

**Terrorism and Jihad**  
Selected Topics in the History of the Modern Middle East  
HIST/ARBS 462-01  
Fall 2006

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**Objectives**

The objective of the course is to consider the interrelated topics of terrorism and Jihad in their historical contexts. The course

- ✧ places modern Middle Eastern terrorism in its historical and analytical context by examining the characteristics of the various "waves" of modern terrorism, starting with revolutionary socialists and anarchists at the end of the nineteenth century and ending with the contemporary wave of "religious terrorism."
- ✧ examines the nature and development of the concept of Jihad with special reference to its role in the age of imperialism and the period since the end of the Second World War.
- ✧ investigates the major Middle Eastern manifestations of each of these four waves, from 1887 to the present day, placing these manifestations in their local and historical contexts.

**Required texts**

Rudolph Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979). BP182 .P4x 1979

Reading pack: "Terrorism & Jihad"

**Resources**

Robert B. Asprey, *War in the Shadows: Guerillas in History* (1,279 pages; New York: W. Morrow, 1994). U240 .A86 1994.

[globalsecurity.org](http://globalsecurity.org), especially sections on Paramilitary Groups and on Past Wars, available on the internet.

Federation of American Scientists, "Liberation Movements, Terrorist Organizations, Substance Cartels, and Other Para-State Entities," available on the internet.

MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base, available on the internet.

**Suggested novels**

Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907), available on the internet.

Doris Lessing, *The Good Terrorist* (1985)

For the limited usefulness of novels in understanding terrorism, see Bili Melman, "The Terrorist in Fiction," *Journal of Contemporary History* 15 (1980), pp. 559-576. Available on the internet.

**Course evaluation**

Class participation	15%
Position papers	30% (2 papers, 15% each)
Research paper	30% (due Monday, 4 December)

Final exam                      25% (Sunday, 17 December, 2:00-4:00 pm)

- ✧ The grade for class participation is based on attendance, adjusted for value of contributions to discussions over the semester.
- ✧ Each position paper will be 3-6 pages long, and will be based on assigned readings.
- ✧ The research paper will be 6-12 pages long, will be based on a pre-approved bibliography, and will compare two terrorist or insurgent groups, at least one of which must be from the Middle East. Your comparison should be the basis for one or more conclusions of interest.
- ✧ The final exam will test your detailed knowledge of groups and issues covered during the semester.

### **Comments**

- ✧ More than three weeks of absence (for any reason, including illness etc.) may result in an F.
- ✧ Classes will cover some of the material in the readings, but will also cover new material. *You are expected to take useful notes.*
- ✧ The university policy on cheating and plagiarism applies in this class.
- ✧ Extensions will be given only in case of documented illness or emergency, at the entire discretion of the course instructor.
- ✧ Any changes to assignments, times, dates, etc. will be announced in class. It is your responsibility to make sure that you learn of any such announcement which might have been made during a class you miss.

**Terrorism and Jihad**  
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**Schedule and Reading Assignments**

**Note:** Where a reading is flagged as “available on the internet,” the URL is given in the on-line version of this outline.

**I: Introductory**

**Week of 3 September: Definitions and periodization**

*First class on Wednesday*

Reading (to do after class):

David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11.”

Available on the internet.

John Mueller, "Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17 (2005), pp. 487-505. Available on the internet.

Optional reading: John Mueller, "Reactions and Overreactions to Terrorism," paper presented at the Conflict Studies Conference, "Terrorism in History: The Strategic Impact of Terrorism from Sarajevo 1914 to 9/11," University of New Brunswick, October 14-15, 2005. Available on the internet.

**Week 1, 10 September: Classic jihad**

Reading: Peters, chapter 2.

**Week 2, 17 September: Early religious terror**

Reading:

David C. Rapoport, “Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions,” *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984), pp. 658-77.

Available on the internet.

\_\_\_\_ Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), chapters 5 & 6 (pp. 97-140). BP195.A8 L4 1967

Optional reading:

Peters, chapter 3.

Stephen Frederic Dale, “Religious Suicide in Islamic Asia: Anticolonial Terrorism in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32, no. 1. (March 1988), pp. 37-59. Available on the internet.

**II: The origins of modern terrorism**

**Week 3, 24 September: Europe**

*Ramadan begins*

Reading:

R. John Rath, “The Carbonari: Their Origins, Initiation Rites, and Aims.”

*American Historical Review* 69 (1964), pp. 353-370. Available on the internet.

J. Romero Maura, “Terrorism in Barcelona and Its Impact on Spanish Politics 1904-1909,” *Past and Present* 41 (Dec. 1968), pp. 130-183. Available on the internet.

Optional reading: Caroline Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), chapters 3 to 5 (pp.71-115). HX 914.7 K7 C34 1989

#### **Week 4, 1 October: Outside Europe**

Reading:

Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties Through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), chapters 5 & 7. DS194 .N3 1963

Stephen Fischer-Galati, "The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization: Its Significance in Wars of National Liberation," *East European Quarterly*, 6/4 (1973), pp. 454-72.

Optional reading:

Malak Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt, 1910-1925: Secret Societies, Plots and Assassinations* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000). DT107 .B34x 2000

Peter Heehs, "Foreign Influences on Bengali Revolutionary Terrorism 1902-1908," *Modern Asian Studies* 28 (1994), pp. 533-556. Available on the internet.

