

SOVEREIGNTY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
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Course Description:

In this course, we will look at trajectories of sovereignty and civil disobedience, both historically and geographically, from 18th century conceptions of governmentality to 21st century contestations of state authority. Through an examination of a wide range of written and visual texts, we will consider how state authority is challenged and legitimated, what social contracts are created between governments and citizens, and who is included and excluded from this process. We will focus, in particular, on civil disobedience movements, such as first wave feminism, anti-colonial Indian nationalism, and New York-based AIDS activism. We will discuss the historical conditions in which they arose, the forms of social responsibility they sought to promote, and the methods through which sought change. We will also discuss the social and political stakes of these actions and how are they altered, challenged, or complicated by questions of gender, region, race, class, and sexuality.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To develop nuanced and critical understandings of the concepts of sovereignty and civil disobedience through an examination of these ideas within specific social, political, and historical contexts.
- To investigate formulations of citizenship, governmentality, and social inclusion, focusing on the issues, questions, and debates that arise from their real-world application.
- To develop your abilities to think critically across a wide range of materials so that you can synthesize and articulate your learning in classroom discussions and written assignments.

WEEK 1 SOVEREIGNS AND CITIZENS

I. CONCEPTUALIZING SOVEREIGNS

Hobbes, Thomas. 1982. "Of Commonwealth." In *Leviathan*. New York: Penguin, pp. 223–274.

II. CONCEPTUALIZING CITIZENS

Locke, John. 2008. *Second Treatise of Government*. New York: BN Publishing.

 "Of the State of Nature," pp. 13–20.

 "Of the State of War," pp. 21–24.

 "Of Property," pp. 27–44.

 "Of Conquest," pp. 140–153.

 "Of the Dissolution of Government," pp. 164–170.

OPTIONAL:

Stephen D. Krasner. 2001. "Sovereignty." *Foreign Policy* (February). (<http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations/realism.htm>).

WEEK 2 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND SOCIAL CONTRACTS

I. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Thoreau, Henry David. 2009. *On Civil Disobedience*. New York: CreateSpace.

Locke, John. 2008. *Second Treatise of Government*. New York: BN Publishing.

 "Of Tyranny," pp. 156–163.

 "Of the Ends of Political Society," pp. 164–172.

II. MEASURING MORALITY: THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1997. *The Social Contract*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

 "Book I," pp. 41–56.

 "Book II," pp. 57–81.

WEEK 3 SLAVERY, RESISTANCE, ABOLITION

I. RATIONALIZATION AND RESISTANCE

 "Three-Fifths Compromise." Article 1, Section 2, Paragraph 3, *United States Constitution*.

Douglass, Frederick. 1852. "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" (<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=12>)

Parker, John P. 1998. *His Promised Land: The Autobiography of John P. Parker, Former Slave and Conductor on the Underground Railroad*. Sprague, Stuart Seely, ed. New York: W.W. Norton. Excerpts, pp. 7–16, 70–122.

II. RESISTANCE AND ABOLITION

Parker, John P. 1998. *His Promised Land: The Autobiography of John P. Parker, Former Slave and Conductor on the Underground Railroad*. Edited by Stuart Seely Sprague. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 122–151.

Amendment XIII, *United States Constitution*.
(<http://www.usconstitution.net/const.html#Am13>)

Amendment XIV, *United States Constitution*.
(<http://www.usconstitution.net/const.html#Am14>)

Thoreau, Henry David. 2005 [1859]. *A Plea for Captain John Brown*. New York: Forgotten Books, pp. 1–25.

Brown, John. 1859. “Address before Sentencing.”
(<http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/john-brown-150/address-of-john-brown.html>)

Garrison, William Lloyd. 1859. “John Brown and the Principle of Nonresistance.”
(<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=569>)

WEEK 3 WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Buhle, Mary Jo and Paul Buhle. 2005. “Woman Suffrage and American Reform.” In *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*. Buhle, Mary Jo and Paul Buhle, eds. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp.1–49.

II. WOMEN’S CONVENTIONS: SPEAKING UP AND SPEAKING OUT

Jefferson, Thomas et al. 1776. *The Declaration of Independence*.
(<http://archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration.html>)

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. 2005 [1848]. “Declaration of Sentiments.” In *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*. Buhle, Mary Jo and Paul Buhle, eds. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 91–98.

Truth, Sojourner. 2005 [1851]. “Address to the Woman’s Rights Convention.” In *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*. Buhle, Mary Jo and Paul Buhle, eds. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp.103–113.

Stone, Lucy. 2005 [1853]. "Letter to *The Una*." In *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*. Buhle, Mary Jo and Paul Buhle, eds. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 143–152.

Anthony, Susan B., Ernestine Rose, and Elizabeth Jones. 2005 [1860]. "Addresses to the Tenth National Woman's Rights Convention." In *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*. Buhle, Mary Jo and Paul Buhle, eds. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 159–180.

