**Ryerson University**

**Department of History**

**HIS 696: *A History of Terrorism* (Fall Session 2015)**

**Wednesdays 1400-1500 VIC 203**

**Thursdays 1600-1800 VIC 203**

**Dr. Arne Kislenko**

**Office Hours : JOR 510 Mondays 14:10 – 16:00**

 **Thursdays 14:10 – 16:00 *or by appointment***

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**Please note:** Please do not use email for in depth discussions, such as essay advice. Although office hours are usually busy, and you may have to wait, they are the best means to get direction and help. If it is possible, I will often stay in office hours beyond those posted. It is very difficult to respond to detailed questions by email. This outline will be available on my website (above) and on Ryerson´s Blackboard.

**Course Description**: *one semester, history programme course*

“The War on Terror” has become a hallmark of the contemporary international order. 9/11, the Bali bombings, 7/7, and the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks have become imbedded in our collective memories as symbols of a “new” global threat. *Al Qaeda*, Osama bin Laden, ISIS, and “orange alert” have become terms in the common vernacular. But is it all really anything new? Contrary to popular belief, terrorism has always been part of the international polity. From the *terror cimbricus* of ancient Rome, to the *Ḥashshāshīn* of the Fatimid Empire, to the anarchists of 19th century Russia: world history is littered with “terrorists.” But while we have used the word for more than two millennia, *defining* terrorism in any objective and universally agreed fashion has proven impossible. This course will explore some of the many dimensions of global terrorism. Beginning with definitions, we will trace the development of terror as a political tool from the ancient world to the 21st century: covering the cultural, religious, and ideological dimensions of some of the best - and *least* - known “terrorists” in history. Examining terrorism as a contentious and subjective term throughout, this course offers an historical perspective with focus on the origins, structure, and dynamics of terrorism as an instrument of both state and non-state actors, as well as corresponding counter-terrorism strategies. Particular attention is on 19th and 20th century terrorism, however we will also address terrorism in the current international order.

**Course Organisation**:

The course uses both lectures and seminars. Specific topics and readings are assigned for each seminar. There will be one document analysis, one essay, and a final examination based on the topics covered during the term.

**Course Sources:**

The lecture material has been taken from a wide array of sources, including, with respect to more contemporary issues, interviews in Canada, the United States, and Europe with academics, and former and serving intelligence officers. Material is also drawn from primary documents in the various government archives, secondary scholarship, and Dr. Kislenko’s own experience serving as an officer and consultant in the law enforcement and intelligence communities over more than two decades.

## Course Objectives and Anticipated Learning Outcomes:

1. To explore the meaning and use of the term “terrorism” and how it has changed over time.
2. To trace the origins, development, and impact of terrorism in various countries, regions, and/or amongst specific ethnic/national groups.
3. To examine the role that terrorism has played in international society through in depth study of key events between (mainly) the 19th century and the present.
4. To understand the connections between major global political, economic, and societal/cultural changes and the emergence of terrorist activities.
5. To better understand major contemporary international issues as a whole through objective analysis and scholarly historical examination.
6. To give students a better understanding of historical debates and the historian’s craft and in addressing numerous issues, ideas, and theories that shape our discipline.
7. To help students develop critical analysis and strong communication skills.
8. To help students engage one another in scholarly fashion about various issues relating to course material, particularly in seminar discussions.
9. To help students develop their own intellectual curiosity and confidence.
10. To help students see how history shapes people, ideas, institutions, and events today, thereby becoming better educated about the world in which they live and contributing positively to it.

**Course Websites:**

I *do not* post lectures on line. However, the terms that I use and show in lectures are available on my website ([www.kislenko.com](http://www.kislenko.com)). Also posted there is the course outline, maps and photographs, some tips on research and writing essays, details about the TAs, and information about special events/groups/issues that you might find interesting. I also use the website for regular updates relevant to the course, so checking on it occasionally is highly recommended. Keep in mind that signing up for seminars is also done through this website. User and passwords for the website will be given in class. *Brightspace* D2L will be used for major announcements and to post seminar readings.

