LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLI 4060: Political Violence and Resistance

Tu-Th 4:30-5:50 pm
Syllabus

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Office Hours: Tu-Th 3:15-4:15 pm
Room: Stubbs-208B

The purpose of this course is to provide students with an overview of the main contexts of contemporary political violence and resistance, such as insurgency, terrorism, rebellion, and revolution. I expect students to demonstrate a thorough understanding of the leading theories on violent and nonviolent resistance, ways to test such theories, and implications of the current literature for policy. Along with participation in class discussions (10% of the overall grade) and quizzes (15% of the overall grade), students will be graded on a 20-25 page research proposal (65% of the overall grade) that addresses a specific issue of contemporary political violence, as well as a presentation of the paper (10% of the overall grade). Throughout the course's duration, I will work with students on the development of their research proposals, providing them with feedback on up to three submitted drafts.

Due Dates:

Week Three: Topic for Approval (5% of the research proposal grade)
Week Four: Outline (5% of the research proposal grade)
Week Six: Draft I (10% of the research proposal grade)
Anytime before Week Ten: Draft II
Anytime before Week Ten: Draft III

Mandatory Texts:

Boot, Max. (2013) *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Time to the Present*.
        New York: Liveright. ISBN: 978-0871406880

Sullivan, Patricia L. (2012) *Who Wins? Predicting Strategic Success and Failure in Armed Conflict*. New York:
        Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0199878352

One: Political Violence and Resistance Organizations

Discussion Questions: What is political violence? What is resistance? Are there discernable differences between types of political violence such as terrorism, insurgency, and civil war? What are the aims of resistance organizations?

Readings:

Moghadam, Assaf, Ronit Berger, and Polina Beliakova. (2014) "Say Terrorist, Think Insurgent: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8 (5).

Sambanis, Nicholas. (2004) "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*." 48 (6): 814-858.

Salehyan, Idean (2009) *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics*. Introduction.

[Boot, Max. (2013) *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Time to the Present*. Ch. 1-63.]

Two: The Nature of Armed Conflict

Discussion Questions: How is political violence different from conventional war? Do explanations of the causes of war extend to asymmetric conflicts? Who wins interstate wars and do the same insights apply to conflicts involving non-state actors? In what ways are conventional war and asymmetric conflict similar? What elements of armed conflict are timeless?

Readings:

Blainey, Geoffrey. (1988) *The Causes of War*. Ch. 9

Sullivan, Patricia L. (2012) *Who Wins? Predicting Strategic Success and Failure in Armed Conflict*.

Clark, Mark T. (2006) "Does Clausewitz Apply to Criminal-States and Gangs?" *Global Crime* 7 (3): 407-427.

Grygiel, Jakub. (2013) "The Primacy of Premodern History." *Security Studies* 22: 1-32.

Three: Civil War and Ethnic Conflict

Discussion Questions: How does civil war differ from interstate war? What roles do identity, ideology, culture and economics play in spawning and sustaining civil wars? What are the most effective ways to end civil wars?

Readings:

Kalyvas, Stathis. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Ch. 1

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. (2004) "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563-595.

Walter, Barbara F. (1997) "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51 (3): 335-364.

Sambanis, Nicholas. (2000) "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52: 437-483.

Four: Insurgency, Guerrilla Warfare, and Rebellion

Discussion Questions: How does insurgency differ from civil war? What instigates rebellion? How does collective identity contribute to the expansion of specific insurgencies? Does Weinstein's theory on insurgents complement or contradict the Clausewitzian model? Are rebels puppets, puppet masters, both, or neither?

Readings:

Weinstein, Jeremy M. (2007) *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Ch. 1 and 9.

Salehyan, Idean. (2010) "The Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (3): 493-515.

Hegghammer, Thomas. (2011) "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad." *International Security* 35 (3): 53-94.

Five: Terrorism

Discussion Questions: How does terrorism differ from insurgency? What is the core logic behind most terrorism strategies? Is terrorism a "legitimate" form of political violence? What is the role of formal organizations in sustaining terror campaigns? Does Abrahms' theory on terrorist organizations apply to other types of militant organizations?

Readings:

Hoffman, Bruce. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*. Ch. 3

Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. (2006) "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1): 49-80.

Abrahms, Max. (2008) "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." *International Security* 32 (4): 78-105.

Films:

Der Baader Meinhof Komplex. (2008) Produced by Bernd Eichinger. Directed by Uli Edel. 1 hr. 49 min.
        Constantin Film Produktion.

The Path to 9/11. (2006) Produced by Marc Platt and Cyrus Nowrasteh. Directed by David L.
        Cunningham. 2 hr. 40 min. Touchstone Television.

Six: The Life Spans of Resistance Organizations

Discussion Questions: What factors contribute to sustaining resistance campaigns? Do all resistance
organizations seek longevity? Is organizational survival a useful measurement of resistance success?
What is the global network of militant organizations and how does it affect the life spans of militant
organizations?

Readings:

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. (2006) "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist
        Groups." *International Security* 31 (1): 7-48.

Crenshaw, Martha. (1988) "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches."
        In *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, edited by David C. Rapoport.

Wucherpfennig, Julian, Nils W. Metternich, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch.
        (2012) "Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil War." *World Politics* 64 (1): 79-115.

Connable, Ben and Martin C. Libicki. (2010) *How Insurgencies End*.

Acosta, Benjamin. (2014a) "Live to Win Another Day: Why Many Militant Organizations Survive
        Yet Few Succeed." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37 (2): 135-161.

