**טרור כפוליטיקה ברוסיה מהמאה ה- 19 ועד ימינו**

**TERROR AS POLITICS IN RUSSIA: FROM THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT**

**מרצה: ד"ר דינה זיסרמן**

**תשע"ד סמסטר "ב"**

**היקף הקורס: 4 נק"ז**

**תיאור הקורס:**

תוך כדי הסתכלות בטרור כסוג ספציפי של אלימות פוליטית הקורס בוחן תופעה זו ברוסיה האימפריאלית, סובייטית ופוסט-סובייטית בהיבט היסטורי, ארגוני, אינדיבידואלי והשוואתי.תוך התחקות אחר עלייתם והתפתחותם של סוגים שונים של טרור ברוסיה (מהפכני, ימני, לאומני ודתי) נתייחס למקורות, תמריצים, יסודות אינטלקטואליים, משאבים אידיאולוגיים וארגוניים, מטרות, אסטרטגיות, עלויות ותועלות, השלכות סוציו-פוליטיות. נדון גם בסוגיית טרור המדינה תוך התייחסות לברית המועצות של סטלין.

Dealing with terrorism in imperial, Soviet, and post- Soviet Russia the course examines this phenomenon in historical, organizational, individual, and comparative perspectives. Tracing the emergence and evolution of different types of terrorism in Russia (revolutionary, right wing, nationalist, and religious terror) we will explore its origins, incentives, intellectual foundations, ideological and organizational resources, goals, strategies, costs and benefits, socio-political implications. We’ll also discuss this issue of state terrorism with reference to Stalin’s USSR.

**דרישות הקורס:**

**נוכחות ב- 80% לפחות מהשעורים**

**בחנים - 10%**

**פרזנטציה – 20%**

**עבודת סיום - 70%**

**נושאי השיעורים וחומר קריאה**

**הקדמה: הכרות ,הצגת נושא הקורס, פירוט הדרישות**

**03.03**

אין חומר קריאה

**מבוא: חקר הטרור הפוליטי: הגדרות, גישות ושיטות (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה:** ***מבו******א).***

**05.03; 10.03**

Hardman, J.B.S, “Terrorism,” in David Rapoport (ed.), *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. 1, Routledge: 2006 (65-72).

David J. Whittaker (ed.), *The Terrorism Reader,* Routledge: 2003, “Definition of Terrorism” (pp. 3-13), “Motivation for Terrorism” (pp. 14-25), “Terrorism’s Worldwide Occurrence” (26-38).

Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism,” *Comparative Politics*, 13: 4, 1981), 379-399.

Martha Crenshaw, “Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Context,” in Martha Crenshaw (ed.), *Terrorism in context*, The Pennsylvania State University Press: 1995 (3-26).

Martha Crenshaw, “The Logic of Terrorism,” in Walter Reich (ed.), *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind,* Cambridge University Press: 1990, 7-24.

Michel Wieviorka, “Terrorism in the Context of Academic Research,” in Martha Crenshaw (ed.), *Terrorism in context* (597-606).

Michel Wieviorka, *The Making of Terrorism,* University of Chicago Press: 1993 (Preface, Part One – Chapter 1).

David George, “Distinguishing Classical Tyrannicide From Modern Terrorism,” *The Review of Politics* , 50:3, 1988 (390-419).

Charles Townshend, *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction,* Oxford, 2003 (1-35).

DAVID BOYNS AND JAMES DAVID BALLARD, “Developing a Sociological Theory for the Empirical Understanding of Terrorism,” *American Sociologist,* 35:2, (5-25).

Joshua Sinai, “Terrorism Bookshelf: Top 150 Books on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism,” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 6:2 (73-116).

**רוסיה והיווצרותו של הטרור המודרני (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 1)**

**12.03; 1**7**.03**

David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (eds.), *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 46- 73.

[Martin A. Miller](https://muse.jhu.edu/results?section1=author&search1=Martin%20A.%20Miller), “Ordinary Terrorism in Historical Perspective,” [*Journal for the Study of Radicalism*](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_for_the_study_of_radicalism)*,* 2:1, 2008 (125-154).

Zeev Ivianski, “The Terrorist revolution: Roots of Modern Terrorism,” in David Rapoport (ed.), *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. 1, 73-93.

Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism,* Weidenfeld and Nicolson: 1997. Chapter 2 (“The Philosophy of the Bomb”), 21-77.

Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism,* Chapter4 (“Interpretations of Terrorism- Fact, Fiction and Political Science”), 133-174.

**שורשים חברתיים-תרבותיים, יסודות אינטלקטואליים ומקורות אידיאולוגיים של הטרור** **הפוליטי ברוסייה (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 2)**

**19.03; 24.03; 26.03**

Avrahm Yarmolinsky, [*Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism,*](http://www.ditext.com/yarmolinsky/yar0.html) Princeton UP and Collier books, 1956 (parts 4-8).

