

# Theory and Politics of Terrorism

CRIM 475-005 – Spring 2019

Days: Monday

Time: 4:30 to 7:10 PM

Location: Exploratory Hall L003

**Instructor:** Mahmut Cengiz, Ph.D.

Office: Founders Hall 706 - Arlington Campus

E-mail: [mcengiz@gmu.edu](mailto:mcengiz@gmu.edu)

Twitter: [@mcengiz\\_doc](https://twitter.com/mcengiz_doc)

[LinkedIn Profile](#)

*"...the world is a dangerous place to live in not because of the people who are evil but because of the people who do not do anything about it."                      Albert Einstein*

## Communication

GMU policy provides e-mail as the standard means of communication and requires that all email contact be through GMU e-mail accounts. Please email me from your GMU account when you want to meet.

## Office Hours and Meetings

I can meet with the students at the Johnson Center before and after the class. Please email me if you have any questions or issues you need to discuss. Also, I can meet with students at Enterprise Hall 3rd Floor CLS Office by appointment as well.

## Registration and Enrollment

Please go to <https://registrar.gmu.edu/calendars/spring-2019/> for important dates regarding registration and enrollment. You can also go to the Registrar's office for additional information. The last day for enrolling is January 29, 2019 and the final drop date is February 5, 2019.

## Course Description

This course examines the theory and politics of terrorism from an historical and social perspective and international terrorism in terms of national, ethnic, ideological, and religious movements as well as domestic terrorism and homeland security. The focus is on how terrorism is defined, what causes terrorism, how radicalization affects terrorism, how crime and corruption are entangled with terrorism, how media are linked to terrorism, and how gender matters in terrorism.

The course sheds light on salafi-jihadist networks composed of various terrorist groups ranging from al-Qaeda and its affiliates in Maghreb and Yemen, Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to Boko Haram and al-Shabaab. In this context, the theoretical and ideological background of Salafism that fuels jihadist groups will be examined.

The course puts into concrete terms how state and terrorism are linked to each other and how countries that sponsor terrorists play a role in the development of terrorist groups. Special attention will be given to Iran in terms of how the Iranian Revolutionary Guards are linked to terrorism in the Middle East and how Iran is exploiting Hezbollah to operate in the Middle East and South America.

Special attention also will be given to the threat of terrorism in the United States and Homeland Security through an analysis of recent terror attacks. The country's antiterrorism policies will be reviewed through examples from the Department of Homeland Security. The topic for each week will be illustrated with examples of terrorist organizations operating in various regions. Finally, the course will discuss vulnerabilities of counterterrorism strategies and offer recommendations for effective policy models. By the end of the course, students should have the skills needed to establish a baseline for understanding the theory and politics of both domestic and international terrorism.

### **Grading Components**

Critical Reaction Paper	: 8 %
Mid-term Exam	: 18 %
Final Exam	: 18%
Research Paper	: 20%
Movie Review	: 5%
In class presentation	: 8%
Attendance in-class activities	: 14%
Free-write exercises	: 9%

### **Grading Scale**

A+ 97-100%	(4.0)	C+ 77-79%	(2.33)
A 93-96%	(4.0)	C 73-76%	(2.0)
A- 90-92%	(3.67)	C- 70-72%	(1.67)
B+ 87-89%	(3.33)	D 60-69%	(1.0)
B 83-86%	(3.0)	F 0-59%	(0)
B- 80-82%	(2.67)		

## **Required Textbooks:**

- 1- G. Martin (2018). *Understanding Terrorism: challenges, perspectives, and issues*. Sixth Edition. SAGE Publications, Inc. ISBN 978-1-5063-8581-5
- 2- Additional reading materials (articles with links) will be distributed over Blackboard.
- 3- Additional websites can also be used and discussed to increase student's knowledge on the subject; This can include, but not limited to well-known media; web sites of well-known think tanks on terror studies.