WEEK 3 ANTI-COLONIAL INDIAN NATIONALISM

I. GANDHIAN NON-VIOLENCE: SATYAGRAHA

Dalton, Dennis, ed. 1996. *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

"Introduction," pp. 3–25.

"Part 1: Satyagraha: The Power of Nonviolence," pp. 29–59.

"Evidence Before Disorders Inquiry Committee," pp. 60–63.

II. INDEPENDENCE, SWARAJ, AND SWADESHI

Dalton, Dennis, ed. 1996. *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

"Independence vs. Swaraj," pp. 98–106.

"True Independence," pp. 107–114.

"Duty, Democracy, and Swaraj," pp. 144–153.

Phalke, D. G. 1987. "Swadeshi Moving Pictures." Translated by Narmada S. Shahane. *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media & Culture* 2(1) 51–73.

SCREENINGS: *Raja Harischandra* ("King Harischandra")
Dir: D.G. Phalke (1917)

Lanka Dahan ("Burning of Lanka")
Dir: D.G. Phalke (1917)

WEEK 4 THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: RACE AND EQUALITY

I. REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. PART 1

Washington, James Melvin. 1986. *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

"Editor's Introduction," pp. xi–xxiii.

"The Power of Non-Violence," pp. 12–15.

"Pilgrimage to Non-Violence," pp. 35–40.

"Non-Violence: The Only Road to Freedom," pp. 54–61.

II. REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. PART 2

Washington, James Melvin. 1986. *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

“The American Dream,” pp. 208–220.

“The Drum Major Instinct,” pp. 259–267.

“I See the Promised Land,” pp. 279–286.

“Letter from Birmingham City Jail,” pp. 289–302.

WEEK 5 **BLACK POWER, THE BLACK PANTHERS, AND BLACK NATIONALISM**

I. MALCOLM X

Malcolm X. 1994. *Malcolm X Speaks*. Edited by George Breitman. New York: Grove Press.

“Message to Grassroots,” pp. 3–17.

“A Declaration of Independence,” pp. 18–22.

“The Ballot or the Bullet,” pp. 23–44.

II. THE BLACK PANTHERS, AT HOME AND ABROAD

The Black Panther Party. 1966. “Ten Point Platform and Program.” (<http://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111bppp.html>)

Jones, Charles Earl. 1998. “‘Talkin’ the Talk and Walkin’ the Walk: An Interview with Panther Jimmy Slater.” In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. Jones, Charles Earl, ed. New York: Black Classic Press, pp. 147–157.

Cleaver, Kathleen Neal. 1998. “Back to Africa: The Evolution of the International Section of The Black Panther Party. In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. Jones, Charles Earl, ed. New York: Black Classic Press, pp. 211–231.

Anae, Melanie. 2009. “Overstayers, Dawn Raids and the Polynesian Panthers.” In *Tangata o le Moana: The Story of Pacific People in New Zealand*. Wellington: Te Papa Press, pp. 14–35.

Douglas, Emory. Selected artworks. (http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/Emory_Art/Emory_Douglas_Art.html)

WEEK 7 **INDIGENOUS SELF-DETERMINATION**

I. NATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Deloria, Jr., Vine. 1979. “Self Determination and the Concept of Sovereignty.” In *Economic Development in American Indian*

Reservations. Roxanne D. Ortiz, ed. Albuquerque: Native American Studies, pp. 22–28.

Getches, David, Charles Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr. 1998. “The European Doctrine of Discovery and American Indian Rights.” In *Federal Indian Law*, 4th ed. St. Paul, MN: West Group, pp. 41–72.

Wilkins, David. 2002. “Indigenous Peoples are Nations, not Minorities.” In *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 41–62.

II. FEDERAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY, FEDERAL SOVEREIGNTY VS. TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY

Wilkins, David and Tsianina Lomawaima. 2001. *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Introduction, pp. 3–18.

Chapter 1, “The Law of Nations: The Doctrine of Discovery,” pp. 19–63.

Chapter 2, “With the Greatest Respect and Fidelity: The Trust Doctrine,” pp. 64–97.

WEEK 8 CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY, CITIZENSHIP, AND POLITICAL RECOGNITION

I. CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY, NATIONAL INCLUSION, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Walker, Ranginui J. 1999. “Maori Sovereignty, Colonial and Post-Colonial Discourses.” In *Indigenous Peoples’ Rights in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*. Paul Havemann, ed. Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp. 108–122.

Barclay, Barry. 2006. “Those Two Pages: Archiving the Indigenous Image.” In *Mana Tūhuru*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, pp. 191–208.

Turner, Stephen. 2002. “Sovereignty, or the Art of Being Native.” *Cultural Critique* 51: 74–100.

II. THE POLITICS OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Chapter 6, “The Indigenous People’s Project: Setting a New Agenda,” pp. 107–122.

Chapter 8, “Twenty-five Indigenous Projects,” pp. 142–162.

Chapter 9, “Responding to the Imperatives of an Indigenous Agenda: A Case Study of Maori,” pp. 163–182.