**Course Text**:

Martin A. Miller, **The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society and the Dynamics of Political Violence** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ISBN: 978-1-107-62108-4

**Other Readings:**

The seminars will involve other readings that will be assigned on-line through *Brightspace*. Further details are below in the seminar section.

**Lecturing Topics**:

**While I cannot force you to attend lectures, I will caution that the majority of material on the final examination is best covered by lectures and seminars**. Regular attendance is ***strongly*** encouraged! Be advised that the list below is subject to change given the volume of material to be covered. Corresponding readings from the Miller text are listed in brackets.

* general introduction (chapter 1)
* terrorism from Antiquity to the modern era (chapters 2 and 3)
* terrorism and anarchy in the 19th and early 20th century (chapters 4, 5,6)
* Revolutions and the World Wars (chapter 5)
* Terrorism during the Cold War (chapters 7 and 8)
* Terrorism today (chapter 9)

**Marking Scheme**:

mid-term test = 15%

Essay = 30%

Seminar Participation = 25%

Final Examination = 30%

**Term Test**

This will be on **Wednesday, October 21.** The test will consist of short-answer identifications based on material covered up until the previous lecture. The test will be **FIFTY MINUTES**. It is worth 15% of your final grade.

**Assignments**:

***Essay***

There are two aspects of this essay:

* Prior to writing your essay, you may find it helpful to submit a **one page outline** that clearly defines your approach and lists some of your primary research. I will return it to you with comments and suggestions. ***This is not mandatory***, but is suggested for those students who want a little extra help with their essays. If you wish to do this, please submit it **no later than Friday, October 30 by email.**
* **Write an essay** of **3,000 words** chosen from the list below and discuss its significance to international relations. Please refer to additional information regarding the submission of essays in this outline. **This is due Friday, November 13 by 16:00 hours and is mandatory for all students.**  You can submit it in class or to the essay drop box on the 5th floor of Jorgenson Hall (near my office). It is worth 30% of your final grade.

***Essay Topics***

For the essays, take **one** of the topics from the list below and **discuss its significance as it relates to the history of terrorism, a nation state or people, and regional/international relations**. Students should ask the following questions in dealing with their chosen subjects. Of what does the event or policy being described consist? What caused it and who was involved? What was its significance? You may find that there are differing interpretations of issues and events, and a good essay will show awareness of these. You may argue whatever you position you like, as long as you can back your arguments with reasonable and credible evidence. You are very welcome to speak to me about sources and argumentation for any of these topics at any time, regardless of whether you submit an outline or not. *Indeed, you are VERY STRONGLY encouraged to come see Dr. Kislenko for guidance on ALL topics*.

* Terror during the French Revolution, 1789-1799
* Anarchism, Revolution, and Terrorism in the United States, 1865-1901
* Anarchism, Revolution, and Terrorism in Russia, 1879-1917
* State terrorism: **either** the Soviet Union under Josef Stalin, 1924-1953 **or** Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler, 1933-1945
* Terrorism and the Algerian War of Independence, 1954-1962
* Analyze the organization and structure, and discuss the history/significance, of **ONE** of the following organizations with respect to terrorism:

Ku Klux Klan, 1865-present

Irish Republican Army (IRA), 1919-present

Irgun, 1931-1948

Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof Group), 1970-1998

Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), 1964-present

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 1976-2009

Hezbollah, 1985- present

Hamas, 1987-present

Al Qaeda, 1988-present

Jemaah Islamiyah, 1993-present

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), 1999-present

* Discuss how terrorism has shaped the conflict and affected international relations in **ONE** of the following countries:

