

Government 327

The Politics of Terrorism

Spring 2007
TTh 10:30-11:50
104 PAC

Martha Crenshaw
324 PAC

This course is a survey of the evolution of the phenomenon of terrorism and an analysis of its causes, forms, and consequences. The approach is interdisciplinary, linking history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science. We will discuss selected cases of terrorism ranging from the 19th century to the present.

Readings

Copies of Martha Crenshaw, ed., Terrorism in Context, Eamon Collins, Killing Rage, and Mohammed M. Hafez, Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers can be purchased and are also on reserve. Additional readings will be on reserve or available through the library's electronic databases. Websites with information on contemporary terrorism include the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (mipt.org), the Council on Foreign Relations (cfr.org), and the Federation of American Scientists (<http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/index.html>). There are two specialized journals on the subject: Terrorism and Political Violence and Studies in Conflict and Terrorism.

Requirements

Students are expected to prepare for class discussions by completing all reading. It is equally essential that students be informed about current events, preferably by reading The New York Times or other major newspaper daily. Class participation will count 10% of the final grade. (Note: Students must arrive on time and stay for the duration of the class, barring illness that precipitates a sudden and irrevocable departure. This means that it will not be acceptable to wander in and out of class. Please refrain from eating in class. Turn cell phones off.)

Written assignments and percentage of final grade:

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|------------|----------------------|-----|
| February 8 | Case paper (2 pp.) | 10% |
| March 9 | Essay (5 pp.) | 20% |
| April 13 | Essay (5 pp.) | 20% |
| May 18 | Final Paper (15 pp.) | 40% |

The final paper will be an analysis of government documents that outline the American strategy for the global war on terror: the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (NSCT), February, 2003, the National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism, February, 2006, and the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism II and "9/11 Five Years Later: Successes and Challenges," both issued in September, 2006. The documents are available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov> and <http://www.defense.link.mil/pubs>. Considering what you have learned in this course, do you think that the strategy is based on an accurate appraisal of terrorism?

Other topics will be assigned in timely fashion. All writing assignments should be submitted both electronically and in hard copy. Text should be double-spaced, with one inch margins on all sides and twelve point font. Pages should be numbered and stapled together. Citations to references should be clear, consistent, and comprehensive. If necessary, consult a style manual such as the Little, Brown Manual of Style.

Requests for extensions on assignments must be made **in writing and in advance**, unless there is a medical or family emergency. Otherwise late work will not be accepted. Incompletes will not be possible. The Honor Code must be strictly observed.

January 25 Introductory class

January 30 Definitions

Martha Crenshaw [Hutchinson], "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," Journal of Conflict Resolution, XVI, 3 (Sept., 1972), pp. 383-96.

Jeff Goodwin, "A Theory of Categorical Terrorism," Social Forces 84, 4 (June 2006), pp. 2027-2046.

February 1 Religion and the Origins of Terrorism

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

Other reading:

Mark Juergensmeyer, Terror in the Name of God.

February 6 Historical Scope

David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy, pp. 46-73. Electronic Reserve.

Mark Sedgwick, "Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 30, 2 (February 2007), pp. 97-112.

February 8 Definitions in Practice

Assignment: Two-page paper (500 words maximum) to discuss in class

February 13 Understanding Causes and Concepts

Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," Comparative Politics, 13, 4 (July, 1981), pp. 379-99.

Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction: Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts," in

Terrorism in Context.

Further reading:

Louise Richardson, What Terrorists Want.

Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism.

February 15 Origins of Modern Terrorism: Anarchism

Martin A. Miller, “The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe,” in Terrorism in Context.

Emma Goldman, Living My Life, Chapters VIII and IX, *pp. 83-107 of the Modern Library Edition.* Electronic Reserve. (Note that the edition on reserve may not be the Modern Library edition so look for the chapters rather than the pages.)

No class February 20.

February 22 The Russian Revolutionary Movement

Philip M. Pomper, “Russian Revolutionary Terrorism” in Terrorism in Context.

Vera Figner, Memoirs of a Revolutionist, Chapter XVIII, “The Court is in Session,” pp. 154-171. Electronic Reserve.

Further reading on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld, eds., Social Protest, Violence & Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe.

Duncan M. Perry, The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Revolutionary Movements, 1893-1903.