<http://www.ditext.com/yarmolinsky/yarframe.html>

Zeev Ivianski, “Source of Inspiration for Revolutionary Terrorism – the Bakunin-Nechaev Alliance,” *Conflict Quarterly*, 8:3, 1988, 49-68.

Claudia Verhoeven, “The Making of Russian Revolutionary Terrorism,” in Isaac Land (ed.), *Enemies of Humanity: The Nineteenth-Century War on Terrorism,* Palgrave-MacMillan, 2008, 99-116.

Peter Kropotkin, “The Spirit of Revolt, 1880,” in David Rapoport (ed.), *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. 1, 115-121.

Sergei Nechaev, “Revolutionary Catechism,” in David Rapoport (ed.), *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. 1, 130-134.

Nicolas Morozov, “The Terroristic Struggle,” in David Rapoport (ed.), *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. 1,

אברהם יסעור (עורך), *אנרכיזם: אנתולוגיה,* תל-אביב, רסלינג, 2004 (מיכאל באקונין פטר קרופוטקין, אמה גולדמן).

**"תעמולה בדרך הפעולה" – הטרור המהפכני ברוסיה: אנרכיסטים, פופוליסטים (*נרודניקי)*, סוציאל-רבולוציונרים, בולשביקים ו**שימוש בטרור **כאמצעי בויכוח** פוליטי **פנימי(חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 3)**

**31.03; 02.04; 07.04; 09.04**

Philip Pomper, “Russian revolutionary terrorism,” in Martha Crenshaw (ed.), *Terrorism in context*, The Pennsylvania State University Press: 1995, 63-101.

Avrahm Yarmolinsky, [*Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism,*](http://www.ditext.com/yarmolinsky/yar0.html) Princeton UP and Collier books, 1956 (parts 4-8).

Avrahm Yarmolinsky, [*Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism,*](http://www.ditext.com/yarmolinsky/yar0.html) Princeton UP and Collier books, 1956 (parts 9-16, Epilogue).

“The Letter of the Revolutionary Committee to the Tsar after Assassination of His Father Alexander II,” in Rapoport, *Terrorism*, 137-139.

Norman Naimark, *Terrorists and Social Democrats: The Russian Revolutionary Movement under Alexander III* (Camhridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983);

Norman Naimark, “Terrorism and the Fall of Imperial Russia,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Summer 1990): 171–92.

Anna Geifman, Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894-1917, Princeton: 1993, chapters1, 2 (45-83); 7(207-222).

Richard Hellie, “[Speaking of Books: The Degaev Affair,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV5t%2ffPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvSrSotkq0rKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Journal of the Historical Society*, 4:1, 2004, 65-69.

Whitney Kassel, “[Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meULirt1KzqZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOxTrSttU%2buraR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 32:3, 2009, 237-252.

Ronald Grigor Suny, “[Russian Terror/ism and Revisionist Historiography.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7irt1KyrJ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwTLCrt0yxrKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Australian Journal of Politics & History,* 53:1, 2007, 5-19.

**נשים ובני המיעוטים בטרור המהפכני (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 4)**

**23.03; 28.04**

Jay Bergman, “Vera Zasulich, the Shooting of Trepov and the Growth of Political Terrorism in Russia, 1878–1881,” in Rapoport, *Terrorism*, 215-236 (also in *Terrorism*, 4:1, 1980, 25-51)

Barbara Alpern Engel, “The Emergence of Women Revolutionaries in Russia,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women’s Studies,* 2:1 (1977): 92-105.

Ana Siljak, “Introduction,” *Angel of Vengeance: The “Girl Assassin,” the Governor of St. Petersburg, and Russia’s Revolutionary World* (New York, 2008), 1-13.

Samuel Kucherov, “The Case of Vera Zasulich,” *Russian Review* 11:2, 1952, 86-96.

# Anna Hillyar, Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917: A Study in Collective Biography,* Bell and Bain: 2000, chapter 2, particularly section “From Propaganda to Terrorism.”

Amy Knight, “Female Terrorists in the Russian Socialist Revolutionary,” Party, Russian Review, 38: 2, 1979, 139-159.

Sally A. Boniece, “The Spiridonova Case, 1906: Terror, Myth, and Martyrdom*,*” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History,* 4:3, 2003, 571-606.

Zeev Ivianski, “Fathers and Sons: A Study of Jewish involvement in the Revolutionary Movement and Terrorism in Tsarist Russia,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1:2, 1989, 137-155.

[Cathy Porter](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/cathy-porter), [*Fathers and Daughters: Russian Women in Revolution*](http://www.amazon.co.uk/Fathers-Daughters-Russian-Women-Revolution/dp/070432802X/ref%3Dsr_1_12?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1373112234&sr=1-12&keywords=Cathy+Porter)***,*** Virago: Quartet Books*;* 1976.

