

RESISTANCE IN THEORY & PRACTICE

Tuesdays, 9:25-11:15am (LC 208)

Dr. Terence Renaud

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Office hours: Tuesdays 2:00-4:00pm in McClellan Hall (Old Campus), #108 – no appointment necessary

This course explores the diverse histories of resistance in the modern world. Guerrillas, liberators, and oppressed groups of all kinds have appealed to resistance as an organizational strategy, political theory, and moral justification. Resistance is violent or non-violent, active or passive, individual or collective, bodily or intellectual. Those politically on the left as well as the right have worn its mantle. We will read Carl von Clausewitz's declaration of a people's war; H. D. Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience; Rosa Luxemburg's pamphlet on the mass strike; Frantz Fanon's defense of anticolonial violence; Hannah Arendt's critique of student violence; Herbert Marcuse's philosophy of aesthetic resistance; and Audre Lorde's theses on intersectional feminist resistance. To provide historical context, we will investigate the varieties of antifascist resistance from 1933 to 1945; left-wing terrorism in the 1970s; and the contemporary politics of Occupy, Black Lives Matter, Standing Rock, Antifa, and climate protest. We will also study film and literature, such as Peter Weiss' novel *The Aesthetics of Resistance*. Can we formulate a general theory of resistance? Or does the miscellaneous history of resistance itself resist definition? Together we will test at least one hypothesis: To resist means to manipulate a regime of oppression, to subvert it from within, but never entirely to escape it.

Course components:

You must come to class prepared to discuss each week's required reading. Each discussion will begin with a short **presentation** by a student of one of the optional materials. This presentation will form the basis for the student's **short essay**, which will integrate the rest of that week's readings and be due the following Monday (day before next class). Additionally, each week one student will serve as **discussion reporter**, taking notes and synthesizing a one-page summary to be shared with the rest of class. Sign-up for presentations and reports will occur during the second week of class. You will all produce a **final project** on a relevant subject of your choosing, which will be due one week after classes end. This can be either an essay or another comparable medium, such as a podcast or explainer video. A **proposal** for the final project will be due midterm.

- Attendance and participation (**15%**)
- In-class presentation, 7-10 mins. (**15%**)
- Short essay based on presentation, 5-7 pgs., due the day before next class (**20%**)
- Discussion report, 1 pg., due the day before next class (**10%**)
- Proposal for final project, 1 pg., due Friday, March 6, 5pm (**10%**)
- Final project, 10-12 pgs. (if it's an essay), due Tuesday, May 5, 5pm (**30%**)

Essays and reports:

Format for essays and reports is 12pt. serif font, 2.0 spacing, and ≤ 1.25 in. margins. For essays, please include a unique title, page numbers, and citations in a consistent style. Essays and reports should be uploaded as a DOC, DOCX, or PDF to the "Assignments" section of Canvas. I will also publish your reports in the "Files" section. The maximum penalty for lateness is $\frac{1}{2}$ letter (or 5%) per day late.

Required books:

- Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970)
- M. K. Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha)* (Dover, 2001)
- Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension* (Beacon, 1978)

– Peter Weiss, *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, Vol. 1 (Duke, 2005) – please note that a digital edition of this book is available online through Yale library e-resources

Academic integrity:

Neither the university nor I tolerate plagiarism, but many instances of it are unintentional. Be sure you know exactly how to properly cite other people's words and ideas. Inform and protect yourself: <http://ctl.yale.edu/writing/using-sources>

Reading schedule:

N.B.: titles marked with an asterisk (*) are required books, which you must either purchase or check out from Bass Library reserves; the rest of the required readings are available as PDFs in the "Course Reserves" section of Canvas

WEEK 1 (Jan. 14): Introduction

in class: Michael Walzer, "The Idea of Resistance," *Dissent* (Fall 1960)
Ludwig van Beethoven, "The Prisoners' Chorus," *Fidelio*, Op. 72 (1804/14)
photo of August Landmesser refusing the Nazi salute (1936)

WEEK 2 (Jan. 21): Guerrilla War

required: Carl von Clausewitz, "Testimonial" [1812] and "The Arming of the People" [posth. 1832] in *Clausewitz on Small War* (2015)

in class: Francisco Goya, *Disasters of War* series and other artwork (early C19)

optional: David A. Bell, *The First Total War* (2007)
Régis Debray, *Che's Guerrilla War* (1974)
Charles J. Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, Bandits and Adventurers . . .* (2004)
Christopher Finlay, *Terrorism and the Right to Resist* (2015)
Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia's Wars Against Napoleon* (2015)
Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State* (1976)
Carl Schmitt, *The Theory of the Partisan* (1963)

