THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF TERRORISM

The Cambridge History of Terrorism provides a comprehensive reference work on terrorism from a distinctly historical perspective, offering systematic analyses of key themes, problems and case studies from terrorism's long past. Featuring expert scholars from across the globe, this volume examines the phenomenon of terrorism through regional case studies, largely written by local scholars, as well as through thematic essays exploring the relationship between terrorism and other historical forces. Each of the chapters – whether thematic or casestudy focused – embodies new, research-based analysis which will help to inform and reshape our understanding of one of the world's most challenging problems.

RICHARD ENGLISH is Professor of Politics at Queen's University Belfast.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF TERRORISM

*

Edited by RICHARD ENGLISH Queen's University Belfast



Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47016-2 — The Cambridge History of Terrorism Edited by Richard English Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, v1C 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108470162 DOI: 10.1017/9781108556248

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data NAMES: English, Richard, 1963– editor.

TITLE: The Cambridge history of terrorism / edited by Richard English, Queen's University Belfast.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2021. Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2021002029 (print) | LCCN 2021002030 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108470162 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108455329 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108556248 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Terrorism.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC HV643I .C36 2021 (print) | LCC HV643I (ebook) | DDC 362.88/931709-dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021002029

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021002030

ISBN 978-1-108-47016-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47016-2 — The Cambridge History of Terrorism Edited by Richard English Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Contents

List of Figures page viii List of Tables ix Acknowledgements x List of Contributors xi

PART I INTRODUCTION

I · History and the Study of Terrorism 3 RICHARD ENGLISH

PART II

FRAMEWORKS AND DEFINITIONS

2 · History and the Definition of Terrorism 31 MARTYN FRAMPTON

3 · Terrorism, History and Periodisation 58 WARREN C. BROWN

4 · Terrorism, History and Regionalisation 81 RORY MILLER

5 · A Processual Approach to Political Violence: How History Matters 106 LORENZO BOSI

6 · Terrorism, History and Neighbouring Disciplines in the Academy 124 BERNHARD BLUMENAU

v

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47016-2 — The Cambridge History of Terrorism Edited by Richard English Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Contents

PART III HISTORICAL CASE STUDIES IN TERRORISM

7 · Terrorism in Israel/Palestine 149 Julie M. Norman

8 · Terrorism in the Basque Country 173 LUDGER MEES

9 · Terrorism in African History 199 RICHARD REID

10 · The History of Terrorism in Pakistan 223 DAYYAB GILLANI

> II · Political Violence in Ireland 254 FEARGHAL MCGARRY

12 · Terrorism in the Russian Empire: The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries 284 EKATERINA STEPANOVA

13 · Terrorism in Post-Soviet Russia: 1990s to 2010s 313 EKATERINA STEPANOVA

14 · Terrorism in The Netherlands: A History 333 BEATRICE DE GRAAF

> 15 · Terrorism: An American Story 361 DENNIS DWORKIN

16 · Political Violence and Terrorism in Colombia 387 RODDY BRETT

17 · The Paths of Terrorism in Peru: Nineteenth to Twenty-First Centuries 420 CECILIA MÉNDEZ

VI

Contents

18 · Aiqtihams (Whirlwind Attacks): The Rise, Fall and Phoenix-Like Resurgence of ISIS and Shiite Terrorist Groups in Iraq 453 BRIAN GLYN WILLIAMS

19 · Transnational Connections: Militant Irish Republicans and the World 477 KIERAN MCCONAGHY

PART IV THEMATIC ESSAYS

20 · 'September 12 Thinking': The Missing Histories of Counterterrorism 503 STEVE HEWITT

21 · The History of Terrorism and Communication 524 BRIGITTE L. NACOS AND MELIH BARUT

> 22 · Terrorism, History and Religion 551 RICHARD ENGLISH

> 23 · History, Terrorism and the State 571 RORY COX

24 · Into the Labyrinth: Terrorism, History and Diplomacy 594 JOSEPH MORRISON SKELLY

> 25 · Gender Politics and Terrorist Histories 623 SYLVIA SCHRAUT

PART V

CONCLUSION

26 · Terrorism and History: Current Knowledge and Future Research 647 RICHARD ENGLISH

