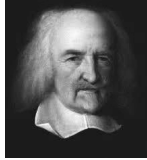


Subject to change before July 5

POLI 347: Discourses in World Politics – Centralized Force and Nonviolent Resistance



University of Victoria

Tuesday, July 5 – Thursday, August 18, 2016
2:30 – 4:50, Tuesdays
2:30 – 4:50, Thursdays
Cornett Building, Room A225

Instructor: Michael J. Carpenter
Office: David Turpin Building, Room A354
Office Hours: 1:00 - 2:00, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and by appointment
E-mail: mjcarpenter78@gmail.com

COURSE OVERVIEW

State Discourses of Centralized Force and Counter Theories of Nonviolent Resistance

This course is structured around three questions: 1) What place does the concept of centralized force occupy in traditional political theory? 2) How do political theorists justify doctrines of ‘dirty hands’ and ‘lesser evils’ in the pursuit of peace and security? And 3) How do theories of nonviolent resistance challenge these conventions?

Our aim is to reveal a rift in political thought. This means understanding that different sets of political imperatives are derived from different conceptions of *power* and *conflict*. In other words, given our presuppositions about power, what ought we do about conflict? The canonical works of Machiavelli and Hobbes feature crucial elements of the representation of centralized force in traditional political theory, and some applications and ramifications of this discourse are glimpsed in twentieth-century theorists, including Max Weber, Michael Walzer, and Michael Ignatieff. However, the conventional wisdom is challenged by a range of influential thinkers, including Mohandas Gandhi, Hannah Arendt, and Gene Sharp, each of whom, for all their differences, agree that the sources of power are other than force, and that conflicts are best waged without arms. We will avoid picking ‘winners’ and ‘losers,’ but rather strive to understand *why* each thinker makes his or her argument, and *how*. As a theory course, we will focus on the ideas, but to keep it grounded, we will also make reference to numerous real-world examples, including the ‘global war on terror’ and some of the social movements and civil wars that have emerged since 2011.

By the end of the course, students are expected to demonstrate a basic understanding of:

- The recurring representation of monopolized force in conventional political theory
- How these notions discursively shape practices of international political violence
- And how some theorists of pluralist/popular power challenge the role of violence in politics

EVALUATION

BREAKDOWN:

Attendance / Engagement	15%
Weekly Reviews (4 x 5%)	20%
Research Paper	35%
Final Exam	30%

Attendance / Engagement:

Regular attendance and engagement is expected, graded out of 15. Engagement does not necessarily mean contributing to class discussion, though this is certainly expected and encouraged (students may also demonstrate engagement by sharing thoughts and questions during office hour and by remaining alert and attentive to lectures and discussions).

Weekly Reviews (4 x 5%):

Each Tuesday, beginning July 12 and ending August 2 (four weeks), you will submit an electronic or hardcopy review of one of the previous week's readings. In total, the four reviews are worth 20% of your grade (5% each). Each of the four reviews must be 400 words (plus or minus 50 words) and include:

1. A concise summary of the reading(s) and its main argument(s).
2. Some creative or critical comment(s) about it (for example, what is strong/compelling about the reading? Or what is weak/problematic about it? Or highlight some connections to specific historical or contemporary events, or relate the reading to the broader themes and various other readings of the course, etc.).

No cover pages, references, or citations are expected. These assignments offer an indicator of your progress and of my expectations throughout the course, with written feedback and a grade (out of 5) provided each week.

Research Paper:

Worth 35% of your grade, the research paper should be double spaced, 3000-4000 words (between 10 and 12 pages long). You must cite at least seven scholarly sources (including at least five that are not from our reading list). You must use Chicago citation style with either in-text references or footnotes. Drawing on the themes of this course, the assignment will require you to research specific theoretical problems and/or historic cases. Research topic questions, along with detailed expectations, will be provided early in the term (students may suggest their own research topic, in consultation with me and subject to my approval). The paper is due Friday August 12 (electronic submission). Late papers will be penalized 3% a day.

Final Exam:

The final exam is scheduled for the last day of class, Tuesday August 19, worth 30% of your grade. Half the exam (15%) will consist of several short-answer questions, and the other half (15%) will consist of one essay answer. Both halves will contain an element of choice on your part. The short-answer questions will require defining key concepts and major themes from the readings and lectures. The long-answer question will ask you to highlight connections between different thinkers and assess the contending arguments (the question may be a more specific variation of one of the three major course questions identified on page 1).

LIST OF READINGS

The readings survey several different thinkers. We will try to pay attention to the lines connecting the core concepts across the separate texts as well as understanding each text in and of itself. Some of the required texts are publicly available on the Internet for personal use, as well as widely available secondhand and from the University Book Store. All secondary required texts will be made available to students in advance of discussion.

