

**Political Science 3782**  
**Terrorism and Political Violence**

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Course website: [www.artsci.wustl.edu/~ebuenode/classes/ps3782.htm](http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~ebuenode/classes/ps3782.htm)

*Course Description:*

This course offers an introduction to the comparative study of terrorism, civil war, revolution, and other forms of domestic-level political violence. We will consider a variety of theoretical and empirical approaches to studying violence. The focus of the class is on learning how social scientific tools can be used to understand conflict. No mathematical background beyond high school algebra is prerequisite for the course. However, readings with technical content (both game theoretic and statistical) are assigned. Basic game theory and statistics will be introduced as necessary.

*Course Requirements:*

Reading/Participation (10%): Articles or book chapters are assigned for each class meeting. You should do the readings prior to the class for which they are assigned and participate actively in class. All of the readings are available either from the universities electronic reserve, online at JSTOR, or website links are provided on the syllabus.

Short papers (20% each): Two short paper (3-5 pages) will be assigned during the semester. Topic questions will be handed out and students will have two weeks to write the papers from the time the questions are distributed.

Final Paper (50%): Students are expected to turn in a final paper on an independently chosen research topic at the end of the semester. Topics should be chosen in consultation with either Professor Bueno de Mesquita or the TA. A one to two page paper proposal, outlining the research question to be answered and the approach to be taken is due by November 12.

*Course Schedule:*

August 27 – Introduction and administrative issues

September 1 LABOR DAY – NO CLASS

## General Issues

September 3 – What are social scientists doing when they study violence?

- Keddie, Nikki. 1994. "Can Revolutions be Predicted: Can their Causes be Understood?" In Nikki Keddie (ed.) *Debating Revolutions* (New York: NYU Press).
- Goldstone, Jack. 1994. "Predicting Revolutions: Why we could (and should) have foreseen the revolutions of 1989-1991 in the USSR and Eastern Europe" In Nikki Keddie (ed.) *Debating Revolutions* (New York: NYU Press).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1996. "The Benefits of a Social-Scientific Approach to Studying International Affairs." In Ngaire Woods, ed. *Explaining International Affairs Since 1945*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

September 8 – Standards of argument with an application to revolutions

- Skocpol, Theda. "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions." in Jack Goldstone (ed.) *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies* 1<sup>st</sup> edition. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company).
- Geddis, Barbara. 1991. "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics." *Political Analysis* 2:131-150.
- Collier, David and James Mahoney. 1996. "Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research." *World Politics* 49(1):56-91. (JSTOR)

September 10 – Collective Action

- Finkel, Steven E. and Edward N. Muller. 1998. "Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Political Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data." *American Political Science Review* 92(1):37-49. (JSTOR)
- Van Belle, Douglas A. 1996. "Leadership and Collective Action: The Case of Revolution." *International Studies Quarterly* 40(1):107-132.
- Joel Migdal, Peasants, Politics, and Revolution, 1974. Chapter 10, p. 226-256.

September 15 – Why People Rebel

- Gurr, Ted. 1968. "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices." *American Political Science Review* 62(4):1104-1124. (JSTOR)
- Khawaja, Marwan. 1994. "Resource Mobilization, Hardship, and Popular Collective Action in the West Bank." *Social Forces* 73(1):191-220.

#### September 17 – Testing Deprivation

- Thompson, J.L.P. 1989. “Deprivation and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1922-1985: A Time-Series Analysis.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33(4): 676-699.
- Brush, Stephen G. 1996. “Dynamics of Theory Change in the Social Sciences: Relative Deprivation and Collective Violence.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(4):523-545.

#### September 22 – Economics and Politics

- Lichbach, Mark Irving. 1990. “Will Rational People Rebel against Inequality: Samson’s Choice.” *American Journal of Political Science* 34(4):1049-1076. (JSTOR)
- Schock, Kurt. 1996. “A Conjunctural Model of Political Conflict: The Impact of Political Opportunities on the Relationship between Economic Inequality and Violent Political Conflict.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(1):98-133.