## **Course Requirements and Expectations**

### ***Critical Reaction Paper (CRP) (8 %)***

To help you get your thoughts together for class, you are expected to write ONE-PAGE critical reaction paper (CRP) on Chapter 4. The due date for the CRP is indicated on the course schedule of the syllabus. The statements should be typed, double-spaced, in 12 size, Times New Roman font. These statements should not simply summarize the topic/article/reading. The word "critical" in critical reaction statement does NOT mean that you have to discuss how bad the article/chapter/writing is; it means marked by careful evaluation. You are expected to add your personal opinions (as a reaction) to a sentence, paragraph, and section of a reading or to the piece as a whole. Please include "CRIM475-005 CRP" in the subject heading.

### ***Mid-term Exam (18%) and Final Exam (18%)***

These exams will consist of multiple choice, true/false, short answer, and/or short essay questions that are based on assigned readings and class lectures. The mid-term exam will cover Book Chapters from 1-7 and the final exam will be from 8 to 15. Failure to take an exam at its scheduled time will result in a grade of zero (0) being used in the computation of your final grade— exceptions will only made in the case of unforeseeable and acceptable circumstances.

### ***Research Paper (20 %)***

I want you to pick any topic on terrorism/counterterrorism or select a terrorist organization from. You are assigned to submit the outline of your research paper by February 25, 2019. Your paper should include two sections (see research assignment instructions for more details). In the first section, your research paper should give information about the history of terrorist organization, its ideology and motivation, geographical area, goals and objectives, strategies and tactics, recruitment strategies, funding, and future plans and goals, etc. In the second section, you write about counterterrorism strategies of national and international stakeholders against the terrorist organization, effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies and policies. You can also add your opinions on the counterterrorism strategies as well. Do not hesitate to contact me and discuss your topics. Please include "CRIM475-005: Research Paper" in the subject heading.

You are expected to meet with the professor to review your draft three weeks before due date.

The research papers should be at most eight (8) pages including references page; typed, double-spaced, in 12 size, Times New Roman font; and be prepared in APA formatting and citations. The paper must include at least five (6) scholarly citations.

\*\*\* Research papers should be proofread and edited for spelling and grammar errors before submission.

### ***In-class Presentation (8 %):***

You should take advantage of this class and use it as an instrument to improve your speaking and presentation skills that will be necessary in any part of criminal justice system, particularly in the policing profession. These presentations will also help you acquire the confidence of speaking in front of the people.

During your presentation, you are free in method/technique, material, setting, style, etc. Each of you will have only ten (10) minutes, not more, not less! So, timing is important. We will have a brief Q & A session where the listeners can ask questions and give constructive feedback to the presenter. I encourage you to use visuals and/or audio-visuals for better and more effective presentations. I expect you to be creative in your class performance!

***In-class Activities and Class Participation (14%)***

In this class, we will have in-class activities such as think-pair-share-report (TPSR), brainstorming, group discussions, round-table discussions, and/or reading. If it is a group activity, (as being the group members) you are expected to participate in discussions actively, write a concise and precise report, and present at the end. You are expected to run these group projects collectively and collaboratively as a teamwork. Please remember that absence/tardiness directly (and negatively) affects in-class activities, because; if one student is not in the class, then s/he will physically not be able to join the group activities, either.

Since this is also a learner-centered and interactive course, class participation is encouraged. No doubt, classroom discussion is an essential part of the learning process for the benefit of the students. Participation consists of **being on time for class, being present in class, and being an active member in discussion sessions.**

\*\*\* You are expected to send the copy of your class notes after each class (1% each).

***Free-Write Exercises (%9)***

During the semester, students will be assigned three in-class writing exercises related to course topics (3% each). You will be expected to answer a question or comment on a topic briefly in 10-15 minutes.

***Movie Review (5%)***

You are expected to select one movie/documentary that is about terrorism and/or counterterrorism and review it. You can select your own movie/documentary or ask a name from the professor for revision. In this review, you will answer four questions (see the document of movie review questions).

\* No assignments will be accepted late without prior consent – exceptions will only be made in the case of unforeseeable and acceptable circumstances (i.e. accidents, family emergencies etc.)

***Class Attendance***

According to the University Policy, attendance is required. Therefore, attendance will be taken for every class. **Please sign in only for your own and current attendance!** I consider illness and religious holidays as excused absences. I may ask for a doctor’s note in some cases.