Seven: The Effectiveness of Resistance Organizations

Discussion Questions: Is political violence effective for achieving political goals? How does credibility
affect a resistance organization's ability to gain concessions? Do empirical studies on political
violence support political bargaining theories? When violent resistance organizations do succeed, in
what ways do they usually win? What factors contribute the most to success?

Readings:

Lake, David A. (2002) "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the 21st Century." *Dialogue
        IO* 1 (1): 15-29.

Abrahms, Max. (2012) "The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited." *Comparative Political
        Studies* 45 (3): 366-393.

Abrahms, Max. "The Credibility Paradox: Violence as a Doubled-Edged Sword in International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (4): 660-671.

DeRouen, Karl R. and David Sobek. (2004) "The Dynamics of Civil War Duration and Outcome." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 303-320.

Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. (2001) "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict." *International Security* 26 (1): 93-128.

Sullivan, Patricia L. (2007) "War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (3): 496-524

Boot, Max. (2013) *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Time to the Present*. Ch. 64.

Eight: External Support for Resistance Organizations

Discussion Questions: What are the effects of state sponsorship of resistance organizations? What matters more for achievement: state sponsorship or network ties? How does asymmetry affect the decision processes of resistance organizations? In what ways does external support from states and fellow non-state actors bolster resistance endeavors? Why do states sponsor militant organizations?

Readings:

Byman, Daniel. (2013) "Outside Support for Insurgent Movements." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36 (12): 981-1004.

Salehyan, Idean, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and David E. Cunningham. (2011) "Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups." *International Organization* 65 (4): 709-744.

Findley, Michael G., James A. Piazza, and Joseph K. Young. (2012) "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *Journal of Politics* 74 (1): 235-248.

Piazza, James A. (2008) "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52: 469-488.

Karmon, Ely. (2008) "Iran-Syria-Hizballah-Hamas A Coalition against Nature: Why Does It Work?" Proteus Monograph Series.

Nine: Suicide Attacks/Martyrdom Operations

Discussion Questions: In what ways are suicide attacks effective/ineffective? -Lethality? -Organization duration? -Organization success? Why do militant organizations conduct suicide attacks? What motives do individuals have for carrying out suicide attacks and how do they differ from organizational motives?

Readings:

Berko, Anat and Edna Erez. 2005. "'Ordinary People' and 'Death Work': Palestinian Suicide
    Bombers as Victimizers and Victims." *Violence and Victims* 20 (6): 603-623.

Moghadam, Assaf. (2009) "Motives for Martyrdom: Al Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide
    Attacks." *International Security* 33 (3): 46-78.

Acosta, Benjamin and Steven J. Childs. (2013) "Illuminating the Global Suicide-Attack Network."
    Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 36 (1): 49-76.

Bloom, Mia M. (2004) "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and
    Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1): 61-88.

Hafez, Mohammed M. (2007) "Dying to Be Martyrs: The Symbolic Dimension of Suicide
    Terrorism." In *Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism*.

Ten: Non-Violent Resistance

Discussion Questions: Is non-violent resistance more effective than political violence? How do participation levels affect the outcomes of resistance campaigns? What is the relationship between government repression and the effectiveness of non-violent resistance? What are the key differences between active and passive forms of resistance?

Readings:

Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth. (2008) "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic
    Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33 (1): 7-44.

Howes, Dustin Ells. (2013) "The Failure of Pacifism and the Success of Nonviolence."
    Perspectives on Politics 11 (2): 427-446.

Scott, James C. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Ch. 2

Dudouet, Véronique. (2013) "Dynamics and Factors of Transition from Armed Struggle to
    Nonviolent Resistance." *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 401-413.

Eleven: Social Movements, Resistance Organizations, and Revolution

Discussion Questions: What sparks revolutions? When do violent and non-violent streams converge to bring about revolution? Do non-violent movements require a "radical" flank in order to achieve success? What role do revolutionaries play in democratization?

Readings:

Huntington, Samuel P. (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Ch. 1-3

DeFronzo, James. (1996) *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*. Ch. 1 and 9

Johnston, Hank, Enrique Laraña, and Joseph R. Gusfield. (1994) "Identities, Grievances, and New Social Movements." In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, edited by Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield.

Celestino, Mauricio Rivera and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. (2013) "Fresh Carnations or All Thorn, No Rose? Nonviolent Campaigns and Transitions in Autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 385-40.

Twelve: From Revolutionaries to Governors

Discussion Questions: Under what conditions do violent resistance organizations transition to mainstream political parties? When do resistance organizations precipitate a state's democratization? How does armed conflict shape post-conflict political landscapes?

Readings:

De Zeeuw, Jeroen. (2008) "Understanding the Political Transformation of Rebel Movements." In *From Soldiers to Politicians: Transforming Rebel Movements after Civil War*, edited by Jeroen De Zeeuw.

Acosta, Benjamin. (2014) "From Bombs to Ballots: When Militant Organizations Transition to Political Parties." *Journal of Politics* 76 (3): 666-683.

Allison, Michael E. (2006) "The Transition from Armed Opposition to Electoral Opposition in Central America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48 (4): 137-162.

Blattman, Christopher. (2009) "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 103 (2): 231-247.

Words to the Wise

I will dock late assignments one-letter grade per day. IMPORTANT: I will not tolerate plagiarism and academic dishonesty.

Weekly readings are subject to change so pay attention to class announcements.

During class put your cell phones on silent and do not use them.