

REES 555-640 2022C Terrorism  
ALL READINGS AND LECTURES IN ENGLISH

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This seminar-format course studies the emergence of organized terrorism in nineteenth-century Russia and its impact on public life in the West, the Balkans, and America. We investigate the political and cultural origins of terrorism, its conspiratorial routine, networks, methods, manuals, and manifestoes. Historical and cultural approaches converge in discussing intellectual movements that forged the formula of terrorism and influenced the professionalization of the underground, such as nihilism, anarchism, and populism. We discuss the stern terrorist personality, self-denial, revolutionary martyrdom, and conspiratorial militancy. The theatricals of terrorism are particularly interesting – the bombastic acts, mystification, and techniques of spreading disorganizing fear in the global media environment. We explore the creation of Okhrana, the counterterrorism safeguard in late imperial Russia, and its methods to infiltrate, demoralize, and dismantle the terrorist networks, and control their social base. First Red Scare and the FBI's formation constitute a unique case of managing rampant political militancy and countering the asymmetrical threat of terrorism.

**Pedagogical goal:** We promote critical approach, polemical, and analytical skills. Students deal with various political violence and terrorism modes while examining a large and diverse body of historical sources.

**Requirements:**

- a) 30-minute presentation in class on a topic of students' choice (see below for possible topics.)
- b) Final 10-page essay-type paper based on the class presentation and independent research.
- c) Participation in class discussions.

**Course Schedule and Discussion Topics**

**1 Introductory Lecture:**

The asymmetric threat. Acts of terror and systems of terror.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asymmetric warfare](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asymmetric_warfare)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://web.stanford.edu/class/polisci211z/2.2/Mack%20WP%201975%20Asymm%20Conf.pdf>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

## **2 The right to violence: Regicide. Atheism. Anarchism.**

Conflict theory:

<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Heinzen

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl Heinzen](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Heinzen)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/energy-government-and-defense-magazines/murder-and-liberty>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Bakunin

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikhail Bakunin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikhail_Bakunin)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/index.htm>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[http://egalitarianism.no/pdf/Bakunin On Anarchy.pdf](http://egalitarianism.no/pdf/Bakunin_On_Anarchy.pdf)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Most

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann Most](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Most)

(Links to an external site.)

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/goldman-johann-most-1846-1906/>

(Links to an external site.)

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/category/author/johann-most>

(Links to an external site.)

Sorel

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges\\_Sorel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges_Sorel)

(Links to an external site.)

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sorelianism>

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reflections\\_on\\_Violence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reflections_on_Violence)

(Links to an external site.)

<https://libcom.org/files/Sorel-Reflections-on-Violence-ed-Jennings.pdf>

(Links to an external site.)

**3 1860s Underground Russia.**

Terrorism and the Russian novel

Utopian Socialism: Chernyshevsky, “What is to be Done”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolay\\_Chernyshevsky](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolay_Chernyshevsky)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/What\\_Is\\_to\\_Be\\_Done%3F\\_\(novel\)#:~:text=What%20Is%20to%20Be%20Done%3F%20\(Russian%3A%20%D0%A7%D1%82%D0%BE%20%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%82%D1%8C%3F,\(1862\)%20by%20Ivan%20Turgenev.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/What_Is_to_Be_Done%3F_(novel)#:~:text=What%20Is%20to%20Be%20Done%3F%20(Russian%3A%20%D0%A7%D1%82%D0%BE%20%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%82%D1%8C%3F,(1862)%20by%20Ivan%20Turgenev.)

(Links to an external site.)

Nihilism: Turgenev, “Fathers and Sons”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fathers\\_and\\_Sons\\_\(novel\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fathers_and_Sons_(novel))

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian nihilist movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_nihilist_movement)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

#### **4 Disorganizers:**

Ishutin and Karakozov

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolai Ishutin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolai_Ishutin)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dmitry Karakozov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dmitry_Karakozov)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Tkachov: The redeeming virtue of retaliation.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyotr Tkachev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyotr_Tkachev)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Nechaev: The terrorist mystique

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergey Nechayev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergey_Nechayev)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Organizational dynamics of the underground movement:

“Program of Revolutionary Action,” “The Catechism of the Revolutionist,” and  
“General Principals of the Organization”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catechism of a Revolutionary](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catechism_of_a_Revolutionary)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.marxists.org/subject/anarchism/nechayev/catechism.htm>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Communism/Sergei%20Nechayev.htm>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

#### **5 1870s Elitism and Populism**

Organization: People’s Will

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narodnaya Volya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narodnaya_Volya)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Going to the People](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Going_to_the_People)

(Links to an external site.)

## **6 Terrorist methods I: Regicide**

The Assassination of Alexander II. Political reaction.

Liberalization

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loris-Melikov%27s constitutional reform](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loris-Melikov%27s_constitutional_reform)

(Links to an external site.)

Reaction

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konstantin Pobedonostsev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konstantin_Pobedonostsev)

(Links to an external site.)

State Terror: the emergence of the Police State.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Police state](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Police_state)

(Links to an external site.)

## **7 Dismantling the Underground:**

Sudeikin and Degaev

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgy Sudeykin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgy_Sudeykin)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergey Degayev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergey_Degayev)

(Links to an external site.)

Zubatov. Police Socialism and the invention of the Soviet.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergei Zubatov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergei_Zubatov)

(Links to an external site.)

<https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%97%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%89%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B0>

(Links to an external site.)

