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## Jonathan R. White: Terrorism Study Guide

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# JONATHAN R. WHITE: TERRORISM STUDY GUIDE, 2004-2005

## PART I: THE CRIMINOLOGY OF TERRORISM

### CHAPTER ONE: MUTATING FORMS OF TERRORISM

#### Study Questions

1. What are some reasons for confusion over what terrorism **is**? How did modern terrorism **originate** and how has its meaning changed? Are commandos and guerrillas regarded as terrorists? Should they be? [Francis Lieber, who created the first code of military conduct (1863), also dealt with such irregulars]. Political repression (as under Stalin) is not usually included in standard definitions. Identify three **sources of religious violence**. (3-7)
2. What is the problem with legal definitions of terrorism? How does the issue of legitimacy shape Martha Crenshaw's distinction between terrorism and revolutionary violence? What was wrong with the definition of terrorism in terms of national policy? How did **Alex Schmid** synthesize the various positions? What are some of the weaknesses of typologies? What typology does the author use? (7-15)
3. Identify six terrorist tactics, according to **Brian Jenkins**. What new tactic has been added? Identify three **force multipliers**. (16)

#### Review

origin of modern terrorism

Alex Schmid's conglomerated definition of terrorism

six terrorist tactics

Brian Jenkins

three sources of religious violence

role of force in social organizations

force multipliers

### CHAPTER TWO: INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP BEHAVIOR

#### Study Questions

1. What are some of the characteristics that distinguish terrorist behavior from ordinary criminal behavior, according to **Donald Borderero**? How are suicide bombers prepared? What is a "lone wolf" or "berserker"? (18-22)
2. Why must terrorist groups be isolated from mainstream society? [The same is typically true of religious cults and outlaw subcultures]. What is the **process of justification** (Paul Wilkerson)? Why does **Jerrold Post** reject the deterrence argument? What is the effect of constant reinforcement of antisocial behavior (criminal activity) in terrorist groups? (22-24)
3. What is **H. H. A. Cooper's "doctrine of necessity"** justification? According to Frederick J. Hacker, what are the three types of terrorists? Which type is most apt to believe in Cooper's doctrine of necessity? What are some characteristics of terrorist groups? Why does Walter Laqueur deny that we can profile a terrorist personality?

(24-27)

4. What are the five interconnected processes involved in terrorism, according to Jeffrey Ian Ross. Identify two factors that facilitate the rise of terrorism. What five psychological factors are involved? How does James William Gibson account for the rise of a paramilitary culture of “dream warriors?” (27-29)

### Review

Donald Bordrero                      criminals vs. terrorists                      Jerrold Post  
reinforcement of antisocial behavior                      H. H. A. Cooper  
“doctrine of necessity”                      Jeffrey Ian Ross  
structural conditions and factors that facilitate the rise of terrorism

## CHAPTER THREE: CHANGING GROUP STRUCTURES AND THE METAMORPHOSIS OF TERRORISM

### Study Questions

1. How does the New World Liberation Front (NWLFF) illustrate the dilemma of a small organization that wants to lead a revolutionary movement? According to **Ted Robert Gurr**, why is most terrorism short-lived and what is the appropriate response? Why is size important, as illustrated by **Hizbollah** and **LTTE**? According to Christopher Hewitt, why did **terrorist campaigns** become important after World War II? How do extremists broaden their appeal? According to **Walter Laqueur**, why do most terrorist groups fail? [Ward Churchill illustrates how the views of a radical group, the American Indian Movement (AIM), can be “mainstreamed” (or co-opted by the political establishment). Nevertheless, its fanaticism brings it under closer scrutiny. Churchill has also been a spokesman for the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee]. (31-35)
2. What is the most common job in terrorist groups? Identify the four levels of a terrorist hierarchy, according to **James Fraser**, What are the two primary types of subunits, according to Anthony Burton? Identify some special organizational problems terrorist leaders face (e.g., secrecy, gaining tactical support, training, bureaucratization, and resources)? How may internalize discipline be maintained and why does this pose special problems? According to Yoseff Bodansky, what three organization supports are needed? (35-40)
3. According to **James Adams**, how did terrorism change between the 1960s and the 1980s? What is the best way to attack terrorism? What is the central issue missed by the major schools of thought: terrorism as a state-sponsored activity (**realism**) and terrorism as reaction to injustice (**idealism** or liberalism)? What were the primary sources of money for the **Provisional IRA** (Provos)? What was its “**Capone discovery**”? (40-42)
4. How did the American KKK leader, Louis Beam, solve the problem of police infiltration? What are Lone Wolves and Berserkers [bear shirt or perhaps bare skin]? Eric Rudolph was captured in far western North Carolina on May 31, 2003. (42-44)

