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INTL 335  
**Terrorism, Insurgency and World Politics**  
*Spring 2014*  
**Dr. Belgin San Akca**

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**Office:** CAS - 152

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**Lectures:** M/W 14:00-15:15

**Location:** SCI Z07

**Office Hours:** Tu/Th 3:30-4:30pm and/or  
by appointment

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**Office Hours:** M/W 3:30-4:30pm and/or by appt.

### **Course Description:**

This course introduces students with a review of the research on issues related to various types of non-state armed groups, such as terrorists, insurgents, revolutionaries, and guerillas. It examines the interaction between states and non-state actors in light of theoretical and empirical approaches in the study of intra- and inter-state conflict. Students are offered valuable insights about the history of terrorism and insurgency as well as the core academic debates in the field, such as the effect of inter-state rivalry, state capacity, and ideational factors (ethnic and religious identity, and ideology) on ethnic conflict, insurgency and terrorism, the spread of internal conflict to the international arena, state support for insurgents and terrorists, state bargaining with such organizations, and their transformation into political organizations. Throughout the course while students are exposed to major theoretical debates and questions in the study of internal conflict, they also learn different methodological approaches in the study of transnational terrorism and insurgency.

The course takes an actor-centered approach to the study of terrorism and insurgency trying to answer the following questions: How does terrorism and insurgency emerge? Why do they resort to violence? Why do some groups not resort to violence? How do states end up supporting such groups? How does terrorism end? What motivates terrorists? What strategies do they employ in pursuing their goals? As we explore these questions, we will also acquire in-depth historical knowledge of a range of groups, from 19<sup>th</sup> century Anarchists to terrorists today.

**The seminar is primarily intended for juniors and seniors in political science with an interest in international security. Thus, there are prerequisites for the course. The students of International Relations are required to take INTL101 or INTL100 and INTL201 in order to take this class. The students of other majors will be registered upon the instructor's approval.**

### **Required Readings:**

There are two books and a course pack required for this course. The books are available in the Koc University bookstore and the course pack is available in the copy shop.

Note that the instructor reserves the right to assign additional readings and hold students accountable for following up with current events related to this course *even if specific news articles are not assigned.*

Books:

- (1) O'Neill, B. E. (1990). Insurgency and Terrorism: Inside Modern Revolutionary Warfare. Virginia, Brassey's Inc.
- (2) Crenshaw, Martha. (2011). Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes and Consequences. Routledge: London and New York.

Books are indicated by the last names of their authors (O'Neill and Crenshaw). The rest of the readings for every week is from the coursepack which will soon be available at the copy shop of the University.

**Course Requirements:**

Since this is an upper division class, I expect students to come to class fully prepared. Preparing for the course includes "having done all the required reading for a particular week and being ready to have an in-class discussion", "keeping informed about the current events, especially those that are related to the substantive issues of this course, "being on time for each class", and "not missing any class" with no valid and formally approved excuse. Students are strongly recommended to take notes of the lectures.

Your total course grade will be evaluated on the basis of the following elements. Below is a tentative distribution. Depending on class size, the grading components are subject to change by the instructor.

	<b>Grade Weight (%)</b>	<b>Due Date</b>
Case Study	20%	TBA
Panel presentation	15%	TBA
Participation	10%	TBA
Attendance	5%	
Midterm exam	20%	TBA
Final Exam	30%	TBA- Final Exams Week

**Course Rules & Policies**

**(1) Attendance:** I or the teaching assistant will take attendance in the beginning of each class. You can keep track of your attendance through KUAIS. Attending a class means that you are in class & present mentally in the following manner:

During lectures, the following are unprofessional and impolite manners of behavior, which –if displayed- will affect your grade negatively: being late, leaving early, dozing off, reading materials unrelated to the course, using your phone for calls or text

messaging, talking among yourselves, talking about stuff irrelevant to the discussion, interrupting or being disrespectful to each other during discussions. You are expected to turn your cell phones off during class.