There will be a reduction from the total grading depending on the number of absences. Here is the instructor’s policy on absences:

<u>Number of absence:</u>	<u>Reduction (from total grading):</u>
2	2
3	5
4	8
5	11
6	14
7	18
8	22
9	25

## **Meet One-on-One with the Professor**

You are suggested to meet with the Professor for 10 minutes within the first three weeks of the course. In these meetings, I want to learn more about your backgrounds, interests, and life goals. Please sign up sheet to schedule your preferred meeting time. Sign-up sheet will be available in the classroom. Please let me know if none of the available tie slots on the sheet works for you.

## **University Services**

If you have a documented learning disability or other condition that may affect your academic performance, you should:

1. Make sure this documentation is on file with the Office of Disability Services (SUB I, Rm. 222; 993-2474; [www.gmu.edu/student/drc](http://www.gmu.edu/student/drc)) to determine the accommodations you need; and
2. Talk with me to discuss your accommodation needs. By GMU policy, instructors cannot make any accommodations for students without certification from ODS on the existence of a disability and the specific accommodations needed.

If you feel you need to improve your writing skills, seek assistance from the University Writing Center (<http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/>). You will be expected to write academically for this class despite any linguistic deficits you have, so take full advantage of this service to earn good grades.

If you are in personal distress, you can also get help from Counseling and Psychological Services (<http://www.gmu.edu/departments/csdc/>). Class topics may engender anxiety or challenge world views and the counseling services are there to help.

If you are not a native English speaker and may be interested in linguistic and cultural enrichment services, you can contact GMU's English Language Institute ([eli.gmu.edu](http://eli.gmu.edu)).

If you would like to improve your study skills or test-taking strategies, you can get help from <http://caps.gmu.edu/learningservices>.

## **Honor Code Policy**

George Mason University has an *Honor Code*, which requires all members of this community to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity. Cheating, plagiarism, lying, and stealing are all prohibited. Please consult the Student Handbook for a full definition of these terms. All violations of the *Honor Code* will be reported to the Honor Committee.

Violations include, but are not limited to the following:

Cheating includes any "willful giving or receiving of an unauthorized, unfair, dishonest, or unscrupulous advantage in academic work over other students," by any means whatsoever, or the attempt to do so. Examples: Copying off another student; using notes during a closed-book exam; obtaining an assignment ahead of time from a student who took the class a previous semester; turning in the same work in more than one class (without prior authorization from all professors concerned).

Plagiarism includes "presenting as one's own the works, the work, or the opinions of someone else without proper acknowledgement" or "borrowing the sequence of ideas, the arrangement of material, or the pattern of thought of someone else without proper acknowledgement." Examples: getting your paper off the Internet; cutting and pasting paragraphs from other authors into your paper; turning in a paper that was

written by somebody else; buying a paper; taking a written piece from someone else but rewording it so that it looks different.

Lying includes “the willful and knowledgeable telling of an untruth, as well as any form of deceit, attempted deceit, or fraud in an oral or written statement relating to academic work.” Examples: lying to faculty member by saying you were sick when you were not; falsely claiming a death in the family or a personal emergency; falsifying any official documentation.

Stealing encompasses “taking or appropriating without the permission to do so, and with the intent to keep or to make use of wrongfully, property belonging to any member of the George Mason University community or any property located on the University campus.” Examples: stealing exams or paper assignments from the professor for the purposes of cheating; selling notes you take in class to an individual or a business.

### **Bad Weather and Other Emergencies**

Call GMU’s closing line at (703) 993-1000 to see if classes are cancelled due to weather. You can also register for Mason’s emergency alert system at <https://alert.gmu.edu>. If I should have to cancel a class due to a personal emergency, I will make every attempt to e-mail you ASAP at your GMU email address.

### **Privacy Policy**

Please respect the privacy of any students who may disclose personal information in the class. This means we do not gossip about others’ opinions or personal status outside of class, whether or not we agree with their opinions. Please also respect everyone’s right to freely choose whether to disclose or not disclose personal information.