### Review

Ted Robert Gurr’s empirical analysis of terrorist groups operating in the 1960s  
James Fraser on the pyramid command and control structure (levels of the hierarchy)

internal discipline problems  
PLO's Samed  
"Capone discovery"

James Adams on financing terrorism  
Provisional IRA  
leaderless resistance, lone wolfs, berserkers

## CHAPTER FOUR: RELIGION AND TERROR

### Study Questions

1. How does **Marvin Harris** types of religion? According to Mircea Eliade, how do we distinguish the ordinary and extraordinary worlds? Why is it difficult to communicate spiritual experiences, according to **Joseph Campbell**, and what is the danger of trying to do so, according to **Paul Tillich**? What is Campbell's point about the location of **sacred space**? Illustrate what he means by reference to the Balkan Peninsula (where Serbs lost the Battle of Kosovo against the Turks in the 14C) and *The Turner Diaries*. (46-49)
2. Identify the types of conflict that, according to **Samuel P. Huntington** in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, characterized each of the four epochs from 1517-1991. Summarize Huntington's "clash of civilizations" thesis and identify the eight primary cultural paradigms. What are some of the implications of Huntington's thesis for American law enforcement? Huntington distinguishes between **lone countries** [similar to pariah states], such as Japan, Ethiopia, and Haiti, which lack cultural commonality with other societies; **cleft countries**, such as Canada and India, are characterized by distinct cultural groupings – but "cleft countries that territorially bestride the fault lines between civilizations [such as Ethiopia and Eritrea] face particular problems maintaining their unity" (137); and **torn countries**, such as Turkey, Russia, Mexico, and Australia, have a single predominant culture which places it in one civilization but its leaders want to shift it into a different civilization. The wars that tore apart Yugoslavia in the 1990s are characterized as **fault line wars**. (49-50)
3. How does Bruce Hoffman distinguish between "holy terror" and "secular terror"? How would you characterize the "theater" created by each [cf. Kenneth Minogue on the theatricality of politics]? What are some of the dangerous trends in holy terror? Identify the four types of **eschatological frameworks**, according to John Dominic Crossan. Identify Chip Berlet's three-step process on the road to **demonization**. (51-56)
4. How did Sikhism originate and how did the British aggravate religious differences? Identify the four chief religious conflicts on the Indian subcontinent. How, in the case of Ireland, did the transcendent nature of theological expression come to be replaced by an ethnocentric focus? What are the three main sources of religious strife in the Middle East? Identify some of the distinct types of American theological extremism. (56-61)

### Review

Marvin Harris: two types of religion  
Joseph Campbell on sacred space  
clash of civilizations  
Bruce Hoffman on religious terrorism (holy terror) vs. political (secular) terror  
Chip Berlet on demonization as a three-step process  
sources of religious strife in India, Ireland, the Middle East, and the United States

Paul Tillich: literalizing symbols  
Samuel P. Huntington  
torn countries

## PART II: ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND

# CHAPTER FIVE: THE ORIGINS OF MODERN TERRORISM

## Study Questions

1. What were the intellectual sources of the French Revolution? How did it differ from the American Revolution? How did the radical democrats differ from the middle-class democrats? What was **Karl Marx**'s view of terrorism? (65-68)
2. Who were the chief anarchist thinkers and revolutionaries? Identify a nationalist movement that adopted the tactics of the anarchists. What was *Narodnaya Volya* [its adherents were known as Narodniks]? How did Mikhail Bakunin and Sergey Nechaev embody the philosophy of anarchist terrorism? How did Lenin's October Revolution make use of terrorism to consolidate power? (69-74)

James H. Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men*, pp. 398-99:

While abroad [late 1860s], **Nechaev** drew up and published his famed *Catechism of a Revolutionary*: a bleak guide for the creation of a totally revolutionary personality and for the calculated manipulation of others for the revolutionary cause.