If you fail to act in accordance with the above criteria, you will be dismissed from the class on that day and considered absent for that particular day's class. It is your responsibility to inform me about any issue that may interfere with your attendance in advance. Please note that you will count as having attended only if you stay the entire class. Students are responsible for any material that they miss. I excuse absences on a case-by-case basis. As such, some explanation via e-mail, phone or in-person is expected from students who are not able to attend a class. When possible, you should let me know of prior engagements beforehand. Medical reports approved by the Health Center will only be accepted. You can keep track of your attendance online through KUAIS. Please note that I examine the attendance list at the end of class to see if there are more signatures than actual number of people in class. **Since this is an upper division class, attendance is not graded. But, note that participation counts for 10% of your total grade and missing a class will count against it.**

**(2) Assignments:** If you have questions or objections to a grade, you should let me know within seven days after I return your exams / papers. You should also provide me with written explanation as to what you think merits more points and why. Please bear in mind that in such exchanges, discovery of further problems with the work is possible and this may result in reduction of the given grade. I discuss graded and draft works only in person –not over e-mail or the phone.

**(3)** A missed deadline for presentation cannot be made up unless there is an emergency. The other components of the course, such as exams and papers are allowed to be made up with proper documentation upon the consent of the instructor.

**(4)** The lectures and discussions are to be conducted in English. However I am well aware that each one of us has different levels of experience with English. You are not going to be penalized for your accent, mistakes, simple sentences or asking for assistance when you cannot remember a word.

**(5)** It is the responsibility of students to obtain any course material covered during a class they miss. Neither I nor the TA can be contacted regarding the topics covered during a missed class. Get the lectures notes from your classmates. Do not send e-mails asking me or the TA to provide you with lecture notes or other material covered during lectures before or after you miss a class.

**(6)** Make-up examination for the final exam is granted only on exceptional circumstances and with prior instructor approval obtained with a timely notice and appropriate documentation indicating why a student cannot be in the classroom during the time of test. Only medical reports that are approved by the Koc University Health Center will be accepted. You should notify me or the TA within 24 hours after you miss an exam (if it is not possible to let us know beforehand) for your request about the make-up exam.

(7) Late submission of written assignments will lead to a quarter of a letter grade deduction of the total paper grade (2.5 points) for each day of late submission. The penalty will start accruing as soon as the class begins on each due date.

(8) Coming late to the class and leaving the class early are not permissible behavior. In both cases, you need to inform the instructor ahead of time. Only 5 minutes delay is allowed in the beginning of the class. Those who arrive later than that will not be accepted into the classroom and be considered absent for that day.

(9) Disruptive behavior will not be tolerated under any circumstances. Those who engage in negative behaviors that may influence their and other students' learning can be asked to leave the classroom. Talking to others or on the cellphone, interrupting the professor without raising hands, reading newspapers, using cell phones and other electronic devices, and arriving late and leaving early without prior approval will all be recorded by the teaching assistant and treated in accordance with the Koç University's 'classroom code of conduct.'

(10) Academic dishonesty is the least appreciated behavior. Make sure that whenever you are using outside sources, give credit to them whether you are making a direct or indirect reference. Cheating, plagiarism, and collusion are serious offenses resulting in an F grade and disciplinary action.

### Keeping Informed

You are encouraged to read at least one of the newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *La Monde Diplomatique*, and *The Guardian* on a regular basis. The Koc Library has prepared a [Subject Guide for International Relations](#) and [Law & Political Science](#).

### Schedule of Lectures and Readings:

DATE	TOPICS & READINGS
Week 1: February 3-5	<i>Definitional Issues</i> 1-O'Neill, Chs 1 & 2 2- Crenshaw, Introduction & Ch 1
Week 2: February 10-12	<i>Types and Motives of Non-State Violence: Terrorism, Insurgency, Revolution, and Guerilla Warfare</i> 1- Crenshaw, Ch 2 2-Mark Juergensmeyer. (2001). "Soldiers for Christ", in <u>Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence</u> , pp.19-43. 3- Ted Gurr. 1968. "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence." <i>World Politics</i> 20(2): 245-278.

