



School of Government

STRA 510 DIPLOMACY AND RELIGION (15 Points)

Trimester One 2008

COURSE OUTLINE

Contact Details

Course Coordinator:	Associate Professor Jim Veitch Room RH 1209, Level 12, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus Telephone: (04) 463 5394 Fax: (04) 463 5454 Email: jim.veitch@vuw.ac.nz
Course Lecturer:	Negar Partow Room RH 1202, Level 12, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus Telephone: (04) 463 6947 Email: <u>negar.partow@vuw.ac.nz</u>
Administrator:	Darren Morgan Room RH 821, Level 8, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus Telephone: (04) 463 5458 Fax: (04) 463 5454 Email: <u>darren.morgan@vuw.ac.nz</u>

Course Dates, Times and Locations

Dates:	Tuesday 11 – Friday 14 March 2008 (inclusive)
Times:	9.00am – 5.00pm each day
Location:	The course will be held on the Pipitea Campus of Victoria University and you will be advised of your classroom one week prior to the course by email.

Course Overview

This course will discuss the influence of religion on politics and the foreign policies in particular that influence the outcome of world events at the present time.

We do not normally think of New Zealand and Australian politicians being influenced by religion but Marion Maddox dispelled such notions with her well written study *God Under Howard: The Rise of the Religious Right in Australian Politics* (2005).

Paul Morris and Dolores Janiewski have written an equally useful study of the New Zealand situation in *New Right New Zealand: Myths, Markets and Moralities* (2005).

The main goal of the course is to examine the influence of religion on the thinking of Western leaders such as George W. Bush and Tony Blair, and then to discuss the influence of religion on Middle East politics and on the thinking of leaders in the countries of South East Asia.

The course finishes with an examination of the factors that religion can use to empower political agendas such as oil.

Diplomacy is understood in the sense of "*skill in the management of international relations*" (Collins Concise Dictionary).

The perspective adopted in this course can be summarised in the words of John Gray, Professor of European Thought at the London School of Economics (an economic historian by trade):

"Modern politics is a chapter in the history of religion. The greatest of the revolutionary upheavals that have shaped so much of the history of the past two centuries were episodes in the history of faith-moments in the long dissolution of Christianity and the rise of modern political religion. The very idea of revolution as a transforming event in history is owed to religion. Modern revolutionary movements are a continuation of religion by other means."

Course Objectives

The course explores the influence of religion on, and in, international politics and especially on the formation of foreign policy.

It will focus on the way in which the Judeo – Christian tradition influences the foreign policy of the United States, especially with reference to Middle East policies.

It will discuss the way in which Islam influences politics and foreign policies of the Muslim world, including such countries as Saudi Arabia and Iran.

It will discuss politics in Islam and the pressures it brings in the Muslim world.

We will discuss the influence of religious militancy in the contemporary politics in the Middle East and South East Asia.

The course aims to present an in-depth analysis of the influence of religion on various kinds of foreign policy.

The course has the following objectives:

- 1. to enable participants to develop a critical and in-depth knowledge of the influence of religion on foreign policy
- 2. to enable participants to have a working knowledge of Islam in the modern world.

<u>Required Pre-Course Reading and Course Preparation</u>

You are asked to do three things in preparing for this course:

- View the BBC TV series *The Power of Nightmares*, produced by Adam Curtis, which is available at <u>www.wanttoknow.info/powerofnightmares</u>. There is also a Wikipedia article that is very useful and should be read in conjunction with viewing the films, at <u>http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Power_of_Nightmares</u>. You are then asked to write a **1,500 word essay** and present your reflections on the films. **The essay is due on the first day of the course (Tuesday 11 March 2008).** There will be an opportunity to discuss the films in session two of the course. You should follow up references in the Wikipedia article to matters that you would like more information on before you write the essay.
- 2. Download and read *The Milestones* by Sayyid Qutb (also known as *Signposts*) before the course begins. This is one of the important texts for an understanding of politics in Islam and one of the options for the second essay that you will need to write in rough draft during the course. The version of Milestones available on the internet is the one you should use, as it is a complete version. Go to: www.youngmuslims.ca/online library/books/milestones/hold/index 2.asp
- 3. Download and read *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist* by Ayatollah Khomeini before the course begins. This is one of the important texts for an understanding of politics in Shia Islam and one of the options for the second essay that you will need to write in rough draft during the course. A version of the book is available on the internet at http://al-islam.org/islamicgovernment/

Course Content and Readings

In preparation for the course, you are required to complete the work outlined in the previous section. The films and downloads will be discussed in class.

