

RSED 4907 Power and Movements: Approaches to Collective Liberation

*"To have without possessing, do without claiming, lead without controlling,
this is mysterious power."*

~ Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, Ch. 51

*"Order or disorder depends on organization; courage or cowardice on circumstances;
strength or weakness on dispositions"*

~ Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Ch. 5

Fall 2019 Residential Hybrid

SKSM Fireside Room

Mondays 2:10pm - 5:00pm Pacific Time

September 9, 2019 – December 9, 2019

Final Syllabus (subject to change)

Instructor: J. Tyson Casey tcasey@sksm.edu
Office Hours: by appointment only, generally before class on Mondays
Grading: 3 Units. Pass/Fail (unless letter grade is requested in writing)

I. Rationale

The world we now live in is rapidly changing – as a result of kyriarchy, climate disruption, and the chaotic crumbling of governing institutions. These conditions are interdependent and impermanent. They call for adaptive and emergent power rooted in relationship – with the body, with one another, and with the creative potential that lives within and outside of us.

The rationale of this course is to engage the interdependence of internal and collective power in contributing to social change movements, regeneration, and liberation. The course will explore specific approaches to change through various perspectives of power, organization, and movement. This includes the artificial and natural phenomena that contribute to and are perpetuated by interlocking patterns of domination. Participants will have the opportunity to develop their connection to collective liberation by: studying power and movements; working with concrete tools and practices that deepen internal, interpersonal, and institutional relationships with power and movements; reflecting upon the wisdom of spiritual and secular sources; and collaborating in the equitable cultivation of community. Students will be expected to complete readings, case-studies, reflections, and a final project that contributes to the collective wisdom of the class.

Relates to SKSM Thresholds 1, 3, 4, 6, & 7, and MFC Comps 3, 5, & 7.

II. Intended Outcomes

By the end of this course, students will:

- Be able to articulate their own relationships to engaging power and movements, from the personal to the societal levels of experience, so that they can be more effective, embodied, and sustainable in their actions.
- Have an understanding of different sources of power that can shape society amidst patterns of domination and cooperation, as well as ways in which authority, vision, organization, strategy, and agency influence change.
- Have more tools for moving energy in an intentional and equitable direction.
- Be able to provide leadership in a participatory process and presentation.

III. Tentative Sequence

September 9

Welcome/Context Setting

September 16

Power and Movements: An Introduction

September 23

Internal Power

September 30

Interpersonal Power

October 7

Institutional Power

October 14

Authority, Leadership, and Legitimacy

October 21

No Class: Reading Week. Take home mid-term assignment.

October 28

Visions and Dispositions

November 4

Healing Ourselves through Community

November 11

Strategy as a Regenerative Process

November 18

Sustainability, Organization, and the NGO-ization of Movements

November 25

Circumstances and Conditions

December 2

The Practice of Democracy

December 9

Presenting Possibilities

In-class Final

IV. Course Requirements

- A. Work to be completed during the course (30%):
- Completion of mid-term assignment, which includes a case-study of a social change movement of your choosing.
 - Sufficient completion of a practice log and reflection paper.
 - Completion of course final project.
- B. Participation (70%):
- On-time attendance at each class
 - Full participation in all activities, conversations, and presentations
 - Compliance with group agreements and processes
 - Weekly action in a pod that contributes to the participant experience
 - Completion of readings in preparation for each meeting session
 - Leading a council process
 - Co-leading of a group presentation for the whole class

V. Course Readings

Unless otherwise noted, all required readings will be available in a course reader. A printed version of the reader will be available on reserve at SKSM, and can be ordered through Krishna Copy on University Avenue in Berkeley. Electronic versions of the required readings are on the course Moodle site.

- A. Required text not included in the reader (nor online):

Le Guin, Ursula K. *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching: a book about the way and the power of the way*. Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications, 1997.

