

School of Government

STRA 510
DIPLOMACY AND RELIGION
(15 Points)

Trimester One / 2010

COURSE OUTLINE

Names and Contact Details

Course Coordinator: Associate Professor **Jim Veitch**
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Office Hours: 8.30am to 5.00pm, Monday to Friday

Trimester Dates

Trimester Dates: Monday 1 March – Wednesday 30 June 2010
Teaching Period: Tuesday 9 March – Friday 9 April 2010

Class Times and Room Numbers

Dates: Tuesday 9 – Friday 12 March 2010 (inclusive)
Times: 9.00am – 5.00pm each day
Locations: Classes will be held on the Pipitea Campus of Victoria University in Wellington and you will be advised of your classroom one week prior to the course by email.

Withdrawal Dates

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

Students giving notice of withdrawal from this course after **Wednesday 10 March 2010** will NOT receive a refund of fees.

Associate Dean (Students)'s approval required for withdrawal from this course after **Friday 12 March 2010**.

See more information available via:

- **Withdrawal dates: Late withdrawals with Associate Dean (Students) permission** (See Section 8: Withdrawals – from the Personal Courses of Study Statute) <http://policy.vuw.ac.nz/Amphora!~~policy.vuw.ac.nz~POLICY~000000001743.pdf>
- **Withdrawal dates: Refunds:** www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx

Course Content

Introduction

This course will discuss the influence of religion on politics and in particular the influence of religion on the development of the foreign policy of a number of countries that are major players in 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 on Australian politicians, *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).

However the main goal of this course is to examine the influence of religion on the thinking of Western political leaders and then to discuss the influence of religion on Middle East politics and on the thinking of leaders in selected countries in Muslim South East Asia. The course will finish with an examination of the factors that religion can use to empower political agendas such as oil.

Definitions

The course title is Diplomacy and Religion. *Diplomacy* is understood in the sense of 'skill in the management of international relations' (*Collins Concise Dictionary*) and *Religion* refers to Christianity and Islam.

The Perspective of the Course

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."

Black Mass (2007, page 1)

Course Learning Objectives

Based on the overview, the course has the following objective:

To explore the influence of religion in the formation of political policies especially on the formation of foreign policy in the United States during the Administration of George W Bush, and in selected Muslim countries in the Middle East and in Asia during the same period.

In order to achieve this goal it will:

Firstly, provide an overview of the areas of current conflict in the world that involves religion.

Secondly, it will focus on the ways in which the Judeo - Christian tradition influenced the foreign policy of the United States, with a primary reference to the Middle East policies of the Administration of George W Bush - and the British Government policies of Tony Blair during this same period and the background influences on the formation of such policies.

Thirdly, it will discuss the ways in which Islam influences the politics and foreign policies of Muslim world in the Middle East including such countries as Iran. To do this, it will focus on the political stream that influences the activism current today in the Muslim and Arab world and in the Muslim world in Asia.

Course Delivery

This course is delivered in an intensive format, which includes a minimum of 24 hours contact. The 24 hours are broken up into four consecutive days of eight hours each. **Attendance is required at all four teaching days (9.00am – 5.00pm).**

The course delivery will include lectures, discussion in plenary sessions and in small groups and the viewing of videos.

Expected Workload

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.

Readings

Course preparation

You are asked to undertake *two tasks* in preparing for this course:

- (1) download and read '*Milestones*' written by Sayyid Qutb (sometimes 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 final essay that you will need to write in rough draft during the course. Note down the questions that you have as a result of your reading and bring these up when *Milestones* is discussed in class. The following version of *Milestones*, available on the internet, is the one you should use; it is a complete version <http://majalla.org/books/2005/qutb-nilestone.pdf>
- (2) download and read the following text, *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist* by Ayatollah Khomeini. This is one of the important texts for an understanding of politics in Shia Islam. You are asked to write down questions that arise for you as you read this text and be prepared to raise these when the text is discussed. The book is available on the internet. See <http://al-islam.org/islamicgovernment/>

In-Course recommended background reading

For the course as a whole, Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (2002)

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=hjVx7wcByPAC&printsec=frontcover&dq=,+Globalised+Islam:+The+Search+for+a+New+Ummah&as_brr=3&ei=vUAjScuWGozOIQSWkbmeDw#PPP1,M1

and

Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (2003)

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=zFlsp_kI66IC&printsec=frontcover&dq=jihad&as_brr=3&ei=6UAjSYSdI4XikwTPgYXZDw

For history of Islam, see Karen Armstrong, *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.

and

P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis; *The Central Islamic Lands from Pre-Islamic Times to the First World War*

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=zMK7dRFNbXUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=history+of+Islam&as_brr=3&ei=lkEjSa3rFIaskASawdmeDQ#PPP1,M1

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

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2613&l=1.