You will be given handouts in some sessions and references to follow up in all sessions.

Recommended Reading for the course as a whole includes Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (2002) and Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (2003).

For history of Islam, see Karen Armstrong's A Short History of Islam (2002) and Muhammad: A Prophet For Our Time (2006). The Battle for God: Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam (2000) defines what divides the three Abrahamic Faiths.

For an overview of Jemma Islamiyah, you are referred to ICG reports. The latest is entitled *Indonesia: Jemmah Islamiya's Current Status* (May 2007).

Readings for each session are set out under the lecture titles. You are asked to download your copy. We are aiming for a period of discussion based on the set readings in each session.

Learning Commitment

The learning objectives set for each course are demanding and, to achieve them, candidates must make a significant commitment in time and effort to reading, studying, thinking, and completion of assessment items outside of contact time. Courses vary in design but all require preparation and learning before the first day of contact. Intensive courses usually also require further study after the contact period. Expressed in input terms, the time commitment required usually translates to 65-95 hours (excluding class contact time) per course.

Lecture Schedule

Day One (Tuesday 11 March 2008)

9.00am – 10.30am Sess	sion One
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9.00am – 9.15am: Dr Veitch: Introduction to the course

9.15am – 10.30am: Negar Partow: Research methodology

10.30am – 11.00am Morning tea

11.00am – 12.30pm Session Two

Dr Veitch: (1) A group discussion of the film series *The Power of Nightmares /* (2) A lecture on *The influence and role of religion and ideology on foreign policy: the case of the US and the UK under Bush and Blair*

Readings

www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jesus/ www.tomdispatch.com/post/101850/bush_s_faith_and_the_middle_east_aflame

12.30pm – 1.30pm Lunch break

1.30pm – 3.00pm Session Three

Dr Veitch: Session two continues. This session will include a viewing and a discussion of the TV film *God's Christian Warriors* (CNN).

3.00pm – 3.30pm Afternoon tea

3.30pm – 5.00pm Session Four

Negar Partow: An introduction to contemporary Islam

Readings

Hassan al-Banna, *The Message of the Teachings* www.youngmuslims.ca/online library/books/tmott/

- William Shepard, *The Diversity of Islamic Thought: Towards a Typology*, in "Islamic Thought in the twentieth century", London: I.B. Tauris &Co, 2004, pp 61-103. (available in the course reader)
- Muhammad Abduh, Laws should change in accordance with the condition and nation and the theology of Unity, in "Modernist Islam 1840-1940", ed. Charles Kurzman, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp 50-60 (available in the course reader)
- Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival, How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*, US: W.W. Norton & Co. 2006, pp. 34-55 (available in the course reader)

Day Two (Wednesday 12 March 2008)

9.00am – 10.30am Session Five

Negar Partow: Politics in the contemporary Middle East: the recent historical background; case study, Saudi Arabia

<u>Readings</u>

- Helms Christine Moss, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia*, London: Croom Helm, 1981, pp 76-150 (available in the course reader)
- Buchan James, Secular and Religious Opposition in Saudi Arabia, in State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia, ed. Tim Niblock, UK: Croom Helm, 1982, pp. 106-124
- Madawi al-Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, you can read the introduction online at:

http://books.google.co.nz/books?hl=en&lr=&id=BPCPg412BvkC&oi=fnd&pg =PR9&dq=the+cohesion+of+saudi+arabia&ots=a6--sa1BmK&sig=G-DTwqycNLo6lkJkbxb9yWZ23gs#PPR9,M1