List Price: \$14.95

ISBN: 9781570623950

- B. Required reading (comprehensive list, not all are required for everyone):

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. "Star Wars and the American Imagination." In *Octavia's Brood: Science Fiction Stories from Social Justice Movements* edited by adrienne maree brown and Walidah Imarisha, 255-257. Oakland: AK Press and the IAS, 2015.

- Bensaïd, Daniel. "The Return of Strategy." *International Socialism*, no 113, 2007.
- Boggs, James and Grace Lee. "Revolution and Evolution." In *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*, 13-23. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2008.
- Boggs, Grace Lee, with Scott Kurashige. "These Are the Times to Grow Our Souls" and "We are the Leaders We've Been Looking For." In *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*, 28-51, 159-178. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Bookchin, Murray. "The Ecological Crisis and the Need to Remake Society." In *The Next Revolution: popular assemblies & the promise of direct democracy*, 30-41. Brooklyn: Verso Books, 2015.
- brown, adrienne maree. "The Principles of Emergent Strategy," "The Elements of Emergent Strategy," and "A Conversation on Consensus with Autumn Meghan Brown." In *Emergent Strategy: shaping change, changing worlds*, 41-50, 169-173. Chico: AK Press, 2017.
- brown, adrienne maree. "Feeling from Within: A Life of Somatics." In *Pleasure Activism: The Politics of Feeling Good*, 273-278. Chico: AK Press, 2019.
- Brown Childs, John. "Boundary as Bridge." In *The Movements of Movements Part 2: Rethinking Our Dance*, 259-265. Oakland: PM Press, 2018.
- Chuang-Tzu, Gia-fu Feng and Jane English (trans.). "Human Affairs." In *Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, 60-82. New York City: Hay House, Inc., 2014.
- Chomsky, Noam. "Government in the Future." (transcribed lecture). New York: the Poetry Center, 1970.
- Davis, Angela. "Closures and Continuities." In *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the foundations of a movement*, 31-49, 61-76. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016.
- Dewi Oka, Cynthia. "Mothering as Revolutionary Praxis." In *Revolutionary Mothering: Love on the Front Lines*, edited by Alexis Pauline Gumbs, China Martens, and Mai'a Williams, 51-57. Oakland: PM Press, 2016.
- Duhigg, Charles. "Saddleback Church and The Montgomery Bus Boycott." In *The Power of Habit: Why We Do What We Do in Life and Business*, 215-244. New York: Random House, 2014.
- El Kilombo Intergaláctico "Zapatismo: a brief manual on how to change the world today." In *Beyond Resistance: Everything - an interview with Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos*, 1-10. Durham: PaperBoat Press, 2007.
- Farquhar, Sebastian et al. *Existential Risk: Diplomacy and Governance*. Oxford, UK: Global Priorities Project, 2017.
- Graeber, David. "How Change Happens." In *The Democracy Project*, 208 – 232. Spiegel & Grau. New York. 2013.
- Haines, Staci and Ng'ethe Maina. "The Transformative Power of Practice." In *Framing Deep Change: essays on transformative social change*, 26-32. Berkeley: Center for Transformative Change, 2010.
- Herbert, Steve. "Elusive Legitimacy: Subservient, Separate, or Generative?" In *Citizens, Cops, and Power: Recognizing the Limits of Community*, 63-93. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Huemer, Michael. "The Psychology of Authority." In *The Problem of Political Authority: An Examination of the Right to Coerce and the Duty to Obey*, 101-136. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Indigenous Action Media. "Accomplices Not Allies." In *Taking Sides: Revolutionary Solidarity and the Poverty of Liberalism*, edited by Cindy Milstein, 85-96. Oakland: AK Press, 2015.

J.B. "Outside Agitators." In *Taking Sides: Revolutionary Solidarity and the Poverty of Liberalism*, edited by Cindy Milstein, 102-105. Oakland: AK Press, 2015.

Jemisin, N.K. "The Ones Who Stay and Fight." In *How Long 'Til Black Future Month?*, 1-13. New York: Orbit Books, 2018.