Peter Heehs, The Bomb in Bengal: The Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism in India 1900-1910.

Anna Geifman, Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894-1917.

February 27-March 6 Ireland: The Longest War

Charles Townshend, “The Culture of Paramilitarism in Ireland,” in Terrorism in Context.

Eamon Collins, Killing Rage.

Further reading:

Richard English, Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA.

M. L. R. Smith, Fighting for Ireland: The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement.

Malachi O’Doherty, The Trouble With Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA.

No class March 1.

March 8 Algeria: The Prototype of Urban Terrorism

Martha Crenshaw, "The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War," in Terrorism in Context.

Gary Crowdus, "Terrorism and Torture in The Battle of Algiers: An Interview with Saadi Yacef," Cineaste 29, 3 (Summer 2004): 30-37.

Note: The film, "The Battle of Algiers," will be shown outside of class at a time or times to be arranged.

Other recommended reading:

Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth.

Alistair Horne, A Savage War of Peace.

Martha Crenshaw [Hutchinson], Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954-1962.

March 9 **Paper due**

March 27 **Urban Guerrilla and Dirty War in Argentina**

Richard Gillespie, "Political Violence in Argentina: Guerrillas, Terrorists, and *Carapintadas*," in Terrorism in Context.

Maria José Moyano, Argentina's Lost Patrol: Armed Struggle, 1969-1979, Chapter 7, "Guerrilla Lives," pp. 101-130. Electronic Reserve.

Further reading:

Jennifer S. Holmes, "Political Violence and Regime Change in Argentina: 1965-1976," Terrorism and Political Violence 13, 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 134-154.

"Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla by Carlos Marighella" in James Kohl and John Litt, eds., Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, pp. 87-135.

Richard Gillespie, "The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America," in Noel O'Sullivan, ed., Terrorism, Ideology, and Revolution, pp. 150-77.

March 29 **The Shining Path of Peru**

David Scott Palmer, "The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path," in Terrorism in Context.

Gustavo Gorriti, The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru, Chapter 8, "The Quota," pp. 89-106. Electronic Reserve.

April 3 **Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict before the 1980s:
Clashing Nationalisms**

Ian S. Lustick, "Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Targets and Audiences," in Terrorism in Context.

Menachem Begin, The Revolt, Chapter IV, "We Fight, Therefore We Are," and Chapter V, "Logic of the Revolt." Electronic Reserve. (The first part of Chapter VI, "Army of the Underground,"

will be distributed in hard copy.)

Yezid Sayigh, "The Armed Struggle and Palestinian Nationalism," pp. 23-35 in Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964-1994. Electronic Reserve.

Further reading:

James Bennet, "How Ben-Gurion Did It: Is Everyone Listening?" The New York Times, August 13, 2003.

Kati Marton, A Death in Jerusalem: The Assassination by Jewish Extremists of the First Arab-Israeli Peacemaker.

J. Bowyer Bell, Terror out of Zion.

Yezid Sayigh, Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993.

Ehud Sprinzak, Brother Against Brother: Violence And Extremism In Israeli Politics From Altalena To The Rabin Assassination.

Ehud Sprinzak and Idith Zertal, "Avenging Israel's Blood (1946)," in Jonathan Tucker, ed., Toxic Terror.

April 5 Revolutionary Terrorism in Democracies: Italy

Donatella della Porta, "Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy," in Terrorism in Context.

April 10 Germany and the United States

Peter Merkl, "West German Left-Wing Terrorism," in Terrorism in Context.

Jeremy Varon, Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies, Chapter 1, "'Agents of Necessity': Weatherman, the Red Army Faction, and the Turn to Violence," pp. 20-73. Electronic Reserve.

Further reading:

Donatella della Porta, Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany.

Robin Erica Wagner-Pacifici, The Moro Morality Play.

Yonah Alexander and Dennis A. Pluchinsky, eds., European Terrorism: Today & Tomorrow.

Michael Y. Dartnell, Action Directe: Ultra-Left Terrorism in France, 1979-1987.

Michael Y. Dartnell, "Alias 'GBGPGS': Action Directe Internationale's Transition from Revolutionary Terrorism to Euro-Terrorism," Terrorism and Political Violence 9, 4 (Winter 1997), pp. 33-57.