10.30am – 11.00am Morning tea

11.00am – 12.30pm Session Six

Negar Partow: Politics in Islam - An introduction to the influence of the Muslim brotherhood and the thinking of key Muslim intellectuals and leaders, Egypt

<u>Readings</u>

Seyyed Qutb, *The Milestone* www.youngmuslims.ca/online library/books/milestones/hold/index 2.asp

1.30pm – 3.00pm Session Seven

Negar Partow: Politics in Islam - An introduction to the thinking of key Muslim intellectuals and leaders: Iran

Readings

Ali Shariati, An Approach to Understanding of Islam in <u>www.shariati.com/</u> Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, *The Islamic World and Modern Challenges*, in *Islam*, *Dialogue and Civil Society*, chapter 2, at http://al-islam.org/civilsociety/

3.00pm – 3.30pm Afternoon tea

3.30pm – 5.00pm Session Eight

Negar Partow: Strategic alliances after Saddam: Egypt, Syria and Iran - how religion shapes policy

Readings

- Y. Yehoshua, I. Rapoport, Y. Mansharof, A. Savyon and Y. Carmon, *The Collapse of the Saudi Sunni Bloc against Iran's Aspirations for Regional Hegemony in the Gulf*, <u>www.memri.org/bin/latestnews.cgi?ID=IA41608</u>
- Theodore Kattouf, Martha Neff Kessler, Hisham Melhem, Murhaf Jouejati, *When We Meet With Syria, What Should We Say? What Should We Hope to Hear?* www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2007.00293.x

Day Three (Thursday 13 March 2008)

9.00am – 10.30am Session Nine

Negar Partow: Case studies of conflict and the role of religion: Hezbollah, Hamas - The Middle East conflict

Readings

Kramer Martin, The Moral Logic of Hizballah	h
www.martinkramer.org/home.html	

Kramer Martin, Arab Nationalism; Mistaken Identity www.geocities.com/martinkramerorg/ArabNationalism.htm

Barry Rubin, *Barry Rubin's advise to Bush* www.zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2008/01/barry-rubins-advice-tobush.html

- Jeroen Gunning, *Peace with Hamas? The Transforming Potential of Political Participation*, Department of International Politics, University of Wales, www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2004.00381.x
- The charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), www.jstor.org/cgibin/jstor/printpage/0377919x/di009647/00p0018l/0.pdf?backcontext=page&do what=Acrobat&config=jstor&userID=82c35624@vuw.ac.nz/01c0a848650050 9e5d5&0.pdf

10.30am – 11.00am	Morning tea
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11.00am – 12.30pm Session Ten

Dr Veitch: Islam in South East Asia a historical overview. This session will include the video on 'Al Qaeda' part 2- Indonesia

12.30pm – 1.30pm Lunch break

1.30pm – 3.30pm Session Eleven

1.30pm – 2.30pm: Guest speaker: Iqbal Ahnaf: The influence of Islam on Contemporary Indonesian politics

Readings

Saiful Mujani, Religious Democrats: Democratic Culture and Muslim Political Participation in Post-Suharto Indonesia

http://gazali.files.wordpress.com/2007/12/disertasi-saiful.pdf

- Lembaga Survei Institute (Indonesian Survey Institute) (2006), Support for Radical Religious Attitude and Behaviour www.lsi.or.id/riset/72/survei-nasionaldukungan-dan-penolakan-terhadap-radikalisme-islam
- Saiful Mujani and R. William Liddle, *Indonesia's Approaching Elections: Politics, Islam and Public Opinion,* Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15 No 1, Jan 2004 hal. 109 www.lsi.or.id/riset/62/politics-islam-and-public-opinion

2.30pm – 3.30pm: Guest speaker: Mizan Aslam: The influence of Islam in Contemporary Malaysian Politics