Jordan, June. "Civil Wars." In *Civil Wars*, 178-188. Boston: Beacon Press, 1981.

Le Guin, Ursula. "The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas" and "The Day Before the Revolution." In *The Wind's Twelve Quarters*, 251-259, 260-277. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Le Guin, Ursula. "The Rock That Changed Things." In *A Fisherman of the Inland Sea*, 61-74. New York: HarperCollins, 1994.

Macy, Joanna and Chris Johnstone. "Three Stories of Our Time." In *Active Hope: How to Face the Mess We're in without Going Crazy*, 13-33. Novato: New World Library, 2012.

Manuel, Zenju Earthlyn. "What We Create: Shared Community and Kinship." In *Sanctuary: A Meditation on Home, Homelessness, and Belonging*, 35-50. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2018.

Marom, Yotam. "Rome Wasn't Sacked in a Day: on reform, revolution, and winning." In *We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy from Occupation to Liberation*, edited by Kate Khatib, Margaret Killjoy, and Mike McGuire, 417-423. Oakland: AK Press, 2012.

Montgomery, Nick & carla bergman. "Stifling Air, Burnout, Political Performance." In *Joyful Militancy: Building Resistance In Toxic Times*, 167-183. Chico: AK Press, 2017.

Moore, Anne Elizabeth. "On leaving the birthplace of standard time." In *Body Horror: Capitalism, Fear, Misogyny, Jokes*, 127-136. Chicago: Curbside Splendor, 2017.

Movement Strategy Center. *The Practices of Transformative Movement Building*. Oakland: Movement Strategy Center, 2016.

Nunes, Rodrigo. "Nothing Is What Democracy Looks Like: Openness, Horizontality, and the Movement of Movements." In *The Movements of Movements Part 2: Rethinking Our Dance*, 37-55. Oakland: PM Press, 2018.

Palmer, Wendy. "The Elements of Basic Practice." In *The Intuitive Body: Aikido as a Clairsentient Practice*, 21-29. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1994.

Piven, Frances Fox. "The Nature of Disruptive Power." In *Challenging Authority: How Ordinary People Change America*, 19-36. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

Potter, Shawna. "Accountability." In *Making Spaces Safer: A Guide to Giving Harassment the Boot Wherever You Work, Play, and Gather*, 81-102. Chico: AK Press, 2019.

Rodriguez, Dylan. "The Political Logic of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex." In *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: beyond the non-profit industrial complex*, edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 21-40. Cambridge: South End Press, 2007.

Roy, Arundhati. "Help that Hinders." *Le Monde diplomatique* (English Edition), November 2004. Retrieved on November 18, 2013. <https://mondediplo.com/2004/11/>

Samaran, Nora, with Natalie Knight. "Dialogue: Free, Prior, and Informed Consent." In *Turn This World Inside Out: The Emergence of Nurturance Culture*, 113-122. Chico: AK Press, 2019.

Schulman, Sarah. "The Duty of Repair." In *Conflict is Not Abuse: overstating harm, community responsibility, and the duty of repair*, 55-78, 271-280. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2017.

Shirley, Neal and Saralee Stafford. "Co-conspirators." In *Taking Sides: Revolutionary Solidarity and the Poverty of Liberalism*, edited by Cindy Milstein, 97-101. Oakland: AK Press, 2015.

Sista II Sista. "Sistas Makin' Moves: Collective Leadership for Personal Transformation and Social Justice." In *Color of Violence: the incite! anthology*, edited by Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, 196--207. Cambridge: South End Press, 2006.

Sitrin, Marina. "Weaving Imagination and Creation: The Future in the Present." In *Globalize Liberation: how to uproot the system and build a better world*, edited by David Solnit, 263-276. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2004.

Sivaraksa, Sulak. "Culture and Reconciliation." In *Conflict, Culture, Change: engaged buddhism in a globalizing world*, 25-33. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2005.

