externally driven advocacy, political, lobbying or media campaigns do not qualify.
3. Your selected movement or campaign must have generated broad and *sustained* mobilization. You should not choose a case that is primarily an ad hoc protest or one-time demonstration.
4. The unit of analysis here is a movement or campaign, not an organization. Campaigns or movements can include coalitions or networks of organizations, informal groups, associations and ordinary people. However, your selected case study should not focus only on an organization, even though a particular organization might have been an important driver behind the onset of the movement or campaign.

Format of the final paper

The final assignment should be viewed as a research paper that needs to address the questions specified for this assignment. It should also follow a standard research paper format: introduction, main body and conclusion with clear transitions between these three parts.

In general, the **introduction** should highlight the selected case; explain why it is important to consider it; provide a brief overview of any existing information/literature/media reports on the selected case; specify how the case will help address the main questions for this assignment and advance knowledge on key topics, such as the internal dynamics of nonviolent campaigns, understanding the interplay between campaign/movement strategies and structural conditions, etc.

The **main body** of the paper should cover the nine points that are assigned for this final paper and do so with logical transitions between various paragraphs. Using of sub-headings within the main body that correspond to different points of analysis is ok.

The **conclusion** should highlight the main findings of your analysis and possible added-value of your study, particularly in connection with the existing knowledge/information/literature about your selected case. You might also think about what additional questions or areas should be considered in future research on your campaign or generally about civil resistance given your specific findings.

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The evaluation of the final paper will be based on:

- The selection an appropriate case study;
- Convincing logic of argumentation,
- Skillful use of available facts and information, including reference to concepts, research findings, and literature covered in the course;
- Effective response to the above nine points to be covered in this assignment.

Final papers must be submitted in Microsoft Word format and sent by email to both instructors, no later 5:00pm on Saturday, May 6, 2017.

Class Descriptions and Readings

Week 1

What is civil resistance and why is it effective? Why has civil resistance been ignored in history and what are the main misconceptions about it?

This session will provide a general introduction to the field of civil resistance; offer definitions of key terms used in this field; explore different understandings of political power in society with regard to the idea and practice of organized, mass-based civil resistance; highlight some cases and basic categorization of civil resistance struggles; and offer explanations about why civil resistance has often been ignored, understudied or rejected as an effective instrument for bringing about significant political change, including various misrepresentations and misconceptions about civil resistance that persist to this day.

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 1-61.
- Schock, Kurt. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 1-24.
- Bartkowski, Maciej (ed.) *Recovering Nonviolent History. Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2013), 1-30. [Available online](#)
- 30 minutes of reading per week about ongoing civil resistance movements or campaigns, on Nonviolent Conflict News (nvcnews.org) or any other source you find.

Week 2

Structure and agency: Understanding the role of strategic and tactical choice in civil resistance movements

Civil resistance movements engage in a political contest with their opponents. Strategic planning and tactical choice are important considerations in analyzing the trajectories and outcomes of these contests. This session will introduce strategic planning, campaigning and tactical choice as factors in effective civil resistance. It will offer a strategic framework for analyzing these movements. It will also examine different tactics available to organizers and explore issues involved in tactical choice.

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 62-82.
- Eleanor Marchant, and Arch Puddington, *Enabling Environments for Civic Movements and the Dynamics of Democratic Transition*, *Freedom House* 2008. Please read all four of these links. [Link 1](#). [Link 2](#). [Link 3](#). [Link 4](#).

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- Peter Ackerman and Hardy Merriman, "The Checklist to End Tyranny" in Mathew Burrows and Maria J. Stephan, *Is Authoritarianism Staging a Comeback?* (Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council, 2015), 63-79. [Available online.](#)
- Srdja Popovic, Slobodan Djinojic, Andrej Milivojevic, Hardy Merriman, and Ivan Marovic, *A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle*, (Belgrade, Serbia: Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies, 2007), 34-41, 46-50, 58-65, 68-77. [Available online.](#)
- Douglas A. Johnson, "The Need for New Tactics" in The New Tactics in Human Rights Project, *New Tactics in Human Rights: A Resource for Practitioners*, (Minneapolis, MN: The Center for Victims of Torture, 2004), 12-18. [Available online.](#)
- Robert L. Helvey, *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking about the Fundamentals* (Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2004), Chapter 6 – Strategic Estimate, [Available online.](#)
- 198 Methods of Nonviolent Tactics, by Gene Sharp. [Available online.](#)
- Film: *A Force More Powerful*, Nashville. [Available online.](#)
- 30 minutes of reading per week about ongoing civil resistance movements or campaigns, on Nonviolent Conflict News (nvcnews.org) or any other source you find.