<u>Readings</u>

Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, Terrorism, insurgency and religious fundamentalism in Southeast Asia

www.isis.org.my/files/pubs/papers/TERRORISM_INSURGENCY_AND_RE LIG_FUND.pdf

Gordon P. Means, *Soft Authoritarianism in Malaysia and Singapore* <u>https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v007/7.4means.html</u>

Modern Malaysia - expansion and opportunities in South East Asia www.asianabsolute.co.uk/directory/articles/malaysia.html

- 3.30pm 4.00pm Afternoon tea
- 4.00pm 5.00pm Session Twelve

Guest speaker: Charlotte Boyer: insurgencies and conflict in Southern Thailand and the Southern Philippines

<u>Readings</u>

International Crisis Group articles: you will need to register (free) to access the full articles on this site

Southern Thailand: Insurgency, Not Jihad. Asia Report N°98, 18 May 2005 www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3436&l=1 Southern Thailand: The Impact of the Coup. Asia Report N°129, 15 March 2007 www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4697&1=1

Southern Philippines Backgrounder: Terrorism and the Peace Process. Asia Report N°80, 13 July 2004 www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2863&l=1

Day Four (Friday 14 March 2008)

9.00am – 10.30am	Session Thirteen	
9.00am – 9.30am: Dr	Veitch: Singapore and the role of religion	
9.30am – 10.30am: D	r Veitch: The role of religion in conflicts in SE Asia	
10.30am - 11.00am	Morning tea	
11.00am - 12.30pm	Session Fourteen	
Dr Veitch: Strategic a religious diversity	alliances and regional security in SE Asia: Attempts to overcome	
12.30pm – 1.30pm	Lunch break	
1.30pm – 3.00pm	Session Fifteen	
Negar Partow: Diplor	nacy and energy resources; Oil policies	
<u>Readings</u> Simon Bromley (2005), <i>The United States and the Control of World Oil</i> , in <i>Government and Opposition</i> , Vol. 40 (2), 225–255. <u>www.blackwell- synergy.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00151.x</u> Roger Stern, <i>Oil Market Power and the United States National Security</i> , <u>www.pnas.org/cgi/reprint/0503705102v1.pdf</u>		
3.00pm - 3.30pm	Afternoon tea	
3.30pm – 4.30pm	Session Sixteen	
Negar Partow: Securi	ty, conflict resolution and the role of religion.	
<u>Readings</u> President G.W. Bush,	The National Security Strategy of the United States of America	

http://slomanson.tjsl.edu/NSS.pdf

Michael Ryan Kraig, Forging a New Security Order for the Persian Gulf, Middle East Policy, Volume 13, Issue 1, Page 84-101, Mar 2006, doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00240.x,

www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00240.x

Vali Nasr, When the Shiites Rise, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2006 www.foreignaffairs.org/20060701faessay85405/vali-nasr/when-the-shiitesrise.html

4.30pm – 5.00pm Session Seventeen

Dr Veitch: Diplomacy and religion: positives and negatives on the role of religion in diplomacy-lessons for New Zealand.

<u>Readings</u>

Douglas Johnston (Editor), *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 11-29 (included in the book of Readings)

Assessment Requirements

1. Submit an essay of no more than 1,500 words on Tuesday 11 March 2008 (the first day of the course), worth 25% of the final grade.

Watch the three part BBC TV series "The Power of Nightmares", produced by Adam Curtis, before the course starts and write a reflective study on the themes introduced in the films.

2. Submit an essay of no more 1,500 words, a DRAFT version by Friday 14 March 2008 (the last day of the course) and a FINAL version by Wednesday 26 March 2008, worth 25% of the final grade.

Write a short essay on Qutb or Ayatollah Khomeini's view of the relationship between religion and politics. For Qutb's view on the issue, see "The Milestone"; for Ayatollah Khomeini's view, see *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*

3. Submit an essay of no more 4,000 words by Friday 11 April 2008, worth 50% of the final grade.

Suggested topics for the third essay

- Discuss the relationship between religious fundamentalism and institutional terrorism.
- Analyse the role of European colonization in the formation of the contemporary map of the Middle East.
- Discuss the relationship between nationalism and religious fundamentalism.
- Were Islamic theologians ever separated from politics? Provide examples in a historical context.
- Provide a critical account of Seyyed Qutb or Ma'dudi's writings on Jihad and martyrdom.
- Why did Qutb's ideas become so popular among young Egyptians?
- Analysis of the role of Muslim religious authorities in reinterpreting the concepts Jihad and martyrdom.
- Critically discuss the practicality of Bush's "Democracy plan in the Middle East".