Index 672

VII

Figures

8.1	Deaths caused by ETA and right-wing terrorism, 1968-75 (R. López Romo,	
	Informe Foronda: Los contextos históricos del terrorismo en el País Vasco y	
	la consideración social de sus víctimas, 1968–2010 (Vitoria-Gasteiz,	
	Instituto de Historia Social Valentín de Foronda, 2015))	page 185
8.2	Victims of political violence over various periods (R. López Romo,	
	Informe Foronda: Los contextos históricos del terrorismo en el País	
	Vasco y la consideración social de sus víctimas, 1968–2010 (Vitoria-Gasteiz,	
	Instituto de Historia Social Valentín de Foronda, 2015))	187
11.1	Londoners view the aftermath of Fenian dynamiters' attempt to destroy	
	Scotland Yard on 30 May 1884 (From The Graphic, 7 June 1884: photo	
	by Hulton Archive/Stringer via Getty Images)	262
II. 2	Following the assassination of the Chief Secretary for Ireland and his	
	Undersecretary by militant Fenians in 1882, the Irish parliamentary	
	party leader Charles Stewart Parnell was depicted as responsible for the	
	violence, due to his support for the Irish Land League (From Punch, or	
	the London Charivari, 20 May 1882: photo by The Cartoon Collector/	
	Print Collector/Hulton Archive via Getty Images)	264
2I.I	Terrorism and the triangle of political communication (Illustration by	
	the authors)	527

VIII

Tables

14.1 Terrorist actions and fatalities in Germany and the Netherlands

page 349

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped with the creation of this book. Queen's University Belfast and Cambridge University Press between them funded a workshop to discuss earlier drafts of most of the chapters. The intense and productive conversations at that workshop, held at Queen's University, valuably enriched the arguments that are now published in this volume; colleagues at Queen's – especially Isabel Jennings, Nicola Skelly, Monica Salomeia and Catherine Pollitt – helped greatly with that event. At Cambridge University Press, Elizabeth Hanlon, Emily Sharp and Stephanie Taylor were superbly helpful throughout the process leading to the publication of the book. Jane Burkowski's copy-editing was meticulous and invaluable.

X

Contributors

MELIH BARUT is a communication science scholar at Hacettepe University. His fields of specialization are (1) strategic communications and engagement and public diplomacy; (2) civilian and military relations and military diplomacy; and (3) conflict studies, terrorism and counterterrorism. As a former air force officer and the Secretary General of Global Public Diplomacy Network, he has lectured and managed many programmes at military and civic institutions, including NATO and the United Nations. As a research scholar at Columbia University, he has explored the impact of digital media on collective behaviour. His latest co-edited book is *Public Diplomacy: Strategic Engagement in Conflicted Communities* (2nd ed., 2018).

BERNHARD BLUMENAU is a Lecturer at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews. He is interested in the history of terrorism, state terrorism and antiterrorism. More specifically, his research focuses on German antiterrorism policies, terrorism during the Cold War, multilateral antiterrorism efforts and the long history of state terrorism since the Middle Ages. Among others, he is the author of *The United Nations and Terrorism: Germany, Multilateralism, and Antiterrorism Efforts in the 1970s* (2014) and co-editor of *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences* (2013).

LORENZO BOSI is Associate Professor at the Scuola Normale Superiore (Florence). He is a political sociologist pursuing comparative analysis into the cross-disciplinary fields of social movements and political violence. In his research he is mainly interested in how and when contentious political actors shift their forms of action across time and space. He has published articles in *Historical Sociology, Mobilization, Qualitative Sociology, Social Forces, Social Science History* and numerous other academic journals. He is the author of *Vite di lotta armata: Storie di attivismo nella Provisional IRA* (2016) and coeditor of *The Consequences of Social Movements* (2016).

List of Contributors

RODDY BRETT is Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations in the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies (SPAIS) at the University of Bristol. Dr Brett was previously Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of St Andrews, Director of the Masters Programme in Peace and Conflict Studies and Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. His fields of research include conflict, peace processes/peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction/reconciliation, genocide and transitional justice. His books include *The Politics of Victimhood in Post-Conflict Societies: Comparative and Analytical Perspectives* (2018); *The Origins and Dynamics of Genocide: Political Violence in Guatemala* (2016); *The Path Towards Reconciliation after Colombia's War: Understanding the Roles of Victims and Perpetrators* (2020).

WARREN C. BROWN is Professor for Medieval History at the California Institute of Technology. He studies the social and political history of medieval Europe, especially the history of conflict and power. His book *Violence in Medieval Europe* (2011) examines the social, cultural and legal norms that governed personal violence between 600 and 1500. He is currently exploring the instrumental use of terror in particular during this period.