There are subsequent reports about different aspects of the conflicts in Indonesia that you can access through this website.

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

Readings for the Lecture Schedule

Day One (Tuesday 9 March 2010) and Day Two (Wednesday 10 March 2010)

The schedule for these two days will include:

1. An overview of International conflict hotspots
2. The viewing of the BBC TV film series directed by Adam Curtis entitled, '*The Power of Nightmares*'. This will be done in class time from the internet but if you wish to watch the films before the course begins then please use the following website:

www.wanttoknow.info/powerofnightmares

There is a Wikipedia article on the film series that is very useful and that should be read in conjunction with viewing the films. It has links to the films. You should follow up references in the Wikipedia article to matters that you would like more information on before you write the essay. See the article at:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Power_of_Nightmares

Further Readings, for a follow up to the films:

www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jesus/

www.tomdispatch.com/post/101850/bush_s_faith_and_the_middle_east_aflame

You are then asked to write a 1,000-1,200 word essay and present your critical reflections on the films. The essay is due on **Wednesday 10 March 2010**. See Assessment Requirements below.

3. lectures and discussion on the influence of religion on the Bush Administration policies in Afghanistan and Iraq, and its views of the Middle East

Day Three (Thursday 11 March 2010) and Day Four (Friday 12 March 2010)

The schedule for these two days will include:

1. A brief introduction to Contemporary Islam
2. An Introduction to Contemporary political 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 63-103.

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=miT_ySSiwacC&pg=PP1&dq=Islamic+Thought+in+the+twentieth+century&ei=xiUjSaagIJPYIQTucCiDg#PPA71,M1

<http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=W4OKaz5dzdYC&pg=PP1&dq=Modernist+Islam+1840-1940&ei=GCYjSYD2IJDckASxh823Dw#PPA51,M1>

Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival, How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future* (US: W.W. Norton & Co. 2006)- pp. 34-55 , Also see; Heinz Halm, Janet C. E. Watson, Marian Hill; *Shi'ism* pp. 1-19

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=u5jO3QzVtPUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Shi%27ism&as_brr=3&ei=wSwjSZerD4jCIQsJ0NCxDw#PPA1,M1

3. An introduction to the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood and the thinking of key Muslim intellectuals and leaders, Egypt

Readings:

Seyyed Qutb, *The Milestone*, (use the copy you have downloaded)

You will be asked to write a critical review of this text to be handed in on **Thursday 11 March 2010**. It should be between 1,000 and 1,200 words. See the section on assessment below.

4. An introduction to modern Iran

Readings:

Ayatollah Khomeini: *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist* by

<http://al-islam.org/islamicgovernment/>

Note that you will be asked to write an essay about the religious influence on politics in Iran centred around this text and the other readings in this section. This essay should be between 1,000-1,200 words and be handed in on **Friday 12 March 2010**. See the section on assessment below.

Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, *The Islamic World and Modern Challenges*, in, *Islam, Dialogue and Civil Society*, chapter 2 <http://al-islam.org/civilsociety/>

Ali Gheissari, Vali Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, Democracy in Iran, 127-139

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=5_JpvDGHjyIC&pg=PP1&dq=Vali+Nasr,&as_brr=3&ei=lCkjSaSYG4askASawdmeDQ#PPR9,M1

5. Case studies of conflict and the role of religion: Hezbollah, Hamas – The Middle East conflict Palestine and Israel

Readings:

Joseph Elie Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology* pp. 19-36

http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=Fn9D12OmbVkC&printsec=frontcover&dq=hezbollah&as_brr=3&ei=SC4jSenkBoOCiQT7s6SLDw#PPA19,M1

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

Kramer Martin, *Arab Nationalism; Mistaken Identity*

www.geocities.com/martinkramerorg/ArabNationalism.htm

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

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

6. Islam in South East Asia :Indonesia and Malaysia

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-nasional-dukungan-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

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

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

7. Diplomacy and energy resources; Oil policies

Readings:

Simon Bromley (2005), *The United States and the Control of World Oil*, in, *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 40 (2), 225–255
www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00151.x

Roger Stern, *Oil Market Power and the United States National Security*
www.pnas.org/cgi/reprint/0503705102v1.pdf

8. Course summary: Security, conflict resolution and the role of religion.

Readings:

President G.W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, <http://slomanson.tjssl.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-shiites-rise.html

Assessment Requirements

- A) Submit an essay directly to the Course Coordinator IN HARD COPY, of between 1,000-1,200 words, by lunchtime on Wednesday 10 March 2010. This essay is worth 20% of the final grade.**

This essay is based on the three part film, “The Power of Nightmares”, produced by Adam Curtis, BBC.

- B) Submit an essay directly to the Course Coordinator IN HARD COPY, of between 1,000-1,200 words, by lunchtime on Thursday 11 March 2010. This essay is worth 20% of the final grade.**

This essay is based on the book Seyyed Qutb, *The Milestone*, that you downloaded and read in preparation for the course and which has been discussed in class.

- C) Submit an essay directly to the Course Coordinator IN HARD COPY, of between 1,000-1,200 words, by lunchtime on Friday 12 March 2010. This essay is worth 20% of the final grade.**

This essay is based on Ayatollah Khomeini: *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, that you downloaded from the internet before the course began and which has been discussed in class

- D) An essay, of no more 3,000 words, to be submitted by Friday 9 April 2010, worth 40% of the final grade.**

You may select your own topic or one of the following suggestions:

- 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 take over of Gaza by HAMAS.
- Discuss the situation in which the group Hezbollah was 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 the dynamic of Islam and politics in Indonesia.
- Most of the KMM and JI members in Malaysia were professional and from the science stream, explain why they were easily recruited by the extremists?
- Do JI and KMM pose a security threat to Malaysia? Critically analyse the content of the Internal Security Act (ISA) in Malaysia.

Please submit this essay **IN HARD COPY** to:

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

Assignments that are submitted in person should be placed in the secure box at School of Government reception (Level 8, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus) during office hours of 8.30am to 5.00pm, Monday to Friday. The assignment box is cleared daily, and assignments will be date stamped.

***Note:** Your assessed work may also be used for quality assurance purposes, such as to assess the level of achievement of learning objectives as required for accreditation and audit purposes. The findings may be used to inform changes aimed at improving the quality of FCA programmes. All material used for such processes will be treated as confidential, and the outcome will not affect your grade for the course.*

Students should keep a copy of all submitted work.

Class Attendance

The School expects you to attend all four days for the course. If, before enrolment for the course, you are aware that you will not be able to attend a day, you must notify the Director of Master's Programmes when you enrol explaining why you will not be able to attend. The Director of Master's Programmes will consult with the relevant course coordinator. In such circumstances, you may be declined entry into a course.

If you become aware after a course starts that you will be unable to attend a day or a significant part of a day (i.e. more than two hours in any given day), you must advise the course coordinator before the module explaining why you will be unable to attend. The course coordinator may excuse you from attendance and may also require you to complete compensatory work relating to the course content covered during your absence.

Deadlines and Failure to Meet Due Dates

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 will be deducted at the rate of five per cent for every day by which the assignment is late and no assignments will be accepted after five working days beyond the date they are due. For example, if you get 65% for an assignment, but you handed it in on Monday when it was due the previous Friday, you will get a mark of 50%.

If ill-health, family bereavement or other personal circumstances beyond your control 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. You should let your course coordinator know as soon as possible in advance of the deadline (if circumstances permit) if you are seeking an extension. Where an extension is sought, evidence, by way of a medical certificate or similar, may be required by the course coordinator.

Mandatory Course Requirements

Submit or participate in all pieces of assessment required for this course.

Communication of Additional Information

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

Academic Integrity, Plagiarism, and the Use of Turnitin

Plagiarism is presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not.

'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must still acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- material from books, journals or any other printed source
- the work of other students or staff
- information from the Internet
- software programs and other electronic material
- designs and ideas
- the organisation or structuring of any such material.

Acknowledgement is required for all material in any work submitted for assessment unless it is a 'fact' that is well-known in the context (such as "Wellington is the capital of New Zealand") or your own ideas in your own words. Everything else that derives from one of the sources above and ends up in your work – whether it is directly quoted, paraphrased, or put into a table or figure, needs to be acknowledged with a reference that is sufficient for your reader to locate the original source.