This was not the first *Revolutionary Catechism* [the form has been traced back to 18C Germany]; and was in many ways a continuation of Bakunin's efforts to adopt Masonic rituals for a revolutionary manual. . . .

For Nechaev 'the revolutionary is a doomed man' who 'has severed every tie with the civil order, with the educated world . . . if he continues to inhabit it, it is only to destroy it more effectively.' The catechism told the new type of revolutionary how to utilize different categories of the society he was bent on destroying. *The important and the intelligent* were to be killed [cf. the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia]; *the important and unintelligent* were to be left alone, since their stupidity would drive the uncommitted to revolt [cf. Tsar Nicholas II]. A third category, '*animals and high-ranking personalities, neither intelligent nor competent*,' were to be blackmailed if their 'dirty secrets' could be unearthed [a variation on this might be the Patty Hearst kidnapping and "turning" by the Symbionese Liberation Army]. Revolutionaries should pretend to follow a fourth category of '*ambitious politicians and liberals of various sorts*,' while forcing them on to more radical steps that make it impossible for them to turn back [cf. the Communist "United Front" strategy; Tom Wolfe gives a classic illustration of "limousine liberalism" in his essay "Radical Chic"]. Fifth were *doctrinaire or rhetorical revolutionaries*, who had to be forced to move beyond mere talk and theory into active demonstrations. This would serve the dual purpose of killing off the weak and tempering those who survived into hard-core activists in the future. In a final category were *women*, who would be either the best revolutionaries of all [cf. Rosa Luxemburg] or else figures to be treated like the third and fourth categories of men.

3. Identify four factors that, according to James Fraser and Ian Fulton, distinguish "new" terrorism from "old terrorism." What difference does Laqueur add to this list? (74-76)

## Review

roots of modern terrorism

Karl Marx

Pierre Joseph Proudhon

Peter Kropotkin

Mikhail Bakunin

Sergey Nechaev

## CHAPTER SIX: THE ORIGINS OF THE IRISH TROUBLES

### Study Questions

1. What historical events helped shape the character of Ireland? What was the Plantation of Ulster? According to Giovanni Costigan, what were the major issues in Ireland in the 17C? Who was Wolfe Tone? What was the effect of the potato famine? How did the issue of home rule divide the Irish? (78-82)
2. How did the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) develop? Who were the Fenians? What cultural contribution did **Patrick Pearse** make? How did the Easter Rebellion change public opinion? (82-84)
3. What respective roles did **Eamon De Valera** and **Michael Collins** play in the fight for Irish independence? What circumstances helped revive the influence of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 1969? How did the situation grow more polarized? (84-90)

### Review

Plantation of Ulster  
Elizabeth I  
James II  
Patrick Pearse  
Michael Collins

Henry VIII  
Oliver Cromwell  
1916 Easter Rebellion  
James Connolly  
rebirth of the IRA in 1969

## CHAPTER SEVEN: THE ORIGINS OF MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORISM

### Study Questions

1. How did the term Middle East originate? What are the chief concerns that dominate the area? How did Islam originate? How did the practice of *jihad* originate? How did the caliphs divide the world (the terms are *dar al-islam* and *dar al-harb*)? What three critical events in the late 19C helped to shape the modern Middle East? (92-96)
2. Identify three sources of Middle Eastern terrorism and its common traits. What were some of the misunderstandings between the early Zionists and Palestinian Arabs that contributed to the conflict? What were the **Sykes-Picot Agreement** and the **Balfour Declaration**? What was the **Irgun**? (97-100)
3. How did the British and French divide up the Middle East among themselves? Identify some of the camps into which the Arab states are split [Iraq, which had a Ba'athist regime, belonged to the Rejectionist Front). Identify some of the categories of Middle Eastern terrorism. (100-04)
4. What is significant about **Karbala** in the Shiite faith? How was the Pahlavi dynasty founded and what brought the shahs into conflict with Shiite holy leaders? How did **Ayatollah Khomeini** rise to power? What new form of terrorism spread following the Iranian Revolution of 1979? (104-10)