### **Terrorism**

#### September 24 – The Audiences of Terror

- Scott E. Atkinson, Todd Sandler, and John Tschirhart. 1987. “Terrorism in a Bargaining Framework.” *Journal of Law and Economics* 30(April):1-21.
- DeNardo, James. 1985. *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 10.
- Paul Wilkinson. 1997. “The Media and Terror: A Reassessment.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9(2): 51-64.

#### September 29 – Internal Structure, Financing, and Goals of Terrorist Organizations

- Chai, Sun-Ki. 1993. “An Organizational Economics Theory of Anti-Government Violence.” *Comparative Politics* 26(1):99-110.
- Bloom, Mia M. forthcoming. “Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share and Outbidding.” *Political Science Quarterly*.
- Adams, James. 1987. “The Financing of Terror.” In *Contemporary Research in Terrorism*, ed. Paul C. Wilkinson and Alasdair M. Stewart. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press).

#### October 1 – Conciliating Terrorists

- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. “Sabotaging Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence.” *International Organization* 56(2):263-296.

- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2003. "Conciliation, Counter-Terrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence: A Comparative Study of Four Cases." Available at [www.artsci.wustl.edu/~ebuenode/papers.htm](http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~ebuenode/papers.htm)

#### October 6 – Repressing Terrorists

- de Figueiredo, Jr., Rui J.P. and Barry Weingast. 2001. "Vicious Cycles; Endogenous Political Extremism and Political Violence." *Institute of Governmental Studies Working Paper* 2001-9.
- Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 1993. "The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: Vector-Autoregression-Intervention Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87(4):829-844. (JSTOR)

#### October 8 – Terrorism and the Economy

- Krueger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. 2002. "Education, Poverty, Political Violence, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *NBER Working Paper* 9074.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2003. "The Quality of Terror." Available at [www.artsci.wustl.edu/~ebuenode/papers.htm](http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~ebuenode/papers.htm)

### **Repression**

#### October 13 – Repression and Participation

- Booth, John A. and Patricia Bayer Richard. 1996. "Repression, Participation, and Democratic Norms in Urban Central America." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(4):1205-1232. (JSTOR)
- Mason, T. David and Dale A. Crane. 1989. "The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2):175-198.

#### October 15 – Repression and Dissent

- Moore, Will H. 1998. "Repression and Dissent: Substitution, Context, and Timing." *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3):851-873. (JSTOR)

*Choose one of the following to read:*

- Lichbach, Mark Irving. 1987. "Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31:266-97
- Gupta, Dipak K., Harinder Singh, and Tom Sprague. 1993. "Government Coercion of Dissidents: Deterrence or Provocations?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37:301-339
- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61:132-152. (JSTOR)

## Civil Wars, Genocides, and Coups

### October 20 – The Causes of Civil War

- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. “On Economic Causes of Civil War.” <http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict/topic/13188/library/doc?id=13204>
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” Available at <http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict/library/doc?id=12205>
- Walter, Barbara F. 2002. “Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War.” Available at <http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict/topic/13191/library/doc?id=18172>.

### October 22 – Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Civil War

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2001. “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* (in Research Notes) 54(1). (JSTOR)
- Sambanis, Nicolas. 2001. “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(4):259-282.
- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. “Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can be Done and the Other Can’t.” *Security Studies* 6(1):62-100.

### October 27 – Civil War Duration

- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.
- Walter, Barbara. 1997. “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement” *International Organization* 51(3):335-364. (JSTOR)

### October 29 – Civil War Termination

- David, Steven R. 1997. “Internal War: Causes and Cures.” *World Politics* 49(4):552-76. (JSTOR)
- Fearon, James D. 2002. “Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?” Available at <http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict/topic/13191/library/doc?id=18171>.
- Mason and Fett. 1996. “How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(4):546-568.