PRIMARY REQUIRED TEXTS (hardcopies required, available through UVic Bookstore)

- Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Oxford University Press, 2008 [1532]): 90 pgs
Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1651]), Intro, Chs. 1-29: ~230 pgs *
Mahatma Gandhi, *The Essential Writings* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. ix-xxxii, 1-20, 53-62, 133-204; 309-341: ~160 pgs *
Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (Harvest Books, 1970): 87 pgs

SECONDARY REQUIRED TEXTS (will be made available)

- Gene Sharp, *There Are Realistic Alternatives* (Albert Einstein Institute, 2003): 30 pgs
Jonathan Schell, “The Towers and the Wall,” *Unconquerable World* (Metropolitan, 2003): 11 pgs
Stephen Zunes, “Unarmed Insurrections against Authoritarian Governments in the Third World: A New Kind of Revolution,” *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 15: No. 3 (Sep., 1994): 24 pgs
Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation” (1919): ~40 pgs
Hedley Bull, “War and International Order,” *Anarchical Society* (1977): 16 pgs
Michael Walzer, “Supreme Emergency,” from *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic, 1977): 18 pgs
Michael Ignatieff, “Lesser Evils,” *New York Times* (2004): ~15 pgs
Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security* Vol. 33: No. 1 (2008): 38 pgs
Gene Sharp, *How Nonviolent Struggle Works* (Albert Einstein Institute, 2013): ~90 pgs *
* = the instructor will highlight more- and less-important sections for these longer readings

Further Reading (not required; good sources for research and further study):

Additional influential texts on the political imperatives violence:

- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (431 BC) (especially “Melian Dialogue”)
Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology* (1922) and *The Concept of the Political* (1927)
Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) (including Jean-Paul Sartre’s introduction)
Ward Churchill, *Pacifism as Pathology* (1998)
Project for the New American Century, “Rebuilding America’s Defenses” (2000)
Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power* (2003)

Additional influential texts on the power of nonviolence:

- Henry David Thoreau “Resistance to Civil Government (On Civil Disobedience)” (1849)
Aldous Huxley, *Ends and Means: Enquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods for their Realization* (1946)
Martin Luther King Junior, *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches* (1986)
Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolence* (1973)
Václav Havel, *The Power of the Powerless* (1985)
Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, *A Force More Powerful* (2000)

Additional nonviolent-resistance resources: introductions, case collections, bibliographies:

- S. Zunes, L. Kurtz, and S. B. Asher (eds.), *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographic Perspective* (1999)
Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (2009)
April Carter, Howard Clark, Michael Randle, *People Power & Protest Since 1945: Bibliography* (2006)
Gene Sharp, *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (2010)
April Carter, *People Power and Political Change: Key Issues and Concepts* (2012)

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

1. *Tuesday July 5* – Introduction; situate course; review syllabus; two short videos (no readings)
2. *Thursday July 7* – Overview of discourses of state violence and theories of nonviolent resistance
Readings:
 - Schell, “The Towers and the Wall”
 - Sharp, “There Are Realistic Alternatives”
 - Zunes, “Unarmed Insurrections”
3. *Tuesday July 12* – Machiavelli: violence and responsibility, part 1
Readings:
 - Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. vii-xxxix (Viroli, “Introduction”)
 - Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. 3-37 (Dedicatory Letter, Chs. 1-9)
 - **REVIEW ASSIGNMENT #1** of 4 DUE (on Schell or Sharp or Zunes)
4. *Thursday July 14* – Machiavelli: violence and responsibility, part 2
Readings:
 - Machiavelli, pp. 34-90 (Chs. 9-26)
5. *Tuesday July 19* – Hobbes: anarchy, sovereignty, and violence, part 1
Readings:
 - Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 9-115 (Intro, Chs. 1-16) *
 - **REVIEW ASSIGNMENT #2** of 4 DUE (on Machiavelli)
6. *Thursday July 21* – Hobbes: anarchy, sovereignty, and violence, part 2
Readings:
 - Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 117-231 (Chs. 17-29) *
7. *Tuesday July 26* – Repetition and reproduction: violence in Max Weber and International Relations
Readings:
 - Weber, “Politics as a Vocation”
 - Bull, “War and International Order”
 - **REVIEW ASSIGNMENT #3** of 4 DUE (on Hobbes)
8. *Thursday July 28* – ‘Supreme emergencies’ and ‘lesser evils,’ Michael Walzer and Michael Ignatief
Readings:
 - Walzer, “Supreme Emergencies”
 - Ignatief, “Lesser Evils”
9. *Tuesday August 2* – Satyagraha: Gandhi’s approach to nonviolent resistance, part 1
Readings:
 - Gandhi, *Essential Writings*, pp. ix-xxxii, 1-20, 53-62, 133-155
 - **REVIEW ASSIGNMENT #4** of 4 DUE (on Weber or Bull or Walzer or Ignatief)
10. *Thursday August 4* – Satyagraha: Gandhi’s approach to nonviolent resistance, part 2
Readings:
 - Gandhi, *Essential Writings*, pp. 155-204; 309-341 *

