

## Government 327

### The Politics of Terrorism

Fall 2004

Martha Crenshaw

This course is a survey of the evolution of the phenomenon of terrorism and an analysis of its causes, forms, and consequences. I employ an interdisciplinary approach, linking history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science.

#### Readings

Martha Crenshaw, ed., Terrorism in Context can be purchased and is also on reserve. Additional readings will be on reserve or available through the library's electronic databases. There will also be occasional hand-outs. Websites with information on contemporary terrorism include the Council on Foreign Relations (cfr.org) and the Federation of American Scientists (<http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/index.html>). A course website that has links to other websites, documents, films, etc., can be accessed via the syllabus on the Government Department home page.

#### Requirements

The course requires a research project that will count 60% of the final grade. Students may choose between two topics, each of which is a paired comparison: (1) select two similar groups, one that abandoned violence and another that did not, and explain why they took different paths (e.g., the IRA and ETA); or (2) select a group that has targeted the United States and compare it to a similar group that did not. I will provide a list of groups that have attacked American targets. (A sample comparison is the German RAF and the Italian Red Brigades.) A 3 pp. statement of topic is due October 4. An annotated bibliography is due November 8 (15% of grade). The final paper (maximum 25 pp.) is due December 1 (45% of grade). The final exam, an essay, is take-home, due before noon on December 22 (20% of grade).

**September 6**            **Introductory class**

**September 8**            **Definitions**

Giovanni Sartori, "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics," American Political Science Review, 64 (1970), 1033-1053. Electronic journal.

Timothy Garton Ash, "Is There a Good Terrorist?" New York Review of Books, November 29, 2001. (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14860>) Also reprinted in Robert B. Silvers and Barbara Epstein, eds., Striking Terror: America's New War.

**September 13**            **Remembering 9/11: What is Al Qaeda?**

John L. Esposito, Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam, Chapters 1 and 2. Electronic Reserve.

Suggested further reading:

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.

### **September 15            Understanding the Concept of Terrorism**

Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," Comparative Politics, 13, 4 (July, 1981), pp. 379-99, and "Introduction: Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts," in Terrorism in Context.

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.

### **September 20            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.)

### **September 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.

Suggested 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.

### **September 27            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), pp. 30-37.

Note: The film, "The Battle of Algiers," will be shown outside of class.

Suggested further 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.

### **September 29            ETA in Spain**

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

Paddy Woodworth, "Why Do They Kill? The Basque Conflict in Spain," World Policy Journal 18, 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 1-12. Electronic Journal.

### **October 4                    No class: Research Paper Topic Due**

Please submit a 3 pp. statement of your topic. Identify the two groups you have chosen and briefly compare their histories. What makes these two groups similar?

### **October 6                    The Urban Guerrilla: Brazil and Uruguay**

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

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

### **October 8\*                    Decision-Making**

Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," Annual Review of Political Science Vol. 6 (2003), pp. 473-508.

### **October 11                    Urban Guerrilla 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.

Suggested 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.

**October 13                    The Shining Path of Peru and FARC in Colombia**

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

Ortiz, Román. "Insurgent Strategies in the post-Cold War: The Case of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 25, 2 (March/April 2002), pp. 127-43.

Suggested further reading:

Gustavo Gorriti, The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru.

Note: The film, "The Dancer Upstairs," is about Sendero Luminoso. It is based on the novel of the same name by Nicholas Shakespeare. Ann Patchett's Bel Canto is also based on the history of terrorism in Peru.

**October 18                    Fall Break**

**October 20                    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.

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

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.

Note: our focus is the period before the Oslo Accords and the emergence of Hamas and other Islamist groups after the first intifida.

Suggested further reading:

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.

**October 25**                    **No class**

**October 27**                    **Revolutionary Terrorism in Democracies: Italy**

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

**October 29\***                    **Germany and the United States**

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

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

The 2003 documentary "The Weather Underground: The Explosive Story of America's Most Notorious Revolutionaries" will be shown outside class.