**הטרור בפעולות של** קבוצות **ה**ימין **הרדיקלי (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 5)**

**30.04**

Walter Laqueur, *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia,* New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (eds.), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

**דיוקנו\ה והדיוקן העצמי של הטרוריסט\ית הרוסי\ת בסוף המאה ה19 - תחילת המאה ה20: היבטים סוציולוגיים ופסיכולוגיים (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 6)**

07.05; 12.05

Philip Pomper, Lenin's Brother: The Origins of the October Revolution, Norton & Company, 2009 (chapters 3, 6-9).

John P Moran, “[The Roots of Terrorist Motivation: Shame, Rage, and Violence in The Brothers Karamazov](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meULiotFKwqZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOyTa%2bqtEy1qKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15), *Perspectives on Political Science*, 38: 4, 2009, 187-196.

Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist,* Northern Illinois University Press, 1991.

Sergei Stepniak, [Petr Alekseevich Lavrov](http://www.google.co.il/search?tbo=p&tbm=bks&q=inauthor:%22Petr+Alekseevich+Lavrov%22)*, Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life,* Nabu Press, 2010.

Boris Savinkov**,** *Memoirs of**a**Terrorist*, translated by Joseph Shaplen, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1931.

**מהפכת אוקטובר ומלחמת האזרחים: בין טרור אדום לטרור לבן (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 7)**

**12.05; 14.05**

Lutz Häfner, “The Assassination of Count Mirbach and the ‘July Uprising’ of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in July, 1918,” *Russian Review*, 50:3, 1991, 324-344.

Matthew Rendle, “[Revolutionary tribunals and the origins of terror in early Soviet Russia**,**](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO0TrOutku3pqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15)  *Historical Research,* 84:226, 2011, 693-721.

[Arno J. Mayer](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Drdr_ext_aut?_encoding=UTF8&index=books&field-author=Arno%20J.%20Mayer), [*The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolution*s,](http://www.amazon.com/dp/B00CNL1EKO/ref%3Drdr_ext_tmb) Princeton University Press: 2000, chapter “In the Eye of a ‘Time of Troubles’: Terror in Russia, 1917-1921,” 227-321.

Karl Kautsky, *Terrorism and Communism: A Contribution to the Natural History of Revolution* (chapter VIII, particularly paragraphs 1, 3, 5, 6). http://www.marxists.org/archive/kautsky/1919/terrcomm/index.htm

Leon Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism* *[Dictatorship versus Democracy] A Reply to Karl Kautsky* (particularly chapters “Terrorism” and “In Place of an Epilogue”). <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1920/terrcomm/>

Nicolas Werth, “The Red Terror,” in [Jean-Louis Panné](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_1?_encoding=UTF8&field-author=Jean-Louis%20Pann%C3%A9&search-alias=books&sort=relevancerank) et al, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, Harvard University Press, 1999, 71-80

Matthew Rendle, “[Revolutionary tribunals and the origins of terror in early Soviet Russia](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO0TrOutku3pqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15),” *Historical Research,* 84:226, 2011, 693-721.

Viktor Bortnevski, “[White administration and White terror (The Denikin period),”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO3S66ur0%2b0qbJKpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=15) *Russian Review*, 52:3, 1993, 354-366.

**סטאלין ותרבות הטרור: "הטרור הגדול" והשלכותיו (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 8)**

**19.05; 21.05**

[Robert W. Thurston](http://www.goodreads.com/author/show/272640.Robert_W_Thurston), [*Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia,* 1934-1941, Yale University Press.](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO0S7aorlG3nOSH8OPfjLvc84Tq6uOQ8gAA&hid=15)

Helene Carrere d’Encausse, *The Russian Syndrome,* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992.

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Nicolas Werth, “The Great Terror,” in [Jean-Louis Panné](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_1?_encoding=UTF8&field-author=Jean-Louis%20Pann%C3%A9&search-alias=books&sort=relevancerank) et al, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, Harvard University Press, 1999, 184-202.

Claudia Weber, “[The export of terror – on the impact of the Stalinist culture of terror on Soviet foreign policy during and after World War II.](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOyTLCssU6vrKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Journal of Genocide Research*, 11: 2/3, 285-306.

Melanie Ilic, “[The Great Terror in Leningrad: a Quantitative Analysis,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOySLCqt0q1nOSH8OPfjLvc84Tq6uOQ8gAA&hid=15) *Europe-Asia Studies,* 52*:*8, 2000, 1515-1534.

Marc Jansen, Nikita Petrov, “[Mass terror and the court: The Military Collegium of the USSR.](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV7uXmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwSa6mtUywqqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Europe-Asia Studies,* 58:4, 2006, 589-602.