WEEK 3 (Jan. 28): Civil Disobedience and the Rebel

required: Henry David Thoreau, "Resistance to Civil Government" [Civil Disobedience] (1849)
Albert Camus, excerpt from *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt* (1951)

optional: Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (1959)
Jeffrey C. Isaac, *Arendt, Camus, and Modern Rebellion* (1992)
Raffaele Laudani, *Disobedience in Western Political Thought: A Genealogy* (2013)
Barrington Moore, Jr., chs. 1-3 and 13-15 of *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt* (1978)
Lewis Perry, *Civil Disobedience: An American Tradition* (2013)
Peter Singer, *Democracy and Disobedience* (1974)
Laura Dassow Walls, Preface and Pt. II, *Henry David Thoreau* (2017)

WEEK 4 (Feb. 4): Strike!

required: Rosa Luxemburg, "The Mass Strike" [1906] in *The Rosa Luxemburg Reader* (2004)
Georges Sorel, "The Proletarian Strike," *Reflections on Violence* (1908)

- in class: scenes from *Rosa Luxemburg*, dir. Margarethe von Trotta (1986)
- optional: Joshua Clover, *Riot. Strike. Riot.: The New Era of Uprisings* (2016)
 Kate Evans, *Red Rosa: A Graphic Biography of Rosa Luxemburg* (2015)
 Paul Frölich, *Rosa Luxemburg: Her Life and Work* (1940)
 Diane Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution* (1981)
 China Miéville, *October: The Story of the Russian Revolution* (2017)
 Christopher Read, *From Tsar to Soviets* (1996)
 Jack J. Roth, *The Cult of Violence: Sorel and the Sorelians* (1980)
 S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-1918* (1983)
 Richard Vernon, *Commitment and Change: Georges Sorel . . .* (1978)

WEEK 5 (Feb. 11): Antifascism I

- required: *Peter Weiss, Pt. I of *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, Vol. 1 (1975)
- in class: friezes from Pergamon Altar (2nd century BCE)
 examples of socialist realist art (1930s-40s)
- optional: Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, *Berlin Underground, 1938-1945* (1947)
 Hans Fallada, *Every Man Dies Alone* (1947)
 Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (2008)
 Christian Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany* (2009)
 Anne Nelson, *Red Orchestra* (2009)
 Peter Paret, *An Artist Against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938* (2003)
 Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany* (1982)

WEEK 6 (Feb. 18): Antifascism II

- required: *Peter Weiss, Pt. II of *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, Vol. 1 (1975)
- in class: scenes from *The White Rose*, dir. Michael Verhoeven (1982)
 songs and propaganda posters from the Spanish Civil War (1936-39)
 Pablo Picasso, *Guernica* (1937)
- optional: Jennifer L. Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film* (2013)
 Hunter Bivens, *Epic and Exile: Novels of the German Popular Front . . .* (2015)
 Lisa Fittko, *Escape through the Pyrenees* (1985)
 ---, *Solidarity and Treason: Resistance and Exile, 1933-1940* (1992)
 Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (2015)
 Emma Kuby, *Political Survivors: The Resistance, the Cold War, and the Fight against Concentration Camps after 1945* (2019)
 George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (1938)

WEEK 7 (Feb. 25): Micro-Resistance

- required: Michel Foucault, "Illegals and Delinquencies," *Discipline and Punish* (1975)
 Michel de Certeau, "Popular Cultures" and "'Making Do,'" *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980)
- optional: George Chauncey, *Gay New York: ... the Makings of the Gay Male World ...* (1994)
 Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (1987)
 David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (2000)
 Antonio Negri, *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State* (1992)
 James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1992)

Raoul Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life* (1967)
 Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (2002)

WEEK 8 (Mar. 3): Difference

- required: Audre Lorde, “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House” [1979] and “Age, Race, Class, and Sex” [1980], *Sister Outsider* (1984)
 Judith Butler, “The End of Sexual Difference?” and “The Question of Social Transformation,” *Undoing Gender* (2004)
- optional: Jelena Batinic, *Women and Partisan Resistance in Yugoslavia ...* (2015)
 Barbara E. Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist: The Life of Aleksandra Kollontai* (1979)
 Nancy Fraser, *Fortunes of Feminism* (2013)
 Barbara Harlow, *Barred: Women, Writing, and Political Detention* (1992)
 Jacqueline Rose, *Women in Dark Times* (2014)
 Elizabeth V. Spelman, *Inessential Woman* (1988)
 Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas* (1938)