## **Course Schedule**

### **WEEK I - (January 28)**

(Introduction – Syllabus / Terrorism: First Impressions)

#### Required

Book Chapter 1: First Impressions

“What is terrorism” Posted on Blackboard

#### Recommended

Erik Mannik, “Terrorism: Its Past, Present and Future Prospects”, Posted on Blackboard

David Rapaport, “Four waves of Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

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**WEEK II - (February 4)**  
(Defining Terrorism)

Required

Book Chapter 2: The Nature of the Beast: Defining Terrorism

Recommended

Charles Tilly, “Terror, Terrorism, and Terrorists”, Posted on Blackboard

Aaron Young, “Insurgency, Guerilla Warfare and Terrorism”, Posted on Blackboard

Brian J. Phillips “Deadlier in the U.S.? On Lone Wolves, Terrorist Groups, and Attack Lethality” – Posted on Blackboard

James J. F. Forest “Criminals and Terrorists: An Introduction to the Special Issue” - Posted on Blackboard

Daveed Gartenstein-Ross “Homegrown Terrorists”, Posted on Blackboard

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**WEEK III – (February 11)**  
(The Causes of Terrorism)

Required

Book Chapter 3: The Causes of Terrorism

Recommended

McGilloway “A Systematic Review of Pathways...” – Posted on blackboard.

\* Free-Write exercise 1

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**WEEK IV- (February 18)**  
(Tools of the Trade: Tactics and Targets of Terrorists)  
(The Information Battleground: The Role of the Media)

Required

Book Chapter 10: Tactics and Targets of Terrorists

Book Chapter 11: The Information Battleground: The Role of the Media

Recommended

Matthew Hedges “Evolving Terrorist Tactics, Techniques...”, – Posted on blackboard.

Austin L. Wright, “Terrorism, Ideology and Target Selection”, – Posted on blackboard.

Louise I. Shelley, “Trafficking in Nuclear Materials: Criminals and Terrorists” - Posted on blackboard

Tilman Ruff, “Nuclear Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

Martha Crenshaw, “Explaining Suicide Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

Coartenev Conrad “Tyrants and Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

Sofia Klutch, “The Non-Random Nature of Terrorism” – Posted on blackboard.

Matthias Kuntzel, “Suicide Terrorism and Islam”, – Posted on blackboard

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**WEEK V- (February 25)**  
(Terror from Above: Terrorism by State)

Required

Book Chapter 4: Terrorism by State

Recommended

Naysan Rafati “Iran’s Revolutionary Guards: Readying Strength” - Posted on blackboard

J. Choksy (Iran Takes on the World. Current trends in Islamist ideology) - Posted on blackboard

David Andrew Weinberg “Qatar and Terror Finance” - Posted on blackboard

Daniel Byman “The U.S.-Saudi Arabia Counterterrorism Relationship” - Posted on blackboard

\* Research Paper Outline due February 25.

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**WEEK VI - (March 4)**  
(Terror from Below: Terrorism by Dissidents)

Required

Book Chapter 5: Terrorism by Dissidents

Recommended

James Ron “Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation” – Posted on blackboard.

W. Alejandro Nieto Sanchez *A war of attrition: Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers. Small wars & insurgencies*  
– Posted on blackboard.

Javier Martín-Peña “The legitimization of political violence: A case study of ETA in the Basque country”  
– Posted on blackboard.

Christopher P. Cunningham “Northern Ireland and the ‘War on Terror’: Political Perceptions”– Posted on blackboard.

\* CRP due March 4

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**SPRING BREAK (March 11-March 17)**

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**WEEK VII -- (March 18)**  
(Violence in the Name of the Faith: Religious Terrorism)

Required

Book Chapter 6: Religious Terrorism

Recommended

M.J. Kirdar “Al Qaeda in Iraq” – Posted on blackboard.

Frederick W. Kagan and Kimberly Kagan “Al Qaeda and ISIS: Existential Threats to the US and Europe”  
– Posted on blackboard.

Jerome P. Bjelopera, “American Jihadist Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

**Midterm Exam**

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**WEEK VIII -- (March 25)**  
(Violent Ideologies: Terrorism from the Left and Right)

Required

Book Chapter 7: Terrorism from the Left and Right

Recommended

James Ron “Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation” – Posted on blackboard.