Week 3

The dynamics of civil resistance and repression: defections, backfire, dilemma actions

A movement that faces a ruthless opponent can catalyze divisions as well as defections among its opponent's supporters. For example, it can engage in various activities to reduce social distance between itself and its opponent's supporters, and engage in actions and communications that induce loyalty shifts among its opponents pillars of support. Through the use of cases and examples, this session will illustrate how specific movement actions achieved this, how movements' adversaries tried to mitigate the likelihood of defections and what other strategies movements and their domestic and international allies may deploy in order to facilitate loyalty shifts.

Oftentimes, defections occur as a result of backfire: when the effects of violence negatively impact those who repress unarmed protesters. Backfire might also lead to further mobilization and increasing support for the resisters among the public and international community. We will examine backfire, the tactics used by authorities to inhibit it, and tactics used by movements to promote backfire.

Finally, we will consider how successful civil resistance movements use diverse tactics and implement campaigns that place their adversaries in dilemmas. Civil resistance scholars and

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practitioners refer to these as “dilemma actions” and this session will explain what dilemma actions are, how they work and offer a number of examples.

- 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. [Available online via Ginn.](#)
- Sharon Erickson Nepstad, “Mutiny and nonviolence in the Arab Spring: Exploring military defections and loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 50 (May 2013): 337-349. [Available online.](#)
- Brian Martin, “From political jiu-jitsu to the backfire dynamic: how repression can promote mobilization” in Kurt Schock (ed.), *Civil Resistance: Comparative Perspectives on Nonviolent Struggle* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), pp. 145- 167. [Available online.](#)
- Watch “Barrel of Laughs.” [Available online.](#)
- 30 minutes of reading per week about ongoing civil resistance movements or campaigns, on Nonviolent Conflict News (nvcnews.org) or any other source you find.

Week 4

Civil resistance and external actors

External actors, including governmental and non-governmental entities, can take actions that impact civil resistance movements. Our focus in this session will be on the potential constructive role that external actors can play, and how movements can be assisted directly or indirectly. Some undemocratic governments denounce any such assistance as foreign interference, and have tried to hinder or ban the work of sympathetic external actors while using claims of “foreign interference” to prosecute dissidents. This session will highlight the role of external actors vis-à-vis indigenous movements and will assess both positive and negative impacts of their work in the context of challenges and opportunities that the groups using civil resistance face. We will also discuss the international legal implications of various forms of external assistance to civil resistance movements

- Peter Ackerman and Michael Glennon, “The Right Side of the Law”, *The American Interest*, Autumn 2007. [Available online.](#)
- Dennis Blair. “Military Engagement: Influencing Armed Forces Worldwide to Support Democratic Transitions”. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 1-14. [Available online.](#)

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- Erica Chenoweth, "Trends in Civil Resistance and Authoritarian Responses" in Mathew Burrows and Maria J. Stephan, *Is Authoritarianism Staging a Comeback?* (Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council), pp. 53-62.
- Jørgen Johansen, Analyzing external support to nonviolent revolutions in Jørgen Johansen and John Y. Jones, eds. *Experiments with peace: Celebrating peace on Johan Galtung's 80th birthday*. Oxford: Pambazuka (2010), pp. 103-114.
- Hardy Merriman, "Nonviolent Campaigns for Democracy and Human Rights: Is There a Right or Responsibility to Assist?" Unpublished Policy Brief, 2015.
- Maria J. Stephan, "Checklist for External Assistance to Nonviolent Movements" in Mathew Burrows and Maria J. Stephan, *Is Authoritarianism Staging a Comeback?* (Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council), pp 207-220.
- Maria J. Stephan, Sadaf Lakhani, and Nadia Naviwala, "Aid to Civil Society: A Movement Mindset", United States Institute for Peace Special Report, February 2015. [Available online.](#)
- 30 minutes of reading per week about ongoing civil resistance movements or campaigns, on Nonviolent Conflict News (nvcnews.org) or any other source you find.
- Optional: Browse: Anonymous authors, "An Outsider's Guide to Supporting Nonviolent Resistance to Dictatorship". [Available online.](#)
- Optional: Browse: Elizabeth Wilson, "International Legal Basis of Support for Nonviolent Activists and Movements" in Mathew Burrows and Maria J. Stephan, *Is Authoritarianism Staging a Comeback?* (Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council), pp. 159-180.
- Optional: Community of Democracies. *The Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development and Support*. Browse: Introduction and Chapter 1 [available online](#) and **one** of the chapters on [Ukraine](#), [China](#), [Chile](#), [Zimbabwe](#), [Belarus](#), [Burma](#) or [Russia](#).

