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Jonathan R. White: Terrorism Study Guide

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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 three sources of religious violence
Alex Schmid's conglomerated definition of terrorism role of force in social organizations
six terrorist tactics force multipliers
Brian Jenkins

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 Bordrero? 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?
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 (NWLF) 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 Wolfs 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)
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

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 Giovani 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)


Review

Plantation of Ulster    Henry VIII
Elizabeth I            Oliver Cromwell
James II               1916 Easter Rebellion
Patrick Pearse         James Connolly
Michael Collins        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
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 fedayeen
Abu Nidal al Fatah
IDF Black September
Karamah Sabra and Shatila
Oslo Accords 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 Hizbollah
Amal Dr. Fathi Shekaki
Islamic Jihad and its tactical innovations Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)
Osama bin Ladin mujahadeen
Abdullah Azzam fatwas
ISI Meir Kahane
Kach Gush Emunim