- "The war on terrorism is strongly influenced by capitalism". Critically discuss this statement.
- Provide an analytic account of July 2007 takeover of Gaza by HAMAS.
- Discuss the situation in which the group Hezbollah has emerged in Lebanon.
- Discuss the relationship between Islamic religious authorities and state in one of the Middle Eastern countries.
- Discuss the influence of radical Islam on Indonesian politics.
- Critically discuss the Indonesian state's response to the Bali bombing.
- Critically analyse the problems posed by energy resources for the world.
- Is the Southern Thailand / Southern Philippines conflict one that is predominantly religious? What are the consequences of dealing with this conflict as "religious" or "not religious"?
- Critically analyse the role of moderate Muslim groups in Indonesian politics.
- Explain and give critical comments on dynamic of Islam and politics in Indonesia.
- Most of the KMM and JI members in Malaysia were professional and from science stream. Explain why they are easily recruited by the extremists?
- Do JI and KMM pose security threat to Malaysia? Critically analyse the content of the Internal Security Act (ISA) in Malaysia.

Assignment 1 is to be submitted to the Course Coordinator IN HARD COPY on Tuesday 11 March 2008 (the first day of the course).

The **DRAFT version of Assignment 2** is to be submitted to the Course Coordinator IN HARD COPY on Friday 14 March 2008 (the last day of the course).

The **FINAL version of Assignment 2** and **Assignment 3** are to be submitted by the appropriate date (see above) IN HARD COPY to:

Francine McGee, School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington, Level 8 Reception, Rutherford House, 23 Lambton Quay, P.O. Box 600, Wellington.

Students should keep a copy of all submitted work.

Penalties

The ability to plan for and meet deadlines is a core competency of both advanced study and public management. Failure to meet deadlines disrupts course planning and is unfair on students who do submit their work on time. It is expected therefore that you will complete and hand in assignments by the due date. Marks may be deducted where assignments are

submitted after the due date. For out of town students, two calendar days' grace is given to allow for time in the post.

If ill-health, family bereavement or other personal emergencies prevent you from meeting the deadline for submitting a piece of written work or from attending class to make a presentation, you can apply for and may be granted an extension to the due date. Note that this applies only to extreme unforeseen circumstances and is not necessarily awarded. You should let your Course Coordinator know as soon as possible in advance of the deadline if you are seeking an extension.

Mandatory Course Requirements

To fulfil the mandatory course requirements for this course, you are required to:

- 1. Submit all assignments by the due date;
- 2. Attend all contact sessions of the course.

Communication of Additional Information

Additional information may be provided in class, by post, by email or via Blackboard.

Withdrawal Dates

Students giving notice of withdrawal from this course after **Wednesday 12 March 2008** will NOT receive a refund of fees.

Students giving notice of withdrawal from this course after **Tuesday 15 April 2008** are regarded as having failed the course, unless the Associate Dean subsequently gives approval to withdraw.

Notice of withdrawal must be in writing / emailed to the Masters Administrator at the School of Government. Ceasing to attend or verbally advising a member of staff will NOT be accepted as a notice of withdrawal.

Faculty of Commerce and Administration Offices

Railway West Wing (RWW) - FCA Student and Academic Services Office

The Faculty's Student and Academic Services Office is located on the ground and first floors of the Railway West Wing. The ground floor counter is the first point of contact for general enquiries and FCA forms. Student Administration Advisers are available to discuss course status and give further advice about FCA qualifications. To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463 5376.