	<p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Wilkinson, Ch.2, "Terrorism, insurgency, and asymmetrical conflict: introduction to the concept of terrorism", 22-40.  2- Abrahms, M. (2008). "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." <u>International Security</u> 32(4): 78-105.</p>
Week 3: February 17-19	<p><i>Theories on the Onset of Internal Conflict</i>  1- O'Neill, Ch 4  2- Crenshaw, Ch 4  3- Posen, B. (1993). "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." <u>Survival</u> 35(1): 27-47.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Hoeffler, A. and P. Collier (2000). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. <u>World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series</u> World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, 50pp.</p>
Week 4: February 24-26	<p><i>Insurgency, Guerilla Warfare, Revolution</i>  1- O'Neill, Ch 3  2- Tse-tung, M. (2007 (1961)). Introduction. <u>On Guerilla Warfare</u>, BN Publishing: 3-34.  3- Wilkinson, Ch. 4, "Terrorist-backed insurgencies", 49-62.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Robert White, "From Peaceful Protest to Guerilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u> 94:6 (1989), 1277-1302.  2- Lichbach, M. (1994). "What makes rational peasants revolutionary? Dilemma, paradox, and irony in peasant collective action." <u>World Politics</u> 46(3): 383-399.</p>
Week 5: March 3-5	<p><i>Insurgency, Guerilla Warfare, Revolution - Continued</i>  1- Jack Goldstone. 2001. "Toward a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory." <u>Annual Review of Political Science</u> 4:139-87.  2- "Special Report: The Arab Spring." 2013. <u>The Economist</u> (13 July).  3- Sean M. Maloney, "A violent impediment: the evolution of insurgent operations in Kandahar province 2003-07," <u>Small Wars &amp; Insurgencies</u>, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 2008), 201-220.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Ibrahim, A. (2004) "Conceptualisation of guerrilla warfare." <u>Small Wars and Insurgencies</u>.</p>
Week 6: March 10-12	<p><i>The Logic and Tactics of Terrorism</i>  1- Crenshaw, Chs 3, 5 &amp; 6  2- Pape, Robert. 2003 "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terror" <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 97 (3):343-361.</p>

	<p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>1- Pape, R. A. and J. K. Feldman (2010). Lebanon. <u>Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It</u>. Chicago and London, Chicago University Press: 194-215.</p> <p>2- Justin V. Hastings. (2010). "Territory and the Ideas of Clandestine Transnational Organizations" in <u>No Man's Land</u>, 17-29.</p> <p>3- James Hughes. (2007). Chechnya and the Meaning of Terrorism, in <u>Chechnya: from Nationalism to Jihad</u>, pp.128-161.</p>
<p>Week 7: March 17-19</p>	<p><i>The Logic and Tactics of Terrorism – Continued</i></p> <p>1- Rosenau, W. (2001). "Aum Shinrikyo's Biological Weapons Program: Why Did it Fail?" <u>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</u> July-August: 289-298.</p> <p>2- P. Michel, "Car Bombs: The Favorite Weapon of the ETA," <i>Journal of Counterterrorism &amp; Security International</i>, vol. 7, # 2 (2001), pp. 30-32.</p> <p>3- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence" <i>International Organization</i> 56(2).</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>1- John Esposito. (2002). "The Making of a Modern Terrorist", in <u>Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam</u>, pp.2-25.</p>
<p>Week 8: March 24-26</p>	<p><i>Organization, Structure, Mass Terrorism, and Networks</i></p> <p>1- O'Neill, Ch 6</p> <p>2- John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, and Michele Zanini, Networks, Netwar, and Informationage Terrorism, available at <a href="http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA485248&amp;Location=U2&amp;doc=GetTRDoc.pdf">http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA485248&amp;Location=U2&amp;doc=GetTRDoc.pdf</a></p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>1- Mauricio Flores-Morris. (2010) "Why Some Colombian Guerrilla Members Stayed in the Movement Until Demobilization: A Micro-Sociological Case Study of Factors That Influenced Members' Commitment to Three Former Rebel Organizations: M-19, EPL, and CRS," <u>Terrorism and Political Violence</u> 22(2): 216-241.</p> <p><b>MIDTERM: MARCH 26</b></p>
<p>Week 9: March 31-April 2</p>	<p><i>Terrorism, Society, and Psychological Aspects</i></p> <p>1- Crenshaw Ch 7</p> <p>2- Horgan, J. (2003). Leaving Terrorism Behind: An Individual Perspective. <u>Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences</u>. A. Silke. West Sussex, England, Wiley: 109-130.</p>