RORY COX is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of St Andrews. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and an Associate Research Fellow of the Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV). His interdisciplinary research examines violence, the ethics of war and comparative international history over a broad chronological range. He has published on a variety of topics, including ancient just war doctrine, medieval warfare, pacifism and the modern use of torture. He looks to engage different approaches pioneered in the disciplines of History, International Relations, Sociology and Anthropology.

BEATRICE DE GRAAF holds the Chair of History of International Relations and Global Governance at Utrecht University (since February 2014). In December 2019, she was awarded the title of Distinguished Professor. For her research into the history of security and terrorism she won the Stevin Prize (the highest academic distinction in the Netherlands) in 2018. Her book *Fighting Terror after Napoleon: How Europe Became Secure after 1815* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2020. She is currently leading an ERC Consolidator project, 'Securing Europe: The Emergence of a Security Culture in Europe and Beyond after 1815'.

DENNIS DWORKIN is Professor and Chair of the Department of History at the University of Nevada, Reno. He has a PhD in modern history from the

List of Contributors

University of Chicago. He is a historian of Britain and Ireland with a specialty in cultural theory and intellectual history. His books include *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (1997), *Class Struggles* (2007) and *Ireland and Britain* 1798–1922: An Anthology of *Sources* (2012). He has been translated into Chinese, Portuguese and Turkish.

RICHARD ENGLISH is Professor of Politics at Queen's University Belfast. He is the author of eight books, including the award-winning studies *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (2003) and *Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland* (2006). His most recent book, *Does Terrorism Work? A History*, was published in 2016. He is a Fellow of the British Academy, a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. In 2018 he was awarded a CBE for services to the understanding of modern-day terrorism and political history.

MARTYN FRAMPTON is Reader in Modern History at Queen Mary University of London. He is the author of three books on Irish Republicanism and 'the Troubles' in Northern Ireland, including *Legion of the Rearguard: Dissident Irish Republicanism* (2011). His most recent book marks a new departure in his research interests and is *The Muslim Brotherhood and the West: A History of Enmity and Engagement* (2018).

DAYYAB GILLANI has a Masters in Politics from the University of Warwick and a PhD in International Relations from the University of St Andrews. He is a fellow of HEC Pakistan and an Associate Fellow of HEA UK. Currently serving as Assistant Professor at the University of the Punjab, his research interests vary from political theory and moral philosophy to political violence and terrorism. Having returned to Pakistan, he has developed a keen interest in the region and has been working strenuously to study and understand the complex nature and history of terrorism and political violence in the country.

STEVE HEWITT is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom. He has published extensively on security and intelligence, including counterterrorism, in the past and present and in a Canadian, American and British context. Currently, he is working on a history of terrorism and counterterrorism in Canada that will be published by McGill-Queen's University Press.

KIERAN MCCONAGHY is a Lecturer at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. He

List of Contributors

holds degrees in Law with Politics and Irish Politics (LLB, MA) from Queen's University Belfast, and in International Relations (PhD) from the University of St Andrews. He is the author of *Terrorism and the State* (2017) and has written on state terrorism, ethno-nationalist political violence and the impact and effectiveness of both terrorism and counterterrorism.

FEARGHAL MCGARRY is Professor of Modern Irish History at Queen's University Belfast. He has written widely on modern Ireland, particularly on political violence and radicalism in revolutionary and post-independence Ireland. He is the author of *The Abbey Rebels of 1916: A Lost Revolution* (2015) and *The Rising. Ireland: Easter 1916* (2010). With partners at the University of Edinburgh and Boston College, he is currently leading a major AHRC project, 'A Global History of Irish Revolution, 1916–23', which investigates how the Irish struggle for independence was shaped by international currents. His next book will explore anxieties about modernity in interwar Ireland.

LUDGER MEES completed his PhD in History at the University of Bielefeld (Germany) and was Assistant Professor at the same institution before taking up a Lectureship at the University of the Basque Country (Bilbao, Spain) in 1991. Since 2004 he has been Full Professor of Contemporary History at the University of the Basque Country and during 2004–9 he was also Vice-Chancellor. He is author, co-author or editor of twenty books and about 120 articles and book chapters in the fields of nationalism, social movements, historiography and agrarian history. One of his most recent books is *The Basque Contention: Ethnicity, Politics, Violence* (2020).

CECILIA MÉNDEZ is Associate Professor in the Department of History and Director of the Program in Latin American and Iberian Studies at the University of California Santa Barbara. She is a Peruvian historian specialising in the social and political history of the Andean region. She holds a PhD from the State University of New York, Stony Brook, and her publications include *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State*, 1820–1850 (2005), which won the Howard F. Cline Award for the best book published on indigenous history in Latin America. Her work emphasises the importance of late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century political developments in shaping modern conceptions of nationhood, citizenship and race.