Solnit, Rebecca. "Changing the Imagination of Change." In *Hope in the Dark: untold histories, wild possibilities*, 60-63, 77-82, 107-110. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016.

Storm, Cristien. "Community Care and Social Change." In *Living in Liberation: boundary setting, self-care and social change*, 129-150. Cristien Storm, 2016.

Sun Tzu, and Samuel B. Griffith. "Estimates." In *The Art of War*, 63-71. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Starhawk. "Truth or Dare." In *Truth or Dare: Encounters with power, Authority, and Mystery*, 8-24. New York: HarperCollins, 1990.

Starhawk. "The Practice of Direct Democracy." In *Webs of Power: Notes from the Global Uprising*, 169-178. British Columbia: New Society Publishers, 2002.

Taylor, Sonya Renee. "A New Way Ordered By Love." In *The Body Is Not An Apology: The Power of Radical Self-Love*, 75-91. Oakland: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2018.

Walia, Harsha. "Moving Beyond a Politics of Solidarity toward a Practice of Decolonization." In *Organize: building from the local for global justice*, edited by Aziz Choudry, Jill Hanley, and Eric Shragge, 240-253. Oakland: PM Press, 2012.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The Power of Ideas, the Ideas of Power: To Give and to Receive?" In *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*, 71-84. New York: The New Press, 2006.

Zibechi, Raúl, and Ramor Ryan (trans.). "State Powers and Non-state Powers: Difficult Coexistence." In *Dispensing Power: Social Movements as Anti-State Forces*, 65-90. Oakland: AK Press, 2010.

C. Referential Reading:

- brown, adrienne maree. *Emergent Strategy: shaping change, changing worlds*. Chico: AK Press, 2017.
- Barker, Michael. "Do Capitalists Fund Revolutions?" In *Managing Democracy, Managing Dissent*, 153 - 177. London: Corporate Watch/Freedom Press, 2013.
- Benyus, Janine M. "Where will we go from here?" In *Biomimicry: Innovation Inspired by Nature*, 285-297. New York: William Morrow, HarperCollins Publishers Inc, 1997.
- Boggs, Grace Lee. "Organization Means Commitment." Detroit: National Organization for an American Revolution, 1972.
- Briskin et al. "The Unlimited Cocreative Power of Groups and Communities." In *The Power of Collective Wisdom and the Trap of Collective Folly*, 147-172. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers Inc., 2009.
- Butler, Octavia. *Seed to Harvest*. New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2007.
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- Butler, Octavia. *Parable of the Sower*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1993.
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- Collins, Patricia Hill. "Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment." In *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 221-238. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990.
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- Crass, Chris. "We Can Do This: Key Lessons for More Effective and Healthy Liberation Praxis." In *Towards Collective Liberation: Anti-Racist Organizing, Feminist Praxis, and Movement Building Strategy*, 273-284. Oakland: PM Press, 2013.
- Due, Tananarive. "The Only Lasting Truth." In *Octavia's Brood: Science Fiction Stories from Social Justice Movements* edited by adrienne maree brown and Walidah Imarisha, 259-277. Oakland, CA: AK Press and the IAS, 2015.
- Eisler, Riane. *The Chalice & The Blade: Our History, Our Future*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987.
- Esposito, Roberto. "Bodies." *Persons and Things*, 99-148. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2015.
- Freeman, Jo. "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." In *Quiet Rumours: an anarcho-feminist reader*, 68-75. Oakland: AK Press/Dark Star, 2012.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, 208-226. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Funk, R. W., Roy W. Hoover, and The Jesus Seminar. *The Five Gospels: What Did Jesus Really Say?*, 135-159, 289-299. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993.
- hooks, bell. "Love as the Practice of Freedom." In *Outlaw Culture: Resisting representations*, 243-250. New York: Routledge Classics, 2006.