	<p>3- Sprang, G. (2003). <i>The Psychological Impact of Isolated Acts of Terrorism. Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences</i>. A. Silke. West Sussex, England, Wiley: 133-159.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> 1- Crenshaw, M. (2000). "The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century." <i>Political Psychology</i> 21(2): 405-420.</p>
Week 10: April 7-9	<i>SPRING BREAK</i>
Week 11: April 14-16	<p><i>Survival: Support and Sources</i> 1- O'Neill, Chapters 5 &amp; 7 2- Coll, S. (2004). <i>Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2011</i>. New York, Penguin Group, Chapters 1,2 &amp; 3, 3-70. 3- Eric Lichtblau and William Glaberson, "Millions Raised for Qaeda in Brooklyn, U.S. Says," <i>New York Times</i>, March 5, 2003.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> 1- Staniland, Paul. 2012. "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia." <i>International Security</i>.</p>
Week 12: April 21 (April 23-Children's Festival Holiday)	<p><i>Democracy, Security and Terrorism</i> 1- Wilkinson, Ch.6, "Law-enforcement, criminal justice, and the liberal state", 75-100. 2- Paddy Woodworth, 2001, "Why do they Kill? The Basque Conflict in Spain", <i>World Policy Journal</i> (spring): 1-12 3- Quan Li, 2005, "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 49(2): 278-297</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> 1- Pedahzur et al Ch.5, "Political movements, political parties, and terrorist groups, 105-126. 2- Pedahzur et al., Ch.3, "When political parties turn to terrorism", 41-73. 3- Pedahzur et al Ch.4, "When terrorist groups turn to party politics",75-104.</p>
Week 13: April 28-30	<p><i>How Terrorism End? Negotiating with Terrorists</i> 1- O'Neill, Chapter 8 2- Crenshaw Ch 11 3- Dolnik, A. (2010). <i>Negotiating in Beslan and beyond. Negotiating with Terrorists: Strategy, tactics and politics</i>. G. O. Faure and W. I. Zartman. London and New York, Routledge: 125-147.</p>

	<p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Wilkinson, Ch. 5, "Politics, diplomacy and peace processes: pathways out of terrorism?", 64-74  2- Pinder, D. (2010). <i>Supping with the Devil. Negotiating with Terrorists: Strategy, tactics and politics</i>. G. O. Faure and W. I. Zartman. London &amp; Newyork, Routledge: 69-84.</p>
<p>Week 14: May 5-7</p>	<p><i>Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism: Responses to Insurgency and Terrorism</i>  1- Crenshaw Ch 9&amp;10  2- Duffy, H. (2005). "Terrorism" in International Law. <u>The "War on Terror" and the Framework of International Law</u>. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 17-46.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Silke, A. (2003). <i>Retaliating Against Terrorism. Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences</i>. A. Silke. West Sussex, England, Wiley: 215-231.  2- Daniel L. Byman, "Friends Like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism," <i>International Security</i>, 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006), 79-115.</p>
<p>Week 15: May 12-14</p>	<p><i>Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism: Responses to Insurgency and Terrorism - Continued</i>  1- Crenshaw Ch 8  2- Wilkinson, Ch.11, "International cooperation against terrorism: the evolution of international cooperation", 163-181  3- John Esposito. (2002). "Where do we go from here?", <u>Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam</u>, pp. 118-160.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u>  1- Nye, J. S., Y. Satoh, et al. (2003). <i>Addressing the New International Terrorism: Prevention, Intervention and Multilateral Cooperation: Report to the Trilateral Commission 2003 Annual Meeting</i>. Paris and Tokyo, The Trilateral Commission.  2- Duffy, H. (2005). <i>International Responsibility and Terrorism. The "War on Terror" and the Framework of International Law</i>. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 47-70.</p>
<p><b>Final Exam: TBA</b></p>	