Kashmir 1947-present

Colombia 1964-present

Philippines 1970-present

Kurdistan 1978-present

Peru 1980-present

Nepal 1991-2006

East Africa 1991-present

Russia 1999-present

Nigeria 2002-present

Mexico 2006-present

* Detail the terrorist attacks and their aftermath/consequences in **ONE** of the following events: \* *you MUST come see Dr. Kislenko for approval FIRST on all of these topics*

1972 Munich Olympic Games attacks

1985 *Air India* bombing

1988 *Pan-Am* bombing

1993 World Trade Center bombing

2001 9/11 attacks

2002 Bali bombings

2004 Madrid train bombings

2005 London bombings

2008 Mumbai attacks

* Discuss the intelligence/law enforcement, legal, political, and social/cultural responses to terrorism since 9/11 in Canada **OR** the United States, **OR** the United Kingdom.

**Other Topics**:

If there is a topic you would like to write about that is not listed here, I encourage you to discuss it with me. Written approval must be given and attached to your essay. Please note that ***essays off the topic list that have not received approval will be given a zero, without re-submission!***  I only want to ensure that the topic is relevant and manageable.

**Submission of Essays**:

Essays must be printed in hard copy. If this is a problem, please speak to me. Students should hand essays in directly to me or to the essay drop box on the 5th floor of Jorgenson Hall near my office, with my name and the course clearly on it. **Do not** slide essays under my office door. Students are responsible for ensuring that their essays have been received. Please keep copies of your work. **Please note that I cannot accept email essays**.

**Deadlines and Penalties**

Late work will be penalized 3% per day, each day, including weekends. Extensions may be granted on medical or compassionate grounds. Students requesting an extension must speak with me before the deadline. If this is not possible, students should provide appropriate documentation relating to the extension request (i.e. doctor’s note). No late work will be accepted after the last day of classes in the term.

**ESSAY SOURCES**

Please feel free to come see me for advice and direction on finding sources for essay. There are simply too many topics and sources to list here with any efficiency. Please note that it will be exceedingly difficult to discuss essays with you via email. You should make the effort to come to office hours and I will happy to help. As an international relations historian, with particular expertise on international security issues, I maintain large, current lists of scholarship on many topics and will be happy to help recommend some to you. However, finding reputable, factual sources on your own is part of the exercise, and it will greatly enhance your work. Be exhaustive and be critical. Each topic has specialized research which you should come and see me about. You are certainly encouraged to use your facility in any language while doing research, provided that you indicate any translations (including by you) and use them with the same rules regarding academic honesty discussed below. For further information on this, and for some advice on foreign language sources, please see me. Please also note that you will hopefully gain access to the University of Toronto library system through me. It is the best in Canada, close by, and easy to use. More information about access to U of T will be given in class.

**Footnote or Endnote Citations**:

Essays **MUST** contain proper references, either in the form of footnotes or end notes, which **include in the first citation the author, place, and date of publication of the work cited, as well as the correct page number**. As a general rule, references should be given for direct quotations, summaries or paraphrases of other people's work or points of view, and for material that is not widely known or accepted**. When in doubt, it is better to provide a reference.** Please take careful note to distinguish between direct and indirect citations/quotes. You should consult see the Ryerson Writing Centre, read a writer’s manual, attend my essay research/writing lectures, and come see me in office hours if you have any doubts about referencing. Confusion on the matter often leads to academic integrity violations, and ignorance of the rules is absolutely no defence!

There are several acceptable citation formats, but please make sure you follow one! For example, here is an acceptable citation: Jane Doe, The ABC's of History (Toronto: 123 Publishers, 1997), pp. 20-23.

**Bibliographies**:

Essays **MUST** provide bibliographies of all works consulted, whether or not they have been quoted directly. An inadequate bibliography (for assignments as long as those above) is one which contains less than six books or articles related to the topic, or books which are entirely general work or texts. Dictionaries, atlases and/or encyclopaedias **DO NOT** count towards this minimum number of sources, and their inclusion should **NOT** be considered as constituting research. Using all your sources from one or two authors is also unadvisable. You want a range of opinions. Above all, you want to be critical and scholarly in choosing your sources. I am happy to help if you come see me in office hours or attend my essay lectures.