Peter J. Katzenstein, "Coping with Terrorism: Norms and Internal Security in Germany and Japan," in Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., Ideas and Foreign Policy, pp. 265-295.

Franco Ferraresi, Threats to Democracy: The Radical Right in Italy after the War.

Harold Jacobs, ed. Weatherman.

Elizabeth Kolbert, "The Prisoner," The New Yorker, July 16, 2001.

Ehud Sprinzak, "The psychopolitical formation of extreme left terrorism in a democracy: The case of the Weathermen," in Walter Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism.

April 12 **ETA in Spain**

Goldie Shabad and Francisco Llera, "Political Violence in a Democratic State: Basque Separatism in Spain," in Terrorism in Context.

Fernando Reinares, "Who Are the Terrorists? Analyzing Changes in Sociological Profile among Members of ETA," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 27, 6 (November-December 2004), pp. 465-88.

Further reading:

Joseba Zulaika, Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament.

Cyrus Zirakzadeh, A Rebellious People: Basques, Protests, and Politics.

Paddy Woodworth, Dirty War, Clean Hands. 2nd ed.

April 13 **Paper due**

April 17 **The Advent of Modern "Religious Terrorism": Hezbollah**

Hala Jaber, Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance, Chapter 1, "The Shiites Strike Back," and Chapter 4, "Export of a Revolution." Electronic Reserve.

Further reading:

Magnus Ranstorp, Hizb'Allah in Lebanon.

Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, Hizbu'llah: Politics and Ideology.

International Crisis Group, Hezbollah: Rebel Without a Cause? Briefing Paper, July 30, 2003.

Jerrold Green, "Terrorism and Politics in Iran," in Terrorism in Context.

April 19 **Hamas**

Mohammed M. Hafez, Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers.

Further reading:

"The Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)," in Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, violence, and coexistence, pp. 175-99.

Nasra Hassan, "Letter from Gaza: An Arsenal of Believers," The New Yorker, November 19, 2001.

Robert J. Brym and Bader Araj, "Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: The Case of the Second Intifada," Social Forces 84, 4 (June 2006), pp. 1969-1986.

Dipak Gupta and Kusum Mundra, "Suicide Bombing as a Strategic Weapon: An Empirical Investigation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad," Terrorism and Political Violence 17, 4 (2005), pp. 573-98.

April 24 **Al-Qaeda**

Lawrence Wright, The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11, Chapters 6-8, pp. 121-75.

Bruce Lawrence, ed., Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden, Chapters 3, "Declaration of Jihad," pp. 23-30, and 6, "The World Islamic Front," pp. 58-62.

Further reading:

Terry McDermott, Perfect Soldiers.

Anonymous, Through our Enemies' Eyes: Osama Bin Laden, Radical Islam, and the Future of America.

Anonymous, Imperial Hubris.

Marc Sageman, Understanding Terror Networks.

Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror.

Peter Bergen, Holy War, Inc.

Peter Bergen, The Osama bin Laden I Know.

The 9/11 Commission Report.

Gilles Kepel, Jihad.

Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror.

Roxanne L. Euben, "Jihad and Political Violence," Current History 101 (November 2002), pp. 365-76.

<http://www.e-prism.org>

April 26 Post 9/11 Al-Qaeda

Fawaz A. Gerges, The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global, Chapter 5, "The Aftermath: The War Within," pp. 185-250.

May 1 Explaining Contemporary "Suicide" Terrorism

Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," American Political Science Review 97, 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-61.

Assaf Moghadam, "Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of Dying to Win," Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 29 (2006), pp. 707-729.

Other reading:

Diego Gambetta, ed., Making Sense of Suicide Missions.

Farhad Khosrokhavar, Suicide Bombers: Allah's New Martyrs.

Anne Marie Oliver and Paul F. Steinberg, The Road to Martyrs' Square: A Journey into the World of the Suicide Bomber.

Robert A. Pape, Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.

Ami Pedahzur, Suicide Terrorism.

Ami Pedahzur, ed., Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism: The Globalization of Martyrdom.

Mia Bloom, Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror.

May 3 Ending Terrorism

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," International Security 31, 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 7-48.

Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," International Security 31, 2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.

May 8 **Is There a "New" Terrorism?**

Martha Crenshaw, "'Old' vs. 'New' Terrorism," draft manuscript. Electronic Reserve.

May 18 **Final paper due**