

January 27, 2011

## **CPO 4057: Political Violence**

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Office Hours: Wed 10:30-11:30 am & Thu 1:30-2:30 pm	<a href="http://campus.fsu.edu/">http://campus.fsu.edu/</a>

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This course is structured to teach you about political violence and, thereby, the world in which we live. The topic is a contentious one, fraught with ethical and moral issues, issues concerning the proper role of government, the question of ends versus means, and the value of human existence. The course is discussion based, so civility, respect for others, and a respect for the value of free speech and a frank exchange of ideas are all important.

In addition to the course content, I hope that you will further develop some skills that will be useful to you regardless of what you do after leaving FSU. Specifically, I will emphasize the importance of thinking analytically and critically, and presenting and supporting logically sound arguments.

Finally, I want to stress that this course is challenging. I expect more of you than perhaps is typical, but the adage that ‘what one gets out of a course is a function of what one puts in’ is appropriate. If you fall behind, fail to do the reading, etc. then the course will be a struggle and you will likely be frustrated and have a poor experience, not to mention a poor grade. If you do the assigned work you will become familiar with a world with which you were previously only vaguely acquainted.

### **Requirements & Evaluation**

You are expected to have completed the assigned reading prior to attending class. Being an upper division course, the emphasis is on reading and in-class discussion of same, supplemented with lecture. In lieu of reading assignments, you are required to view three films: “Do the Right Thing” (1989, a Spike Lee Joint), “Milagro Beanfield War” (1988, Universal Studios, directed by Robert Redford), and ‘Waltz with Bashir’ (2008, Bridgit Folman Film Gang, directed by Ari Folman). You can view them, for a fee, with Amazon.com’s Video on Demand service (<http://www.amazon.com/gp/video/ontv/start>),<sup>1</sup> or whatever service you find convenient. It is your responsibility to locate and access the films.

There will be three mechanisms for evaluation:

1. Class participation (40%)

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<sup>1</sup>Please note that a credit care is required to rent a video at Amazon. If you do not have a credit card you might purchase an iTunes gift card from a retailer (such as Wal-Mart, Target, Walgreens, CVS, etc.) and then access the video through the iTunes.

3. A multiple choice midterm exam (30%)
4. A multiple choice final exam (30%)

### ***Class Participation***

Class participation will be graded based on your civil<sup>2</sup> contributions to class discussion. You begin the semester with a 100 (out of 100) for participation. In class I will call on people at random. Students who are present and contribute to civil discussion when called upon will not lose any points. If a student is called upon and present, but declines to respond to the comment or query, or does so in a counter-productive fashion, s/he will lose 5 participation points for that day. Students who are absent when called upon will also lose 5 participation points.

### ***Midterm Exam***

The midterm is a multiple choice exam with 35 questions. It is open book, open note, and will cover the readings in the “Four Theoretical Perspectives on the Causes and Processes of Political Violence” section.

The exam will be governed by FSU’s Honor Code and your work must be your own.

### ***Final Exam***

The final is a multiple choice exam with 50 questions. It is open book, open note, and will cover the readings in the sections on “Ethnic Conflict,” “Civil War,” “Non-Violent Direct Action,” “Insurgency,” “Counter-Insurgency,” and “Patriarchy & Violence” sections.

The exam will be governed by FSU’s Honor Code and your work must be your own.

PLEASE NOTE: the policy for make-up exams is available under the Syllabus link on the course BB site.

### ***Administrative Stuff***

#### *Posting Grades*

At the end of the semester I will post grades on the course website.

#### *Students with Challenges*

Students with challenges who require individualized testing or other accommodations should identify themselves and express their needs during the first week of the semester. Where the challenge is not immediately apparent, verification will be required.

#### *Grading Scale*

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<sup>2</sup>I discuss civil discussion on the course BB site, under the Syllabus link.

Excellent		A = 100-93	A- 92-90
Good	B+ = 89-88	B = 87-83	B- = 82-80
Average	C+ = 79-78	C = 77-73	C- = 72-70
Below Average	D+ = 69-68	D = 67-63	D- = 62-60
Unacceptable		F = 59-0	

### ***Reading***

The daily reading assignments are available on the BlackBoard (BB) site for this course (under the Assignments tab). There are no books to purchase for this course.

You are required to watch three movies, in lieu of reading, during the semester. You can view them, for a fee, with Amazon.com's Video on Demand service (<http://www.amazon.com/gp/video/ontv/start>),<sup>3</sup> or whatever service you find convenient. It is your responsibility to locate and access the films.

## **Course Schedule**

The daily assignments are listed below. The readings are due on the day they are listed (i.e., we will be discussing those readings that day).

### **Tue 4 Jan:**

No assigned reading.