An example of a bibliographic citation is as follows: Smith, John. History Rules (Toronto: 123 Publishers, 1997).

**Deduction of Marks**

The evaluation of your research, content, and argumentation is of primary concern in marking. Equally important is the syntax or structure of your work. Marks will be deducted from work containing excessive grammar/spelling mistakes, which is excessively long or inadequately short, or which fails to provide proper footnoting/bibliography. Be sure to edit and check your work carefully. Do not simply rely on your computer’s spelling or grammar check. Please see **grounds for failure** below.

**Grounds for Failure**

Essays which do not supply proper and adequate references and bibliographies **will be failed**. Essays relying heavily on poor quality research (i.e. encyclopaedias, websites, works published decades ago, general histories, works all by the same author(s) etc.) **will be failed**. If you have *any* doubts or questions as to research you should come see me. **Essays that contain no citations or citations without precise page numbers for each and every one will receive a grade of zero.** Any written work that quotes directly from other material without attribution, or which paraphrases extensive tracts from the works of others, is plagiarised. **It will receive a grade of zero, without chance to resubmit.** **Further disciplinary action will be taken in keeping with the Faculty of Arts and University policies on plagiarism. Please consult the Ryerson academic calendar for further information on plagiarism**. If you have any questions or doubts about how to cite material, please contact me.

**Plagiarism**

Plagiarism is a form of intellectual dishonesty in which someone attempts to claim the work of others as their own. Work which has been researched and/or written by others, such as an essay-writing agency, internet service, friend, or family member is **NOT** acceptable. The submission of such work is one form of plagiarism, and it will be dealt with accordingly as academic misconduct. Quoting directly or indirectly from research sources without proper attribution is also plagiarism, and it will also constitute an academic misconduct. The Faculty of Arts policy on plagiarism will be strictly enforced in this course; resulting in a grade of zero for the assignment, a report to the Registrar and the programme department of the student, and possibly other academic penalties including suspension or expulsion as prescribed in the Code of Academic Conduct. See <http://www.ryerson.ca/ai/students/studentcheating.html>

The University’s policy on plagiarism and cheating (Policy 60) is available at <http://www.ryerson.ca/senate/policies/pol60-F2014.pdf> and students are strongly encouraged to familiarize themselves with it.

To combat plagiarism, I reserve the right to request research notes and/or to conduct a brief oral examination on the topic matter in order to ensure that submitted work is legitimate. Students may also be required to submit an electronic version of their work for verification purposes. I will give lectures on essay writing during the term in which plagiarism will be further discussed. If you have any questions or concerns about plagiarism, please feel free to speak me or the teaching assistants. I would **much** rather spend time helping you understand what to do than dealing with any problems that may arise from you being unclear.

**Academic Integrity**

For additional help, Ryerson offers the **Academic Integrity Website** at [www.ryerson.ca/academicintegrity](file:///I%3A%5Cwww.ryerson.ca%5Cacademicintegrity). This offers students a variety of resources to assist in their research, writing, and presentation of all kinds of assignments. It also details all dimensions of Academic Misconduct and how to avoid it. It was put together by a team representing the Vice President Academic, faculty, the library, Digital Media Projects, and Student Services.

**Special Assistance and Essay Lectures**

If you have other questions about correct procedure and style for writing an essay, please feel free to contact me or the teaching assistants. There are several good guides to essay writing, such as ***Making Sense*** (available at the Ryerson bookstore). Students may also take advantage of help offered by the Writing Centre. **Please note** that in October I will be holding special lectures on essay writing that you are strongly encouraged to attend. However, with so much material to cover in a short time, and to coordinate with my other classes, these sessions will be held outside your scheduled hours for this course. Specific times and locations will be given in class. If you cannot attend, I would still be happy to go over things with you by way of special appointment or office hours. I would much rather have you come and ask questions about *anything* to do with essays than do poorly: essays are not easy - and you should be prepared to put in the time and effort for solid research, good writing, and an effective presentation of your arguments. I’m here to help, but don’t leave it to the last moment.