11. *Tuesday August 9* – Hannah Arendt on action, power, and violence

Readings:

-- Arendt, *On Violence*

12. *Thursday August 11* – Strategic nonviolent action, part 1

Readings:

-- Sharp, *How Nonviolent Struggle Works* *

Friday August 12 – RESEARCH PAPER DUE

13. *Tuesday August 16* – Strategic nonviolent action, part 2; course review

Readings:

-- Chenoweth and Stephan, “Why Civil Resistance Works”

-- TBD

14. *Thursday August 18* – FINAL EXAM IN CLASS

STATEMENT ABOUT ACADEMIC INTEGRITY POLICY:

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity (adapted from Learning and Teaching Centre material): Academic integrity is intellectual honesty and responsibility for academic work that you submit individually or as a member of a group. It involves commitment to the values of honesty, trust and responsibility. It is expected that students will respect these ethical values in all activities related to learning, teaching, research and service. Therefore, plagiarism and other acts against academic integrity are serious academic offences.

The responsibility of the institution - Instructors and academic units have the responsibility to ensure that standards of academic honesty are met. By doing so, the institution recognizes students for their hard work and assures them that other students do not have an unfair advantage through cheating on essays, exams, and projects.

The responsibility of the student - Plagiarism sometimes occurs due to a misunderstanding regarding the rules of academic integrity, but it is the responsibility of the student to know them. If you are unsure about the standards for citations or for referencing your sources, ask your instructor. Depending on the severity of the case, penalties include a warning, a failing grade, a record on the student’s transcript, or a suspension. It is your responsibility to understand the University’s policy on academic integrity, which can be found on pages 32-34 of the undergraduate calendar.

For a complete explanation of plagiarism and its consequences, see “Policy on Academic Integrity” from the UVic Calendar:

<http://web.uvic.ca/calendar2016-01/undergrad/info/regulations/academic-integrity.html>

SPECIAL NEEDS

The University of Victoria offers programs and support for students challenged by learning disabilities. If you require special accommodations, please contact the professor at the beginning of the course, if you have not already, or contact the **Resource Centre for Students with a Disability**: <http://www.uvic.ca/services/rcsd/>

COURSE EXPERIENCE SURVEY (CES):

I value your feedback on this course. Towards the end of term, as in all other courses at UVic, you will have the opportunity to complete an anonymous survey regarding your learning experience (CES). The survey is vital to providing feedback to me regarding the course and my teaching, as well as to help the department improve the overall program for students in the future. The survey is accessed via MyPage and can be done on your laptop, tablet, or mobile device. I will remind you and provide you with more detailed information nearer the time but please be thinking about this important activity during the course.

UVic PERCENTAGE GRADING SCALE

Passing Grades	Grade Point Value	Percentage	Description
A+	9	90 – 100	Exceptional, outstanding and excellent performance. Normally achieved by a minority of students. These grades indicate a student who is self-initiating, exceeds expectation and has an insightful grasp of the subject matter.
A	8	85 – 89	
A-	7	80 – 84	
B+	6	77 – 79	Very good, good and solid performance. Normally achieved by the largest number of students. These grades indicate a good grasp of the subject matter or excellent grasp in one area balanced with satisfactory grasp in the other area.
B	5	73 – 76	
B-	4	70 – 72	
C+	3	65 – 69	Satisfactory, or minimally satisfactory. These grades indicate a satisfactory performance and knowledge of the subject matter.
C	2	60 – 64	
D	1	50 – 59	Marginal Performance. A student receiving this grade demonstrated a superficial grasp of the subject matter.
Failing Grades	Grade Point Value	Percentage	Description
F	0	0 – 49	Unsatisfactory performance. Wrote final examination and completed course requirements; no supplemental.
N	0	0 – 49	Did not write examination or complete course requirements by the end of term or session; no supplemental.

1. The percentage grading scale applies to all Faculties at the University of Victoria.
2. The percentage grades should be associated with a letter grading schema.
3. A percentage grade for an N grade should be assigned in the following manner:
N grade percentage range 0-49: In cases where a student who has not completed the exam or has not completed the course requirements but has submitted course requirements that total more than 49% of the total grade for a course, an instructor will assign a percentage grade of 49%.