## **1 Four Theoretical Perspectives on the Causes and Processes of Political Violence**

In this section we examine four different theoretical perspectives that endeavor to explain why the events we are examining in this class come to pass: Relative Deprivation, Rational Action, Resource Mobilization and State Collapse. The first two perspectives are individual level explanations. The other two are macro level explanations. As you read these assignments, ask yourself what each author is trying to explain.

### **Thu 6 Jan: Relative Deprivation**

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<sup>3</sup>Please note that a credit care is required to rent a video at Amazon. If you do not have a credit card you might purchase an iTunes gift card from a retailer (such as Wal-Mart, Target, Walgreens, CVS, etc.) and then access the video through the iTunes.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1968. "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence," *World Politics*, 20(2):245-278.

Gurr is interested in explaining why individuals participate in political violence against the state. He proposes a psychological model that focuses on the gap between peoples' expectations and their perceptions of what they are able to achieve.

### **Tue 11 Jan:** Rational Actors

Mason, T. David. 2004. *Caught in the Crossfire: Revolutions, Repression, and the Rational Peasant*, Lanham: Rowman Littlefield, pp. 36-39, 89-96, and 104-106.

Mason introduces us to rational choice explanations of participation in collective action, the problem of free riding, and a variety of mechanisms that will reduce free-riding.

—and—

Popkin, Samuel. 1988. "Political Entrepreneurs and Peasant Movements in Vietnam," in M. Taylor (ed.) *Rationality and Revolution*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9-23.

Popkin asks 'Why do peasants support guerrillas?' He assumes that peasants are rational in the sense that they set goals and make choices in an effort to achieve those goals. One implication of that assumption is that peasants will 'free-ride' on the efforts of others rather than engage in collective action. Popkin identifies actions that political entrepreneurs can take so that peasants will not free-ride.

### **Thu 13 Jan:** Resource Mobilization

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading: Random House, pp. 52-64, 69-72, 73, 81, 84-90.

Tilly argues that groups compete with one another for society's resources. He is less concerned with why individual people participate than understanding the social processes that lead groups of people to use violence. He thus focuses on groups, not individuals.

### **Tue 18 Jan:** State Collapse

Skocpol, Theda. 1976. "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 18:175-210.

Skocpol addresses the question 'why do social revolutions occur?'. Rather than concerning herself with individual participation or group competition, Skocpol is interested in determining what historical forces lead societies to undergo fundamental socio-politico-economic

change. She thus focuses on the structural relations between the state and the landed elite, the landed elite and the peasantry, and states with one another.

**Thu 20 Jan:**

View the film “Do the Right Thing.” Arrive in class prepared to use the four theories we have discussed to explain the events depicted in the film.

**Tue 25 Jan:**

View the film “Milagro Beanfield War.” Arrive in class prepared to use the four theories we have discussed to explain the events depicted in the film.

**Thu 27 Jan:**

Midterm Exam.

## **2 Ethnic Conflict**

**Tue 1 Feb:**

Brubaker, Rogers & David D. Laitin. 1998. “Ethnic and Nationalist Violence,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1): 423-52.

**Thu 3 Feb:**

Mueller, John. 2000. “The Banality of Ethnic War,” *International Security*, 25(1): 42-70.

**Tue 8 Feb:**

Saideman, SM, DJ Lanoue, M Campenni & S Stanton. 2002. “Democratization, Political Institutions, and Ethnic Conflict,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(1): 103-129.

## **3 Civil War**

**Thu 10 Feb:**

Humphreys, Macartan & Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(2): 436–455.

**Tue 15 Feb:**

Fearon James D. & David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97(1): 75-90.

**Thu 17 Feb:**

Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Håvard Hegre & Håvard Strand. 2009. "Democracy and Civil War," in M.I. Midlarsky (ed.) *The Handbook of War, III*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 155-192.

**Tue 22 Feb:**

Cederman, L.E., A. Wimmer & B. Min. 2010. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics*, 62(1): 87–119.

## 4 Non-Violent Direct Action

**Thu 24 Feb:**

King, Martin Luther. 1992[1957]. "The Power of Non-Violence," in J.M. Washington (ed.), *I Have a Dream: Writings and Speeches that Changed the World*, San Francisco: Harper, pp. 29-33.

–and–

King, Martin Luther. 1992[1959]. "The Social Organization of Non-Violence," in J.M. Washington (ed.), *I Have a Dream: Writings and Speeches that Changed the World*, San Francisco: Harper, pp. 49-53.

–and–

King, Martin Luther. 1992[1960]. "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence," in J.M. Washington (ed.), *I Have a Dream: Writings and Speeches that Changed the World*, San Francisco: Harper, pp. 54-62.

–and–

Duvall, Jack & Peter Ackerman. 2000. *A Force More Powerful*, New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 1-9 and 493-505.

**Tue 1 Mar:**

Schock, Kurt. 2005. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. xv-xvii, xxii-xxvi, 1-6, 13-16, 30-33, 49-55, 79-90, and 102-118.