**Accommodations**

All accommodation services for students with disabilities must be coordinated through Academic Accommodation Support: <http://www.ryerson.ca/studentlearningsupport/academic-accommodation-support/index.html>

**Seminars**

At the beginning of the term you will be asked to sign up on line at www.kislenko.com into small groups which will meet four times to discuss major topics. Seminars will be one hour each and run simultaneously in the two hour class block during four select Thursdays. On those four days ***you will also have a lecture*** in one hour of the block. Seminar groups will discuss some of the problems and issues covered in the course and specific questions and readings will be assigned for each meeting. Everyone will be expected to attend and participate. We will address problems and issues covered in the course and specific questions and readings will be assigned for each meeting. Everyone will be expected to attend and participate in all four meetings.There are no formal presentations involved, but seminars are participatory and designed for maximum student engagement. Attendance alone will not necessarily constitute a passing grade. If you have difficulty speaking in front of others, please see me as soon as possible. ***Seminars constitute 25% of the final grade, so you should consider them compulsory***.

**Seminar Marks**

Please note that your overall mark in seminars will not be available until shortly after your last seminar class. However, you can get a general idea of how you are doing and how to improve at *any time* by asking your TA directly.

**The Inside Scoop**

Although participation in seminars will be marked, it is sincerely hoped that you will actually get something out of it beyond grades. The overall objective if this course is to have everyone apply critical, reasoned analysis to the study of international relations history. It is also hoped that by tackling scholarly readings, and particularly primary documents, students will gain better analytical and communications skills and more experience with the actual craft of an historian. However, engaging in scholarly discourse need not be terribly intimidating, boring, or formal. To prove this point your humour, passion, experiences, and opinions are essential ingredients in this course. As long as everyone and their perspectives are treated with respect, and a relative decorum is maintained, you are strongly encouraged to voice your interpretations. In this kind of an environment everyone will gain greater intellectual self-confidence, as well as better knowledge of international relations. In addition, drawing connections to current events - such as “American Empire” or a revisionist Russia - is not only welcome, but may in fact be quite useful in better understanding other topics in the course material. Just be prepared to *think* things through.

**Seminar Topics, Questions and Readings**:

Readings for all seminars will involve the textbook (Marks) which you will buy, and a readings which will be on *Brightspace*.

**First Seminar**: **Thursday, October 1st**

*"Terrorism from Antiquity to Anarchy"*

Read:

* Gerard Chaliland and Arnaud Blin, “Zealots and Assassins” in Chaliland and Blin (eds.), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), ISBN 978-0-520-24709-3. (Ch. 3) pp. 55-78.
* Hugh Gough, *The Terror in the French Revolution* (2nd edition) (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), ISBN 978-0-230-20181-1. Ch. 1 (pp. 1-12), Ch. 2 (pp. 13-26), Ch. 3 (pp.27-37).
* Karl Heinzen, “Murder”, in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Voices of Terror* (New York: Sourcebooks, 2004), ISBN 13-978-159429-035-0, pp. 57-67.
* Mikhail Bakunin, “Revolution, Terrorism, and Banditry”, in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Voices of Terror* (New York: Sourcebooks, 2004), ISBN 13-978-159429-035-0, pp. 68-70.
* Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (London: HarperPress, 2008), ISBN 978-0-06-117386-8, Ch. 3, pp. 67-87.