Plagiarism undermines academic integrity simply because it is a form of lying, stealing and mistreating others. Plagiarism involves stealing other people's intellectual property and lying about whose work it is. This is why plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria.

If you are found guilty of plagiarism, you may be penalised under the Statute on Student Conduct. You should be aware of your obligations under the Statute, which can be downloaded from the policy website (www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy/students.aspx). You could fail your course or even be suspended from the University.

Plagiarism is easy to detect. The University has systems in place to identify it.

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine www.turnitin.com. Turnitin is an on-line plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. 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.

There is guidance available to students on how to avoid plagiarism by way of sound study skills and the proper and consistent use of a recognised referencing system. This guidance may be found at the following website: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx.

If in doubt, seek the advice of your course coordinator.

Plagiarism is simply not worth the risk.

Other Information

For the following important information, follow the links provided:

- **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**
www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx
- **General University Policies and Statutes**
www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy
- **AVC (Academic) Website: information including Conduct, Academic Grievances, Students with Impairments, Student Support**
www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic/Publications.aspx
- **Faculty of Commerce and Administration Offices**
www.victoria.ac.nz/fca/studenthelp/
- **Manaaki Pihipihinga Programme**
www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/mentoring/

A bibliography for further reading and reference
prepared by Negar Partow for use in this course

The references where applicable are to the call mark in the University library catalogue.

Contemporary politics of the Middle East

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.

Binyamin Abrahamove, *Islamic Theology; traditionalism and rationalism*, UK: Edinburgh University press, 1998

Muhammad Khalaf Allah, *Legislative Authority*, in *Liberal Islam: a source book*, ed. Charles Kurzman, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998

William Shepard, *The Diversity of Islamic Thought; towards a typology*, in, *Islamic Thought in the twentieth century*, London: I.B. Tauris &Co, 2004

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

Abduh Muhammad, *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

Helms Christine Moss, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia*, London: Croom Helm, 1981

Alangari, *Struggle Power Arabia; Ibn Saud, Hussein and Great Britain 1914-1924*, UK: Garner Publishing, 1998

Ali Shariati, *Red Shi'ism: The Religion of Martyrdom, Black Shi'ism: The Religion of Mourning*, www.shariati.com

Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islam and revolution: writings and declarations of Imam Khomeini*, trans. Hamid Algar US: Berkeley, Mizan Press, 1980

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

Kramer Martin, *Hizbollah: The calculus of Jihad*
www.geocities.com/martinkramerorg/Calculus.htm

Mishal Shaul and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas; vision violence and coexistence*, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000

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

Ali Shariati, *The Free Man and the Freedom of the Man*, www.shariati.com

Mehdi Bazargan, *Religion and Liberty*, in *Liberal Islam: a source book*, ed. Charles Kurzman, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998

Tim Niblock, *Social Structure and the development of the Saudi Arabian Political System*, in *State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia*, ed. Tim Niblock, UK: Croom Helm, 1982

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

Shahram Chubin and Charles Tripp, *Iran Saudi Arabia relations and regional order; Iran and Saudi Arabia in the balance of power in the Gulf*, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996

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

Ilan Papp, *History of modern Palestine: one land, two peoples*, 2004, DS125 P218 H

Barry Rubin, Judith Colp Rubin, *Yasir Arafat: a political biography*, 2003, DS126.6 A67 R896 Y

Fred Halliday, *Two hours that shook the world: September 11, 2001: causes and consequences*, 2002

Rowan Williams, *Writing in the dust: reflections on 11th September and its aftermath*, 2002, BT736.15 W726 W

Edited by Phil Scraton, *Beyond September 11th: an anthology of dissent*, 2002, HV6431 B573

Bruce Lincoln, *Holy terrors: thinking about religion after September 11*, 2002, BL65 T47 L736 H

Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Just war against terror: the burden of American power in a violent world*, 2003, HV6432 E49 J

Stephen Zunes, *Tinderbox: U.S. foreign policy and the roots of terrorism*, 2003, HV6433 M5 Z95 T

Robert Jewett and John Shelton Lawrence, *Captain America and the crusade against evil: the dilemma of zealous nationalism*, 2004, E902 J59 C

Mark Palmer, *Breaking the real axis of evil: how to oust the world's last dictators*, 2003, JC495 P175 B

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