Week 5

Civil resistance against violent armed groups and aggressor-states

In this session, we will consider ways in which nonviolent organizing and the use of civil resistance as collective self-defense can offer protection and help re-capture and augment civic space from violent non-state actors and a foreign adversary.

This session will reference a number of cases to illustrate how, through their grassroots mobilizations, seemingly powerless groups have attempted to grapple with the problems of abuses and violence of the seemingly powerful violent groups. We will also consider the practice of civil resistance by various nations that shows that nonviolent

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resistance has a potential applicability to national defense against external aggression and foreign occupation. We will discuss how this might be possible and what the challenges are for integrating nonviolent defense in national defense.

Readings on civil resistance against aggressor-states:

- Maciej Bartkowski, "Nonviolent Civilian Defense to Counter Russian Hybrid Warfare." *Johns Hopkins University*, March 2015. [Available online.](#)
- Maciej Bartkowski, "Countering Hybrid War. Civil Resistance as a National Defense Strategy," *openDemocracy*, May 2015. [Available online.](#)
- Maria Stephan, "Fighting for Statehood: The role of civilian-based resistance in the East Timorese, Palestinian, and Kosovo Albanian Self-Determination Movements." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 30 no. 2 (Summer 2006): 57-79. [Available online.](#)

Readings on Civil Resistance against violent groups:

- Maciej Bartkowski, Nonviolent Strategies against Totalitarians such as ISIS, *openDemocracy*, March 11, 2016. [Available online.](#)
- Shaazka Beyerle. *Curtailing Corruption. People Power for Accountability and Justice*, (Boulder Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014), Chapter 6.
- Maria Stephan, Civil Resistance vs. ISIS, *Journal of Resistance Studies*, no. 2, vol. 1, 2015. [Available online.](#)
- 30 minutes of reading per week about ongoing civil resistance movements or campaigns, on Nonviolent Conflict News (nvcnews.org) or any other source you find.
- Optional: Juan Masullo, *The Power of Staying Put: Nonviolent Resistance Against Armed Groups in Colombia*, ICNC Monograph Series, 2015, specifically Chapter 5 and 6. [Available online.](#)

Week 6

Mid-term (policy memo, game or activist brief) presentations

Week 7

Civil resistance and transitions

An overemphasis on the importance of structural conditions, processes and changes has overshadowed the idea that people's mobilization and their continuous reliance on civil resistance can be a powerful democratizing force long after an authoritarian regime is gone. An

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increasing number of studies suggest that countries that experience popular political upheavals spearheaded by civic nonviolent movements have much better chances of more peaceful and successful democratic transitions than states where the regime's fall is a result of top-down pressure of reformist-minded power holders, outside military intervention or violent insurrection. This session will explore the attributes of civil resistance that are propitious for more peaceful transition, and address the issue of how movements can better prepare themselves for the 'day after,' including dealing more effectively with challenges of transition.

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, *How Civil Resistance Works*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 201-220.
- Adrian Karatnycky, and Peter Ackerman. "How Freedom is Won: From Civic Struggle to Durable Democracy," *Freedom House*. [Available online](#).
- Jan Teorell, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 100-116.
- 30 minutes of reading per week about ongoing civil resistance movements or campaigns, on Nonviolent Conflict News (nvcnews.org) or any other source you find.
- Optional: *Egypt: Revolution Interrupted* (film director Steve York).

END