**Second Seminar:Thursday, October 22nd**

*"Terror in Revolution and War"*

Read:

* Richard Jensen, “The First Global Wave of Terrorism and International Counter-Terrorism”, in Jussi M. Hanhimaki and Bernhard Blumenau (eds.), *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2013), ISBN 978-0-415-63541-7, Ch. 1, pp. 16-33.
* Gerard Chaliland and Arnaud Blin, “Lenin, Stalin and State Terrorism” in Chaliland and Blin (eds.), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), ISBN 978-0-520-24709-3. Ch. 9, pp. 197-207.
* Eric A. Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), ISBN 0-465- 04908-7, Ch. 1 pp. 3-21.
* Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), ISBN 978-014-303790-3, pp. 108-118.

**Third Seminar**: **Thursday, November 12th**

*"The Internationalization of Terror in the Cold War"*

Read:

* Gerard Chaliland and Arnaud Blin, “From World War II to the Wars of National Liberation” in Chaliland and Blin (eds.), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), ISBN 978-0-520-24709-3. Ch. 10, pp. 208-220.
* Gerard Chaliland and Arnaud Blin, “From 1968 to Radical Islam” in Chaliland and Blin (eds.), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), ISBN 978-0-520-24709-3. Ch. 11, pp. 221-254.
* David J. Whittaker, *Terrorism: Understanding the Global Threat* (rev. ed.) (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Ltd., 2007), ISBN 13-978-1-4058-4085-9. Ch. 3, pp. 48-77.
* Thomas Riegler, “Quid Pro Quo”, in Jussi M. Hanhimaki and Bernhard Blumenau (eds.), *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2013), ISBN 978-0-415-63541-7, Ch. 7, pp. 115-132.

**Fourth Seminar**: **Thursday, December 3rd**

*"Islamist Terrorism Today"*

Read:

* Walter Laqueur, *No End To War*: *Terrorism in the 21st Century* (New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2004), ISBN 0-8264-1656-x, Ch. 3, pp. 49-70.
* Richard Labeviere, “Dollars for Terror” in Isaac Cronin (ed.), *Confronting Fear: A History of Terrorism* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 2002), ISBN 1-56025-399-1, pp. 326-344.
* Ahmed Rashid, “Taliban” in Isaac Cronin (ed.), *Confronting Fear: A History of Terrorism* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 2002), ISBN 1-56025-399-1, pp. 345-362.
* Stewart Bell, “Leadership and the Toronto 18” in Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares (eds.), *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat From 9/11 to Osama Bin Laden’s Death* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), ISBN 978-0-231-16898-4, Ch. 6, pp. 143-162.
* C. Christine Fair, “The 2008 Mumbai Attack” in Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares (eds.), *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat From 9/11 to Osama Bin Laden’s Death* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), ISBN 978-0-231-16898-4, Ch. 24, pp. 571-599.
* Ronald Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), ISBN 978-0-7456-4294-9, Ch. 6, pp. 194-234.

**Final Exam**:

The final exam will be held during the final exam period in December. It will be **three hours** long and will cover the **WHOLE COURSE**. There will be two parts. The first will be identification questions; exactly the same format as the term test. The second will be an essay. You will have a wide range of choices for both sections.

**Course Evaluation**:

You will have an opportunity to evaluate this course in class sometime in November. All students are encouraged to participate in the evaluation.

**A Few Words About Mobile Phones and Laptops**

Please be sure to turn off your mobile phones and other devices during class. They can be disruptive to me and your colleagues. I will not ban, but strongly caution about the use of laptops in class. Please be sure to use them *only* for lecture notes. It is a matter of common courtesy in that many students regularly complain about the distraction of others using laptops to access email or surf the web during class time.

**Important Dates to Remember:**

September 10 - course starts!

October 1 - first seminar

sometime in October - special lectures on essays (outside class times)

Thursday, October 15 - **NO CLASSES** (Reading Week)

Wednesday, October 21 - mid term test

Thursday, October 22 - second seminar

Thursday, November 12 - third seminar

Friday, November 13 - essay due

Thursday, December 3 - fourth seminar and last class

Sometime in December - **FINAL EXAM**

***If you have ANY questions, concerns, or comments about this course, please feel free to address them with me at any time.***