The Bolshevik response. Lenin, “What is to be Done”

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/What\\_Is\\_to\\_Be\\_Done%3F#:~:text=Nabolevshiye%20voprosy%20nashevo%20dvizheniya\)%20is,Vladimir%20Lenin%20\(credited%20as%20N.&text=In%20What%20Is%20to%20Be,working%20hours%2C%20and%20the%20like.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/What_Is_to_Be_Done%3F#:~:text=Nabolevshiye%20voprosy%20nashevo%20dvizheniya)%20is,Vladimir%20Lenin%20(credited%20as%20N.&text=In%20What%20Is%20to%20Be,working%20hours%2C%20and%20the%20like.)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

## **8 Communist International and Political Violence**

Emma Goldman and the Red Scare

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emma\\_Goldman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emma_Goldman)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://jwa.org/thisweek/dec/21/1919/emma-goldman>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.history.com/topics/red-scare/palmer-raids>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/goldman/#part01>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

## **9 Nedelya Cathedral Bombing**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St\\_Nedelya\\_Church\\_assault](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Nedelya_Church_assault)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<http://archaeologyinbulgaria.com/2015/04/16/bulgaria-marks-90-years-since-horrific-communist-terrorist-attack-in-st-nedelya-cathedral-in-sofia/>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JV6USjrc8No>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6dCPwWiJEk>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

## **• Terrorists or Freedom Fighters**

The Battle of Algiers (film)

<https://www.kanopystreaming.com/wayf/video/battle-algiers-0>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The Battle of Algiers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Battle_of_Algers)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[The Battle of Algiers \(Subtitled by Salem Zemali\)](#)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

- **The American 1960/70s vs. the Russian 1860/70s.**

Weather Underground

<https://www.kanopystreaming.com/wayf/product/weather-underground-americas-most-notoriou>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weather Underground](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weather_Underground)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Underground \(1976 film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Underground_(1976_film))

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x3ffbkp>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x3ffxcn>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Symbionese Liberation Army

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Symbionese Liberation Army](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Symbionese_Liberation_Army)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o8h9cmBpw84>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://tubitv.com/movies/465653/guerrilla the taking of patty hearst](https://tubitv.com/movies/465653/guerrilla-the-taking-of-patty-hearst)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/patty-hearst>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

- **Western Europe**  
**Red Army Faction**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red Army Faction](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red_Army_Faction)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

**The Baader Meinhof Complex**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The Baader Meinhof Complex](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Baader_Meinhof_Complex)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efFnfHIYZMk>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

**Red Brigades**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red Brigades](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red_Brigades)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

**The Moro Affair**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The Moro Affair](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Moro_Affair)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6w0EJNLT9Y&t=129s>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWeZija5epw>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zz0KEwCmgGM>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)



## **Direct Action**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Action\\_directe\\_\(armed\\_group\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Action_directe_(armed_group))

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

- **Terrorist methods II: Hostage-taking**

Terror in Moscow

<https://topdocumentaryfilms.com/terror-moscow/>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moscow\\_theater\\_hostage\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moscow_theater_hostage_crisis)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://vimeo.com/45234763>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Beslan School Crisis (doc films)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beslan\\_school\\_siege](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beslan_school_siege)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mtPLXPGUr3c>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

- **War on Terror: 9/11**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September\\_11\\_attacks](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

Propaganda Wars

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Control\\_Room\\_\(film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Control_Room_(film))

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCgfMdvk2n8>

(Links to an external site.)

- **Leaderless Resistance, Lone Wolves, and Sovereign Citizens**

[https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/stories/2010/april/sovereigncitizens\\_041310/domestic-terrorism-the-sovereign-citizen-movement](https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/stories/2010/april/sovereigncitizens_041310/domestic-terrorism-the-sovereign-citizen-movement)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign\\_citizen\\_movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign_citizen_movement)

(Links to an external site.)

<https://www.sog.unc.edu/sites/www.sog.unc.edu/files/Sov%20citizens%20quick%20guide%20Nov%2013.pdf>

(Links to an external site.)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53654318>

(Links to an external site.)

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/a-look-at-the-sovereign-citizen-movement/>

(Links to an external site.)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Egid5gjNo4>

(Links to an external site.)

Timothy McVeigh and the Unabomber

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leaderless\\_resistance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leaderless_resistance)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign\\_citizen\\_movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign_citizen_movement)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ted\\_Kaczynski](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ted_Kaczynski)

(Links to an external site.)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timothy\\_McVeigh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timothy_McVeigh)

(Links to an external site.)

Boston Marathon Bombing.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boston Marathon bombing](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boston_Marathon_bombing)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patriots Day \(film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patriots_Day_(film))

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

• **Terrorist methods III: The making of the suicide-bomber**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide attack](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide_attack)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[http://www.manyriversfilms.co.uk/pages/productions/the cult of the suicide bomber.htm](http://www.manyriversfilms.co.uk/pages/productions/the_cult_of_the_suicide_bomber.htm)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[http://www.manyriversfilms.co.uk/pages/productions/the cult of the suicide bomber.htm](http://www.manyriversfilms.co.uk/pages/productions/the_cult_of_the_suicide_bomber.htm)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[http://main.snagfilms.com/films/title/the cult of the suicide bomber 2](http://main.snagfilms.com/films/title/the_cult_of_the_suicide_bomber_2)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Female suicide bomber](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Female_suicide_bomber)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black Widow \(Chechnya\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Widow_(Chechnya))

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[Hunt for "black widow" bomber in Sochi.](#)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[Who are the Black Widows? - Truthloader](#)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[The Black Widows: Russia's Women Suicide Bomber Problem](#)

[\(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[https://www.huffingtonpost.com/brian-glyn-williams/the-brides-of-allah-the-t\\_b\\_4761027.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/brian-glyn-williams/the-brides-of-allah-the-t_b_4761027.html)

(Links to an external site.)

**Final paper due**