SCREENING: *Tangata Whenua: The People of the Land*
Dir: Barry Barclay (1974)

WEEK 9 RACE, GENDER, AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

I. GENDER AND THE GAZE

Berger, John. 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BFI.

Guerrilla Girls. 2003. Introduction. *Bitches, Bimbos and Ballbreakers: The Guerrilla Girls' Illustrated Guide to Female Stereotypes*. New York: Penguin, pp. 1–15.

II. RACE, GENDER, AND THE GAZE

hooks, bell. 1992. "The Oppositional Gaze." In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston: South End Press, pp. 115–131.

Gaines, Jane. 1988. "White Privilege and Looking Relations." *Screen* 29 (4): 12–27.

Lorde, Audre. 1984. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." In *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. New York: The Crossing Press Feminist Series, pp. 110–113.

SCREENINGS:

Carmen Jones
Dir: Preminger, Otto (1954)

Daughters of the Dust (selections)
Dir: Dash, Julie (1991)

WEEK 10 COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM

I. COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Alinsky, Saul. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Vintage Books.

"A Word about Words," pp. 48–62.

"The Education of an Organizer," pp. 63–80.

"Communication," pp. 81–97.

Exley, Zack. "The New Organizers, Part 1: What's really behind Obama's ground game." *The Huffington Post*, 8 October 2008.

II. GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Alinsky, Saul. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Vintage Books
 “In the Beginning,” pp. 98–124.
 “Tactics,” pp. 125–164.

Boyd, Andrew. 1997. *The Activist Cookbook: Creative Actions for a Fair Economy*. San Francisco: United for a Fair Economy, pp. 1–25.

WEEK 11 THE BODY POLITIC

I. AIDS ACTIVISM

Crimp, Douglas. 1996. In *AIDS: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism*. Douglas Crimp, ed. Boston: MIT Press.

 “AIDS: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism,” pp. 3–16.

 “How to Have Promiscuity in an Epidemic,” pp. 237–271.

Greenberg, Jon. 1992. “ACT UP Explained.”
(<http://www.actupny.org/documents/greenbergAU.html>)

ACT UP. “Why We Get Arrested.”
(<http://www.actupny.org/documents/whywe%20get.html>)

OPTIONAL:

Hogan, Carl. “How to Be a Problem Patient.”
(http://www.actupny.org/documents/Carlton_Hogan_writings.pdf)

II. REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

Ginsburg, Faye D. 1998. *Contested Lives: The Abortion Debate in an American Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

 Chapter 2: “From the Physicians Campaign to Roe v. Wade,” pp. 23–42.

 Chapter 3: “The Rise of the Right to Life Movement,” pp. 43–60.

 Chapter 7: “Interpretive Battlegrounds,” pp. 94–110.

WEEK 12 GLOBAL NEGOTIATION: HUMAN RIGHTS, SOVEREIGN STATES AND TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY

I. THEORIZING HUMAN RIGHTS

Merry, Sally Merry. “Changing Rights, Changing Culture.” In *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives*. Cowan, Jane, Marie-Benedicte Dembour, and Richard A. Wilson, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 31–55.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2001 A Critique of the UNESCO Concept of Culture. In *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives*. J. Cowan et al, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 127–148.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidel. 1998. “Why States Act through Formal International Organizations.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1): 3–32.

II. TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. In *Activists Beyond Borders*. Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Chapter 1: “Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics,” pp. 1–38.

Chapter 5: “Transnational Networks on Violence Against Women,” pp. 165–198.

WEEK 13 HAWAIIAN LEGAL TRANSFORMATION AND FEDERAL RECOGNITION

I. COLONIAL CONTACT AND LEGAL TRANSFORMATION IN HAWAI’I

Merry, Sally Engle. 2000. *Colonizing Hawai’i: The Cultural Power of Law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Introduction, pp. 3–34.

Chapter 2, “The Process of Legal Transformation,” pp. 35–62.

II. EQUAL RIGHTS VS. SPECIAL RIGHTS:

THE CONTEST FOR NATIVE HAWAIIAN FEDERAL RECOGNITION

Goldberg-Hiller, Jonathan and Neal Milner. 2003. “Rights as Excess: Understanding the Politics of Special Rights.” *Law and Social Inquiry* (28): 1075–1118.

S. 147. 109th Congress, first session, 2005. Calendar 101, report 109–68.

Kauanui, J. Kehaulani. “Akaka bill NO: Unnecessary bargain extinguishes all claims in exchange for recognition.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, 25 April 2004.

Kauanui, J. Kehaulani, Noenoe Silva, Jodi Byrd and Jon Kamakawiwo’ole Osorio. “Kamehameha Ruling Misused to Support Akaka Bill.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 15 August 2005.

OPTIONAL:

Kamehameha Schools. 2005. "Doe v. Kamehameha Schools: History and Key Arguments." (<http://www.ksbe.edu/lawsuit.php>).

Citizens for Equal Rights Association. 2005. *CERA Report*. November/December 2005(1): 1.

WEEK 14 **FINAL PRESENTATIONS**