Easterfield (EA) - FCA/Education/Law Kelburn Office

The Kelburn Campus Office for the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, Education and Law is situated in the Easterfield Building on the ground floor (EA 005). This counter is the first point of contact for:

- Duty tutors for student contact and advice.
- Information concerning administrative and academic matters.
- Forms for FCA Student and Academic Services (e.g. application for academic transcripts, requests for degree audit, COP requests).
- Examinations-related information during the examination period.

To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463 5376.

Notice of Turnitin Use

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <u>www.turnitin.com</u>. Turnitin is an on-line plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources, including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

General University Policies and Statutes

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied. See the Victoria University Calendar or go to www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy/students.aspx

For information on the following topics, go to the Faculty's website <u>www.victoria.ac.nz/fca</u>, under Important Information for Students:

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website: <u>www.victoria.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html</u>

Manaaki Pihipihinga Programme

Manaaki Pihipihinga is an academic mentoring programme for undergraduate Māori and Pacific students in the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, and Humanities and Social Sciences. Sessions are held at the Kelburn and Pipitea Campuses in the Mentoring Rooms, 14 Kelburn Parade (back courtyard), Room 109D, and Room 210, Level 2, Railway West Wing. There is also a Pacific Support Coordinator who assists Pacific students by linking them to the services and support they need while studying at Victoria. Another feature of the programme is a support network for Postgraduate students with links to Postgraduate workshops and activities around Campus.

For further information, or to register with the programme, email <u>manaaki-pihipihinga-programme@vuw.ac.nz</u> or telephone (04) 463 6015. To contact the Pacific Support Coordinator, email <u>pacific-support-coord@vuw.ac.nz</u> or telephone (04) 463 5842.

Contemporary Politics in the Middle East

Bibliography prepared by Negar Partow

Ahmed Akbar, Discovering Islam, *Making sense of Muslim History and Society*, London: Input Typesetting, 1998.

Abdul al-Raziq, *Message Not Government, Religion Not State*, in Liberal Islam: a source book, ed. Charles Kurzman, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.

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Juan Cole, Sacred Space and Holy war; The politics, culture and history of Shi'ite Islam, London; I.B. Tauris &Co., 2002

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Mutahhari Murtaza, Fundamentals of Islamic Thought, Trans. Hamid Algar, US: Mizan Press, 1985.

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The charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), in *The Palestinian Hamas; vision violence and coexistence*, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000

Edward W. Said, From Oslo to Iraq and the Road Map, New York: Pantheon Books, c2004

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James Buchan, Secular and Religious Opposition in Saudi Arabia, in State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia, ed. Tim Niblock, UK: Croom Helm, 1982

Shelley Toby, Oil; Politics, Poverty and the Planet, (London: Zed Books, 2005), pp, 82-105

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John Calabrese, Revolutionary Horizons: Regional Foreign Policy in Post-Khomeini Iran (International Political Economy), Palgrave Macmillan, 1994

Farhad Khosrokhavar, Suicide bombers: Allah's new martyrs; translated by David khosrokhavar, 2005

Anne Marie Oliver and Paul F. Steinberg, *Road to martyrs' square: a journey into the world of the suicide Bomber*, 2005, HV6433 O48 R

GrahaM. E. Fuller, Future of political Islam, 2003, BP173.7 F965 F

Edited by Joseph E.B. Lumbard; *Islam, fundamentalism, and the betrayal of tradition: essays by Western Muslim scholars*, 2004, BP60 I82 F

Yonah Alexander, Palestinian secular terrorism: profiles of Fatah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 2003, DS119.7 A379 P

Marwan Bishara, *Palestine/Israel: peace or apartheid: occupation, terrorism, and the future*, 2002, DS119.76 B622 P

Neil Alger, Palestinians and the disputed territories, 2004, DS119.7 P157 AT

Alan Dershowitz, *Case for peace: how the Arab-Israeli conflict can be resolved*, 2005, DS119.76 D438 C

Mazin B. Qumsiyeh, Sharing the land of Canaan: human rights and the Israeli-Palestinian struggle, 2004, DS119.76 Q8 S

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