- Jemisin, N.K. *The Dreamblood 1: The Killing Moon*. New York: Orbit, 2012.
- Jemisin, N.K. *The Dreamblood 2: The Shadowed Sun*. New York: Orbit, 2012.
- Jemisin, N.K. *The Inheritance Trilogy*. New York: Orbit, 2014
- Jemisin, N.K. *The Broken Earth 1: The Fifth Season*. New York: Orbit, 2015.
- Jemisin, N.K. *The Broken Earth 2: The Obelisk Gate*. New York: Orbit, 2016.
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- Klein, Hilary. "zapatista autonomy." In *Compañeras: Zapatista Women's Stories*, 171-215. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2015.
- Le Guin, Ursula K. *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.
- Levine, Cathy. "The Tyranny of Tyranny." In *Quiet Rumours: an anarcho-feminist reader*, 77-80. Oakland: AK Press/Dark Star, 2012.
- Linzey, Thomas and Anneke Campbell. "Blaine and Grant Townships, Pennsylvania: The Illusion of Democracy." In *We the People: stories from the community rights movement in the United States*, 7-24. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2016.
- Mills, C. Wright. "The Theory of Balance" and "The Power Elite." In *The Power Elite*, 242-297. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Neuhaus, Richard J. "The Movement." In *Movement and Revolution*, 89-141. New York: Anchor Books, 1970.
- Nhat Hanh, Thich. "Handling Power Skillfully" and "Sparking a Collective Awakening." In *The Art of Power*, 31-40, 159-175. New York: HarperOne, 2007.
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- Porter, Michael E. "What is Strategy." *Harvard Business Review* (November-December 1996).
- Rojas, Paula X. "Are the Cops in Our Heads and Hearts?" In *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: beyond the non-profit industrial complex*, edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 197-214. Cambridge: South End Press, 2007.
- Roy, Arundhati. *Public Power in the Age of Empire*. Open Media Pamphlet Series. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2004.
- Schulman, Sarah. "Abandoning the Personal: the State and the Production of Abuse." In *Conflict is Not Abuse: overstating harm, community responsibility, and the duty of repair*, 55-78, 271-280. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2017.
- Sitrin, Marina. "Creation," "Power," and "Dreams." In *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina*, 131-176, 239-251. Oakland: AK Press, 2006.

- Smith, Andrea. "Indigenous Feminism and the Heteropatriarchal State." In *The Movements of Movements Part 1: What Makes Us Move?*, edited by Jai Sen, 147-159. Oakland: PM Press, 2017.
- Smith, Jackie and Dawn Wiest. "Theorizing Social Movements and Global Change" and "Antisystemic Movements and Global Transformation." In *Social Movements in the World-System*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.
- Solnit, Rebecca. "The Uses of Disaster." *Harper's Magazine*, October 2005.
- Stewart, Charles J. et al. "The Essential Characteristics of a Social Movement." In *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 1-26. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2007.
- Standing Together to Organize a Revolutionary Movement. "Reclaiming Revolution: history, summation, & lessons from the work of Standing Together to Organize a Revolutionary Movement (STORM)." Oakland: STORM, 2004.
- Storm, Cristien. "Learning Self-Care and Self-Acceptance." In *Living in Liberation: boundary setting, self-care and social change*, 129-140. Cristien Storm, 2016.
- Sun Tzu, and Samuel B. Griffith. "Offensive Strategy," "Dispositions," "Energy," and "Weaknesses and Strengths." In *The Art of War*, 63-71, 77-101. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Suzuki, Shunryu. *Branching Streams Flow in the Darkness: Zen Talks on the Sandokai*, edited by Mel Weitsman and Michael Wenger, 17-23, 190-191. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Tang, Eric. "Non-profits and the Autonomous Grassroots." In *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: beyond the non-profit industrial complex*, edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 215-225. Cambridge: South End Press, 2007.
- Tarrow, Sidney G. "Acting Contentiously." In *Power in Movement*, 95-118. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.