### Review

division of the world by caliphs	three critical events that helped shape the modern Middle East
Sykes-Picot Agreement	Balfour Declaration
advent of modern terrorism in Palestine before the partition	Irgun Zvai Leumi
PLO	Rejectionist Front
Ba'ath party	Imam Hussein ibn-Ali
Karbala	Ayatollah Khomeini

## CHAPTER EIGHT: LATIN AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON TERRORISM

### Study Questions

1. Who was **Frantz Fanon** and what did he contribute to developing the theory of terrorism? How were native intellectuals supposed to overcome the perpetual **identity crisis**? Describe **Carlos Marighella's** four-stage model of **urban guerrilla** terrorism. What is its weakness? How was guerrilla warfare popularized? What contributions did Fidel Castro and **Che Guevara** make to the practice of guerrilla warfare? What role was played by **Regis Debray**? (112-19)
2. How did the **Tupamaros** originate? Why were Raul Sendic and his compatriots unwilling to operate outside of Montevideo. How did they finance their operations? What led to the demise of the movement? [Sendic was arrested in 1970 and 1972, tortured, but amnestied in 1985 before dying in Paris four years later]. (119-25)
3. What is the idea of the **coyuntura**? What relation did it bear to the **salto** in Marighella's ideology? What were some of the Tupamaro tactics? What caused a public backlash against them? How were the Tupamaros organized? (125-31)

### Review

Carlos Marighella	"Che" Guevara
Regis Debray	Frantz Fanon
Tupamaros	salto
coyuntura	general strike
Dan Mitrione	Revolutionary Justice Committee

## CHAPTER NINE: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

### Study Questions

1. How did the PLO originate? What new tactic did **Yasser Arafat**, the head of **al Fatah**, introduce in 1967? What were the three tactics associated with al Fatah? What made Karamah a symbolic victory for Arafat? What led to the spin-off of new terrorist groups from the PLO? (135-39)
2. What was the original Black September in 1970? In spite of the attack on the Israel athletes two years later, who were the primary targets of the splintering PLO groups? What was Syria's policy with respect to terrorism? Why did the Israeli Defense Force invade Lebanon in 1982? Where did Arafat go? What happened at Sabra and Shatila? What were the **Oslo** and **Wye River** Accords? (140-44)

3. Who was **Abu Nidal**? [He died mysteriously in Baghdad in November 2002 as the United States prepared to launch a war against Saddam Hussein's regime]. What have been his organization's goals? (145-50)

### Review

Yasser Arafat  
Abu Nidal  
IDF  
Karamah  
Oslo Accords

*fedayeen*  
al Fatah  
Black September  
Sabra and Shatila  
Wye River Accords

## CHAPTER TEN: RELIGION AND MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORISM

### Study Questions

1. According to Daniel Pipes, how do the theologies of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity compare? How did **Hizbollah** originate and what is its historical context? What is **Amal**? What makes Hizbollah a "terrorist clearinghouse"? How did **Islamic Jihad** originate? What are its three tactical innovations? (152-59)
2. What is **Hamas** (Islamic Resistance Movement) and what is its connection with the Muslim Brotherhood? How did both originate? What is its avowed purpose? (159-61)
3. What two larger factors help account for the rise of **Osama bin Ladin**? Who were the **mujahadeen**? What was the ISI's agenda? What did bin Ladin's *fatwas* reveal about the nature of al-Qaeda and bin Ladin? What is the IG? (162-68)
4. Identify the men and ideas behind **Kach** and **Gush Emunim**? What problems with Jewish fundamentalism does Laurence Hanauer see? (168-69)

### Review

Daniel Pipes  
Amal  
Islamic Jihad and its tactical innovations  
Osama bin Ladin  
Abdullah Azzam  
ISI  
Kach

Hizbollah  
Dr. Fathi Shekaki  
Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)  
*mujahadeen*  
*fatwas*  
Meir Kahane  
Gush Emunim