Suggested further reading in general:

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. Darnell, Action Directe: Ultra-Left Terrorism in France, 1979-1987.

Michael Y. Darnell, "Alias 'GBGPS': 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.

Jeremy Varon, Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies.

**November 1-3**                    **Ethnonationalist Conflict in Democracies: Ireland**

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

Richard English, Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA, Preface and Conclusion (pp. 337-84, 435-44). Electronic Reserve.

Suggested further reading on ethnonationalist terrorism:

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

Eamon Collins, Killing Rage.

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

Cynthia K. Mahmood, Fighting for Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants.

M.R. Narayan Swamy, Tigers of Lanka.

Rohan Gunaratna, Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security.

Joseba Zulaika, Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament.

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

Gamini Samaranayake, "Political Violence in Sri Lanka: A Diagnostic Approach," Terrorism and Political Violence 9, 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 99-119.

Manoj Joshi, "On the Razor's Edge: The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 19, 1 (1996), pp. 19-42.

David A. Charters, "The Amateur Revolutionaries: A Reassessment of the FLQ," Terrorism and Political Violence 9, 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 133-169.

Paddy Woodworth, Dirty War, Clean Hands. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

## **November 8                      Annotated Bibliography Due**

At this stage of your project, most of your research should be done. Provide a complete list of citations in correct format. Each reference should be described in 3-4 sentences.

## **November 10                      "Religious Terrorism": Iran and Hezbollah**

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

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

Suggested further reading:

Magnus Ranstorp, Hizb'Allah in Lebanon.

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

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

## **November 12\*                      Religion in the Israel-Palestine Conflict: Hamas**

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

Nasra Hassan, "Letter from Gaza: An Arsenal of Believers," The New Yorker, November 19, 2001. (Lexis-Nexis.)

**November 15            What Explains "Suicide" Terrorism?**

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

Assaf Moghadam, "Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 26, 2 (2003), pp. 65-92.

Suggested further reading:

Christoph Reuter, My Life Is a Weapon: A Modern History of Suicide Bombing.  
Bruce Hoffman and Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attack," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 27, 4 (July-August 2004), pp. 243-82.

**November 17            No Class**

**November 22            Internal Dynamics of Undergrounds**

Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," Journal of Strategic Studies 10, 4 (Dec., 1987), pp. 13-31. Also in David C. Rapoport, ed., Inside Terrorist Organizations. Electronic Reserve.

Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, "From Revolutionary Dreams to Organizational Fragmentation: Disputes over Violence within ETA and Sendero Luminoso," Terrorism and Political Violence 14, 4 (Winter 2002), pp. 66-92. Electronic Journal.

Suggested further reading:

Khachig Tololyan, "Cultural Narrative and the Motivation of the Terrorist," in David C. Rapoport, ed., Inside Terrorist Organizations.

Leonard Weinberg, "Turning to Terror: The Conditions under Which Political Parties Turn to Terrorist Activities," Comparative Politics 23, 4 (July 1991), pp. 423-38.

Max Taylor, The Terrorist.

Donatella della Porta, "On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations," in Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations (International Social Movement Research, Vol. 4, 1992).

**November 24            Thanksgiving Break**

**November 29            Discussion of Research Papers**

**December 1            Paper Due and Further Discussion**

**December 6            The Debate over "Root Causes"**

Michael Mousseau, "Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror," International

Security 27, 3 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 5-29.

Comments, "The Sources of Terrorism," by C. Knight, M. Murphy, and M. Mousseau, International Security 28, 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 192-198.

Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" The Journal of Economic Perspectives 17, 4 (November 2003), pp. 119-144.

**December 8                    The Current Status of Al Qaeda**

Reading TBA.

Suggested further reading:

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.

The 9/11 Commission Report.

**December 22                    Final exam due by noon**