### November 3 – Partition Solutions

- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20(4):136-175.

- Sambanis, Nicholas. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/partition2.pdf>
- Kumar, Radha. 1997. "The Troubled History of Partition." *Foreign Affairs* 76(1):22-34.

#### November 5 – Peace Keeping

- Fortna, Virginia Page. "Inside and Out: Peacekeeping and the Duration of Peace after Civil and Interstate Wars."
- Gilligan, Michael and Stephen John Stedman. "Where do the Peacekeepers Go?."

#### November 10 – Aftermath of Civil Wars

- Atlas, Pierre M. and Roy Licklider. "Conflict Among Former Allies After Civil War Settlement: Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Lebanon." *Journal of Peace Research* 36(1):35-54.
- Licklider, Roy. 1995. "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993." *American Political Science Review* 89(3). (JSTOR)
- Collier, Paul. "On the Economic Consequences of Civil War." Available at [http://econ.worldbank.org/files/13201\\_CollierEcConsequences.pdf](http://econ.worldbank.org/files/13201_CollierEcConsequences.pdf)

#### November 12 – Level of Violence and Genocide

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1999. "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria." *Rationality and Society* 11(3):243-285.
- Krain, Matthew. 1997. "State-sponsored Mass Murder: The Onset and Severity of Genocides and Politicides." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(3):331-360.
- Valentina, Benjamin. "Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killings and Genocides." *Security Studies* 9(3):1-59.

#### November 17 – Coups

- Londregan, John B. and Keith Poole. 1990. "Poverty, The Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power." *World Politics* 42(2):151-183. (JSTOR)
- Jackman, Robert W. 1978. "The Predictability of Coups d'etat: A Model with African Data." *American Political Science Review* 72(4):1262-1275. (JSTOR)

- Johnson, Thomas H., Robert O. Slater and Pat McGowan. 18=984. "Explaining African Military Coups d'Etat, 1960-1982." *American Political Science Review* 72:622-640 (JSTOR).

## **Ethnic Conflict**

November 19 – What is Ethnic Conflict?

- Fearon James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90(4):715-735. (JSTOR)
- Bates, Robert. 1974. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 6(4):457-477.

November 24 – The Causes of Ethnic Conflict

- Lake, David A. and Donald Rothchild. "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict." *International Security* 21(2):41-75.
- Dion, Douglas. 1997. "Competition and Ethnic Conflict: Artifactual?" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(5):638-648

November 26 – THANKSGIVING BREAK

December 1 – The Effects of Ethnic Conflict

- Bates. 1999. "Ethnicity, Capital Formation, and Conflict. CID working paper. [www.cid.harvard.edu/cidwp/027.htm](http://www.cid.harvard.edu/cidwp/027.htm).
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Ibrahim Elbadawi. 2000. "Why are there so many Civil Wars in Africa? Prevention of Future Conflicts and Promotion of Inter-Group Cooperation." Available at <http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC7755.htm>.
- Walter, Barbara. "Reputation and War: Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict." Available at [www.isanet.org/noarchive/walter2.html](http://www.isanet.org/noarchive/walter2.html)

December 3 – Religion and Violence

- Reynal-Querol, Marta. 2002. "Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/ethnicity.pdf>
- Rapoport, David C. "Messianic Sanctions for Terror." *Comparative Politics* 20(2):195-213.

December 8 – The Legacy of Colonialism

- Popkin, Samuel L. "Corporatism and Colonialism: The Political Economy of Rural Change in Vietnam." *Comparative Politics* 8(3):431-464.

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91(5):1369-1401. Available at [http://econ-www.mit.edu/faculty/download\\_pdf.php?id=144](http://econ-www.mit.edu/faculty/download_pdf.php?id=144)
- Berman, Bruce J. "Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence: Colonial Administration and the Origins of the 'Mau Mau' Emergency in Kenya." *British Journal of Political Science* 6(2):143-175.