## 5 Insurgency

**Thu 3 Mar:** Rural Insurgency

Clausewitz, Carl von. 2004. "People's War," in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 230-234.

–and–

Davydov, Denis. 2004. "On Guerrilla Warfare," in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 245-253.

–and–

Lawrence, Thomas Edward. 2004. "The Lessons of Arabia," in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 312-316.

–and–

Tse-Tung, Mao. 1968. "Characteristics of China's Revolutionary War," in W.J. Pomeroy (ed.) *Guerrilla Warfare & Marxism*, New York: International Publishers, pp. 177-183.

–and–

Tse-Tung, Mao. 2004. "The Three Stages of the Protracted War," in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 352-356.

–and–

Guevara, Che. 1968. "Lessons of the Cuban Revolution," and "What is a Guerrilla?" in W.J. Pomeroy (ed.) *Guerrilla Warfare & Marxism*, New York: International Publishers, pp. 287-290.

–and–

Guevara, Che. 2004. “Guerrilla Warfare: A Method,” in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 360-364.

–and–

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1968. “A Political-Military Strategy for African Liberation,” in W.J. Pomeroy (ed.) *Guerrilla Warfare & Marxism*, New York: International Publishers, pp. 275-280.

### **Tue 15 Mar:** Urban Insurgency

Marighella, Carlos. 2004. “From the ‘Minimanual,’” in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 370-376.

–and–

Guillen, Abraham. 2004. “Urban Guerrilla Strategy,” in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 377-383.

–and–

Qutb, Sayed. 2004. “Jihad in the Cause of God,” in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 394-397.

–and–

Maududi, Syed Abul Ala. 2004. “Jihad in Islam,” in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 398-400.

–and–

Zawahiri, Ayman Al. 2004. “Knights Under the Prophet’s Banner,” in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 426-433.

–and–

“Insurgency Tactics,” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi\\_resistance#Insurgency\\_tactics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi_resistance#Insurgency_tactics).

**7-11 March:** Spring Break—classes do not meet.

**Thu 17 Mar:** Non-Violent v Violent Tactics

Lilja, Jannie1. 2009. "Trapping Constituents or Winning Hearts and Minds? Rebel Strategies to Attain Constituent Support in Sri Lanka." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21(2):306-326.

## 6 Counter-Insurgency

### **Tue 22 Mar:**

Callwell, Charles. 2004. "The Dangers of Guerrilla Warfare-1900," in W. Laquer (ed.) *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, pp. 299-302.

–and–

Thompson, Sir Robert G.K. 1979. "Regular Armies and Insurgency," in R. Haycock (ed.) *Regular Armies and Insurgency*, NH: Croom-Helm, pp. 9-20.

–and–

Kifner, John. 2003. "Report on Brutal Vietnam Campaign Stirs Memories," *The New York Times*, December 28, p. 18.

–and–

Tomes, Robert R. 2004. "Relearning Counterinsurgency Warfare," *Parameters*, Spring: 16-28.

### **Thu 24 Mar:**

Lyall, Jason & Isiah Wilson, III. 2009. "Rage against the machines: Explaining outcomes in counterinsurgency wars." *International Organization*, 63(1): 67–106.

### **Tue 29 Mar:**

Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does indiscriminate violence incite insurgent attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 54: 745–770.

### **Thu 31 Mar:**

Hughes, Geraint. 2009. "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised: The Counter-Insurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965–1975." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32(2): 271–305.

**Tue 5 Apr:**

Boot, Max & Richard Bennett. 2009. "Treading Softly in the Philippines: Why a low-intensity counterinsurgency strategy seems to be working there." *The Weekly Standard*, 14(16), 5 - 12 January.

–and–

Rana, M.A. 2009. "Taliban Insurgency in Pakistan: A Counterinsurgency Perspective." Working Paper, Islamabad: Pak Institute of Peace Studies.

**Thu 7 Apr:**

View the film "Waltz with Bashir." Arrive in class prepared to use the four theories we have discussed to explain the events depicted in the film.

**Tue 12 Apr:**

Moore, Will H. & Steven M. Shellman. 2009. "Conceptualizing a New School of Political Conflict and Terrorism Studies: From Attributes to Behavior and Why Policy Makers will Care." *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2(12).

## 7 Patriarchy & Violence

**Thu 14 Apr:**

Morgan, Robin. 2001, *The Demon Lover: The Roots of Terrorism*, NY: Washington Square Press, ch. 2.

**Tue 19 Apr:**

Morgan, Robin. 2001. *The Demon Lover*, ch. 8.

–and–

Freeman, Melanie Stetson. 2005. "Lens, Pens, and a Woman's Perspective," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 22, available online at: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0822/p18s04-hfes.html>.

**Thu 21 Apr:**

Morgan, Robin. 2001. *The Demon Lover*, ch. 10.

**Thu 28 Apr:**

Final Exam: 7:30 - 9:30 a.m., Bellamy 004.