Gordon McHormick “The Shining Path and the Future of Peru”. Posted on blackboard

“FARC Origins of the Guerillas in Colombia” – Posted on blackboard.

“The FARC peace process – ushering in a new chapter in Colombia’s history of crime and violence?”

\* **Free-Write exercise 2**

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**WEEK IX -- (April 1)**  
(Terrorist Spillovers: International Terrorism)

Required

Book Chapter 8: International Terrorism

Recommended

Luke Gerdes “Assessing the Abu Sayyaf Group’s Strategic and Learning Capacities” - Posted on blackboard

Sarah Brockhoff, “Looking Back on Anger...”, – Posted on blackboard.

\* “Movie Review Paper” April 1.

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**WEEK X -- (April 8)**

(Emerging Terrorist Environments: Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissidents)

Required

Book Chapter 9 Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissidents

Louise Shelley “The Unholy Trinity: Transnational Crime, Corruption, and Terrorism”, Posted on blackboard

Recommended

Natalie Reyes, “Women and Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

Matthew Levitt “Terrorist Financing and the Islamic State” - Posted on blackboard

Louise Shelley, “The Diverse Facilitators of Counterfeiting: A Regional Perspective” - Posted on blackboard

Louise Shelley, “The Nexus of Organized Crime and Terrorism: Two Case Studies in Cigarette Smuggling”. - Posted on blackboard

John Otis “The FARC and Colombia’s Illegal Drug Trade” - Posted on blackboard

Russell Howard and Jonathan Prohov “Digging in and Trafficking Out: How the Destruction of Cultural Heritage Funds Terrorism” - Posted on blackboard

Mahmut Cengiz (2017) “Amped in Ankara: Drug trade and drug policy in Turkey from the 1950s through today” - Posted on blackboard

Mahmut Cengiz and Suleyman Ozeren (2018) “The Evolution of the PKK Terrorist Organization into a Criminal Enterprise”

\* Free-Write Exercise 3

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**WEEK XI -- (April 15)**  
(The American Case)

Required

Book Chapter 12: Terrorism in the United States

Alexandro Beutel, “A Short History of Terrorism”, – Posted on blackboard.

David Heller, “Designating Domestic Terrorist Individuals and Groups” – Posted on blackboard.

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**WEEK XII – (April 22)**  
(Counterterrorism/Homeland Security)

Required

Book Chapter 13 Counterterrorism: The Options

Book Chapter 14 Homeland Security

Recommended

Bryan Prize “Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism” -  
Posted on blackboard

Friedrich Schneider “The Economics of Counterterrorism: A Survey Journal of economic surveys” - Posted  
on blackboard

Michael Boyle “Do counterterrorism and counterinsurgency go together?”- Posted in blackboard

Jesse Norris and Hanna Grol “Temporal Trends in US Counterterrorism Sting Operations, 1989-2014” -  
Posted in blackboard

Kim Cragin “Semi-Proxy Wars and US Counterterrorism Strategies”, – Posted on blackboard.

Bruce Hoffman “The Evolving Threat and Effective Counterterrorism Strategies” - Posted on blackboard

Bret E. Brooks “Law Enforcement's Role in US Counterterrorism Strategy” - Posted on blackboard

**Presentations (1<sup>st</sup> group)**

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**WEEK XIII - (April 29)**  
(Future of Terrorism)

Book Chapter 15: Future of Terrorism

Recommended

Daniel Byman “Beyond Counterterrorism Washington Needs a Real Middle East Policy” - Posted in blackboard

Presentations (2nd group)

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**WEEK XIV - (May 6)**

Presentations (3rd group)

\* Research Paper due May 6.

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**FINAL EXAM**

**May 6, 2019**

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Important Dates for Assignments and Exams

Free-Write Exercise 1	February 11
Research Paper Outline	February 25
Critical Reaction Paper	March 4
Midterm Exam	March 18
Free-Write Exercise 2	March 25
Movie Review Paper	April 1
Free-Write Exercise 3	April 8
Presentations – 1st group	April 22
Presentations – 2nd group	April 29
Presentations – 3rd group	May 6
Research Paper	May 6
Final Exam	May 6