RORY MILLER is a Professor of Government at Georgetown University in Qatar. Previously, he served in the War Studies Department and as head of the Middle East Program at King's College London. He is co-editor of the

XIV

List of Contributors

Cambridge University Press book series on Intelligence and National Security in Africa and the Middle East. He is the author or editor of twelve books and has published extensively in academic journals and in policy and media outlets including *Foreign Affairs*, *The Economist*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New Republic*, *The National Interest* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

BRIGITTE L. NACOS is a political scientist and journalist who teaches at Columbia University, New York. Her fields of specialization are (I) mass media, public opinion and decision-making; and (2) terrorism and counter-terrorism. She has published a multitude of articles, book chapters and books. Among the books related to terrorism and counterterrorism are *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (6th ed., 2019); *Mass-Mediated Terrorism*, (3rd ed., 2016); *Terrorism and the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing* (1994). She is co-author of *Selling Fear: Counter-Terrorism, the Media and Public Opinion* (2011).

JULIE M. NORMAN is a Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at the School of Public Policy (SPP) at University College London (UCL). Her research focuses on resistance, rights and security in protracted conflicts, and she is the author of four books on non-violent activism and multiple publications on Israel–Palestine. Prior to UCL, she was a Research Fellow at Queen's University Belfast, and a Lecturer in Politics at McGill University and Concordia University in Montreal, Canada. A native of Washington, DC, she has a PhD in International Relations from American University.

RICHARD REID is Professor of African History in the Faculty of History and a Fellow of St Cross College at the University of Oxford. His work has focused particularly on the history of political culture, historical consciousness, warfare and militarism in Africa, notably eastern and north-east Africa, including Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania. He is the author of a number of books, including *A History of Modern Uganda* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) and *Warfare in African History* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), while a revised third edition of his *History of Modern Africa: from* 1800 to the Present appeared in 2019. A former editor of the Journal of African History, most recently he has written a first-hand account of the social, political and cultural impact of conflict in the Horn, Shallow Graves: A Memoir of the Ethiopia–Eritrea War (2020).

SYLVIA SCHRAUT was Professor of German and European Modern History in the Department of History, Bundeswehr University Munich. Her main research topics are gender history and the history of political violence. List of Contributors

Publications about political violence include: S. Schraut and K. Weinhauer (eds.), 'Terrorism, Gender, and History', *Historical Social Research* 39 (2014); S. Schraut, *Terrorismus und politische Gewalt* (2018).

JOSEPH MORRISON SKELLY is Professor of History at the College of Mount Saint Vincent in New York City. He received a PhD in modern Irish history from University College Dublin. His books include *Irish Diplomacy at the United Nations*, 1945–65: National Interests and the International Order (1997), the volume Irish Foreign Policy, 1919–1966: From Independence to Internationalism (coeditor, 2000), and Political Islam from Muhammad to Ahmadinejad: Defenders, Detractors, and Definitions (editor, 2009). He is treasurer of the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa and an associate scholar at the Middle East Forum. An officer in the United States Army Reserve, he has served in Operation Iraqi Freedom, in West Africa and in Operation COVID-19 Support.

EKATERINA STEPANOVA heads the Peace and Conflict Studies Unit at the National Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, and teaches at MGIMO-University and European University in St Petersburg. Her books include *Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict* (2008), *Terrorism: Patterns of Internationalization* (2009), *Addressing Terrorism, Violent Extremism and Radicalisation* (2017) and *ISIS and the Phenomenon of Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq* (2020). She edits the journal *Pathways to Peace and Security*. In 2007–9, she led the Armed Conflicts Program at Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. She holds a PhD in History from Moscow State University and Dr.Habil. in Political Science from IMEMO. Website: estepanova.net.

BRIAN GLYN WILLIAMS is Professor of Islamic History at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth and formerly taught at the University of London SOAS. He has worked in Afghanistan for the CIA's Counter-Terrorism Center and US Army's Information Operations. He is author of seven books based on his fieldwork in Islamic Eurasia. These include *Counter Jihad: The American Military Experience in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria* (2018) and *The Last Warlord: The Life and Legend of Dostum, the Afghan Warrior Who Led Special Forces to Topple the Taliban Regime,* based on time spent living with pro-US Uzbek fighters and their commander. Website: brianglynwilliams.com.