--- Proposal for final project due on **Friday, March 6, 5pm** ---

--- Spring Recess (Mar. 7-22) ---

WEEK 9 (Mar. 24): Violence I

- required: Frantz Fanon, “Concerning Violence,” *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)
 *M. K. Gandhi, chs. 1, 3, 4, 7, 13, 14, 25, 26, 34, 47, 55, 68, 72, 74, 104, and 165 of *Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha)* (posth. 1961)
- in class: scenes from *The Battle of Algiers*, dir. Gillo Pontecorvo (1966)
- optional: Amílcar Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization* (2016)
 Erica Chenoweth & Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works* (2013)
 Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (2012)
 Nigel C. Gibson, *Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination* (2003)
 Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (2019)
 Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (1958)
 V. S. Naipaul, *Guerrillas* (1975)
 Edward W. Said, Pt. 3: “Resistance and Opposition,” *Culture and Imperialism* (1993)
 Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization* (2006)
 Ajay Skaria, *Unconditional Equality: Gandhi’s Religion of Resistance* (2016)

WEEK 10 (Mar. 31): Violence II

- required: *Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (1970)
- in class: The Beatles, “Revolution” (song, 1968)
 The Rolling Stones, “Street Fighting Man” (song, 1968)
- optional: Robert V. Daniels, *Year of the Heroic Guerrilla: ... 1968* (1989)
 Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68* (2007)
 Jeffrey C. Isaac, *Arendt, Camus, and Modern Rebellion* (1992)
 Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest ...* (2010)
 Hannah F. Pitkin, *The Attack of the Blob: Hannah Arendt’s Concept of the Social* (1998)
 Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (2012)
 Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East* (2010)

WEEK 11 (Apr. 7): Art and Counterculture

- required: *Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension* (1977)
- in class: scenes from *La Chinoise*, dir. Jean-Luc Godard (1968)
scenes from *Tout va bien*, dir. Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin (1972)
- optional: Walter L. Adamson, *Embattled Avant-Gardes: Modernism's Resistance . . .* (2007)
Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: . . . Revolutionary Russia* (1992)
Jack Kerouac, *The Subterraneans* (1958)
George McKay, ed., *DiY Culture: Party & Protest in Nineties Britain* (1998)
Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (1951)
Edward W. Said and David Barsamian, *Culture and Resistance* (2003)
Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* (2006)
Colin Wilson, *The Outsider* (1956)

WEEK 12 (Apr. 14): Terrorism

- required: Ulrike Meinhof, "From Protest to Resistance," *konkret* (May 1968)
Gudrun Ensslin, "Build Up the Red Army!" *Agit 883* (June 1970)
Karrin Hanshew, "'Sympathy for the Devil?' The West German Left and the Challenge of Terrorism," *Contemporary European History*, 21/4 (2012)
- in class: scenes from *The Legend of Rita*, dir. Volker Schlöndorff (2000)
- optional: Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: ...* (2009)
Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism: ... 1878-1934* (2014)
George Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: ... Autonomous Social Movements* (1997)
Patricia Melzer, *Death in the Shape of a Young Girl* (2015)
John Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: ... Fin-de-siècle Paris ...* (2009)
Leith Passmore, *Ulrike Meinhof and the Red Army Faction* (2011)
Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and the Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (2004)

WEEK 13 (Apr. 21): Today

- required: Astra Taylor, "Occupy Wall Street's Legacy Runs Deeper Than You Think," *Teen Vogue* (Dec. 17, 2019)
Jeffie Lam, "It looks like Occupy but these young Hong Kong protesters are next level," *South China Morning Post* (June 13, 2019)
Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, "Five Years Later, Do Black Lives Matter?" *Jacobin* (Sept. 30, 2019)
Jenny Zhang, "Against Extinction," *The New Inquiry* (Nov. 15, 2016)
Nick Estes, Prologue and ch. 1 of *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline ...* (2019)
Colin Kinniburgh, "Can Extinction Rebellion Survive?," *Dissent* (Winter 2020)
- optional: Jason Michael Adams, *Occupy Time: Technoculture ... after Occupy Wall Street* (2014)
Jamie Bartlett, *The Dark Net* (2015)
Mark Bray, *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook* (2017)
Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: ... in the Internet Age* (2012)
Jodi Dean, *Crowds and Party* (2016)
Mark and Paul Engler, *This Is an Uprising: ... Nonviolent Revolt ...* (2016)
Amy Goodman and Denis Moynihan, *The Silenced Majority* (2012)
Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Assembly* (2017)

Stéphane Hessel, *Time for Outrage!* (2010)
Sarah Jaffe, *Necessary Trouble: Americans in Revolt* (2016)
L. A. Kauffman, *How to Read a Protest: The Art of Organizing and Resistance* (2018)
Geoffroy de Lagasnerie, *The Art of Revolt: Snowden, Assange, Manning* (2015)
Nick Montgomery and carla bergman, *Joyful Militancy* (2017)
Jeffrey R. Webber, *The Last Day of Oppression, and the First Day of the Same: The
Politics and Economics of the New Latin American Left* (2017)
Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (2016)

--- Final projects due on **Tuesday, May 5, 5pm** ---