### **III: Classic terrorist campaigns**

#### **Week 5, 8 October: Europe**

\*\*\* First position paper due.

Reading:

Tom Bowden, "The Irish Underground and the War of Independence 1919-21," *Journal of Contemporary History* 8, no. 2. (Apr 1973), pp. 3-23. Available on the internet.

Peter H. Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 160-80, 283-305. DD253.7 .M47 1980

#### **Week 6, 15 October: The Middle East**

*Week of 22 October: Eid; no classes*

Reading:

Abd al-Fattah Muhammad El-Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers and the Palestine question, 1928-1947* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998), pp. 105-31. DS119.7 .U93 1998

J. Bowyer Bell, *Terror out of Zion: Irgun Zvai Leumi, LEHI, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), part 3, chapter 1. DS 119.7 B382 1977

Martin van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Force* (New York: Public Affairs, 1998), pp. 45-62. UA853.I8 V373 1998

### **IV: Modern international terrorism**

Optional reading:

Walter Laqueur, *Guerrilla: A Historical and Critical Study* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), chapter 8 (pp. 326-381). U 240 L36 1976

#### **Week 7, 29 October: FLN and Fidel**

Reading:

Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson, *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954-1962* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), chapters 3 to 5 (pp. 40-85). DT295 .H84 1978

Richard Weitz, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Latin America, 1960-1980." *Political Science Quarterly* 101, no. 3, (1986), pp. 397-413.  
Available on the internet.

Optional movie: Gillo Pontecorvo, "The Battle of Algiers" (1966), showing Sunday 29 October.

### **Week 8, 5 November: The West**

Reading:

Jeffrey Ian Ross and Ted Robert Gurr, "Why Terrorism Subsides: A Comparative Study of Canada and the United States." *Comparative Politics* 21 (1989), pp. 405-426. Available on the internet.

Klaus Wasmund, "The Political Socialization of West German Terrorists," in *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations*, ed Peter H. Merkl (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 191-228. HV 6431 P63 1986

Optional reading: Leonard Weinberg and William Lee Eubank, *The Rise and Fall of Italian Terrorism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), chapters 3 & 4 (pp. 31-76). HV 6431 W44 1987

### **Week 9, 12 November: Kurds and Palestinians**

Reading:

Barry M. Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory? The Politics and History of the PLO* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), chapters 2 & 3 (pp. 24-65). DS 119.7 R754 1994

Cengiz Candar, "A Turk in the Palestinian Resistance," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 68-82. Available on the internet.

Paul White, *Primitive Rebels or Revolutionary Modernizers? The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey* (London: Zed Books, 2000), chapter 6 (pp.129-61). JQ 1809.A8 P379 2000

Optional reading: Yoshihiro Kuriyama, "Terrorism at Tel Aviv Airport and a "New Left" Group in Japan," *Asian Survey* 13 (1973), pp. 336-346. Available on the internet.

## **V: Religious terrorism**

### **Week 10, 19 November: International**

\*\*\* Second position paper due.

Reading:

David C. Rapoport, "Messianic Sanctions for Terror," *Comparative Politics* 20 (1988), pp. 195-213. Available on the internet.

Daniel A. Metraux, "Religious Terrorism in Japan: The Fatal Appeal of Aum Shinrikyo," *Asian Survey* 35 (1995), pp. 1140-1154. Available on the internet.

Paul H. Avrich, "The Sons of Freedom and the Promised Land." *Russian Review* 21 (1962), pp. 264-276. Available on the internet.

### **Week 11, 26 November: Modern Jihad**

*Monday November 27 is deadline to drop courses*

Reading:

Peters, chapter 4.

Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), chapter 7. BP64.E3 K4413 1993.

Optional reading:

- L. Carl Brown, *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), chapters 13 & 14, Available on the internet.
- David B. Edwards, "Summoning Muslims: Print, Politics, and Religious Ideology in Afghanistan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52 (1993), pp. 609-28. Available on the internet.
- Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chapters 6, 11, & 14. BP 63 A54 R6813 1990

### **Week 12, 3 December: Lebanon and Palestine**

\*\*\* Research paper due.

Reading:

- Martin Kramer, "Sacrifice and 'Self-Martyrdom' in Shi'ite Lebanon," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 30-47. Available on the internet.
- Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), chapters 1-3. Available on the internet.

Optional reading: Martin Kramer, "Hizbullah: The Calculus of Jihad," in *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*, eds M. Marty and R.S. Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 539-56. Available on the internet.

### **Week 13, 10 December: Al-Qaeda**

Reading:

- Barry Cooper, *New Political Religions, or an Analysis of Modern Terrorism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), pp. 143-57. Available on the internet.
- Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), chapters 2, 4 & 5 (pp. 25-59 & 99-173).

Additional reading:

- David Cole, "Are We Safer?" Review of Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon *The Next Attack: The Failure of the War on Terror and a Strategy for Getting It Right*. NYRB 53, no. 4 (March 9, 2006). Available on the internet.
- Max Rodenbeck, "Their Master's Voice." Review of Bruce Lawrence, editor, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden and of Peter L. Bergen*, *The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of al Qaeda's Leader*. NYRB 53, no. 4 (March 9, 2006). Available on the internet.