**טרור נגד טרור: מלחמות צ'צ'ניה’, תחילת עידן הטרור ברוסיה הפוסט-סובייטית ואבולוציה של הטרור בצפון קווקז (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 9)**

**26.05; 28.05; 02.06; 09.06**

Emma Gilligan, Terror in Chechnya: Russia and the Tragedy of Civilians in War, Princeton University Press, 2009.

Mukhina, Irina, "Islamic Terrorism and the Question of National Liberation, or Problems of Contemporary Chechen Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:6, 2005, 515-532.

Carlotta Gall and Thomas de Waal, "Terrorism and Talks," in *Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus*, New York University Press: 1998, 256-288.

Abraham, Shara, "Chechnya: Between War and Peace," *Human Rights Brief,* 8:2, 2001, 1-8.

Adam Dolnik, "The Seige of Beslan's School No. 1," in James J.F. Forest (ed.), Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century, vol. 3, *Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, Praeger: 2007, 176-201.

Anne Speckhard and Khapta Ahkmedova, “The Making of a Martyr: Chechen Suicide Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 5, 2006, 429–92, esp. 468–77.

Yagil Henkin, “[From tactical terrorism to Holy War: the evolution of Chechen terrorism, 1995–2004.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwSremt0yyqqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Central Asian Survey,* 2006, 25:1/2, 193-203.

James Hughes, “[The Chechnya Conflict: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV7uXmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwTrCutky3q6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Demokratizatsiya,* 15:3, 2007, 293-311.

Sally Hargreaves, Andrew Cunningham, “[The politics of terror.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvS7Gvt1CzrqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Lancet*, 6/12/2004, 363:9425, 1999-2000.

John Russell, “[Chechnya: Russia's 'war on terror' or 'war of terror'?”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwTLemslG1rKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59:1, 2007, 163-168.

Lorenzo Vidino, “[How Chechnya Became a Breeding Ground for Terror.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV6OnxPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvULKotlCur6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Middle East Quarterly*, 12:3, 2005, 1-10

Dmitry Shlapentokh, “[The Rise of the Russian Khalifat: The View from the Jihadist Side.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOzSbCur1C2p6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Iran & The Caucasus*. Vol. 14 Issue 1, 2010, 117-142.

Lev Ponomarev, “[We Must Overcome the Causes of Terrorism in Russia,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvTreqrk2zr6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Russian Politics & Law,* 43:2, 2005, 89-96.

Ariel Cohen, “[Russia, Islam, and the War on Terrorism: An Uneasy Future,’](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO2TrOnsk6ynOSH8OPfjLvc84Tq6uOQ8gAA&hid=15) *Demokratizatsiya,* 10:4, 2002, 556-567.

Gordon M Hahn, “[The Rise of Islamist Extremism in Kabardino-Balkariya.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwSK6nt0uxqKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Demokratizatsiy*a, 13: 4, 2005, 543-594.

Theodore P Gerber, Sarah E. Mendelson, “[Security Through Sociology: The North Caucasus and the Global Counterinsurgency Paradigm.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV7uXmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOyS7Wtr06zp6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 32:9, 2009, 831-851.

D. V. Polikanov, “[Russian Public Opinion on Terrorism.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwSq%2btsUivrqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Russian Politics & Law,* 44:4, 2006, 62-72.

Matthew Sussex, “[Beslan's lessons: is pre-emption better than cure?”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvTbKqs062p6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15" \o "Beslan's lessons: is pre-emption better than cure? ) *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 58:4, 2004, 419-423.

Nabi Abdullaev, “[Chechnya Ten Years Later,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvTLWnsE63qaR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Current History,* 103:675, 2004, 332-336.

Khasan V Dzutsev, “[The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania After the Terrorist Act of 9 September 2010 in Vladikavkaz.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO0Sbeutk%2b1raR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia,* 49:4, 2011, 40-53.

Cerwyn Moore, Paul Tumelty, “[Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV5t%2ffPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOxSbSrtFG3qaR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 31:5, 2008, 412-433.

Anne Nivat, “[The Black Widows: Chechen Women Join the Fight for Independence—and Allah.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV5t%2ffPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvULCutk2zqKR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 28:5, 2005, 413-419.

Nabi Abdullaev, Simon Saradzhayan, “[The Trade-offs between Security and Civil Liberties in Russia's War on Terror: The Regional Dimension.](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV7uXmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwSrOqtEq1rqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Demokratizatsiya*,. 14:3, 2006, 361-406.

Dmitry Shlapentokh, “[Jihadism in the Post-Soviet Era: The Case of Interaction of Theoretical and Practical Aspects of the Revolutionary Struggle.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LO0SbOvsU2zqaR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15" \o "Jihadism in the Post-Soviet Era: The Case of Interaction of Theoretical and Practical Aspects of the Revolutionary Struggle. ) *Iran & The Caucasus,* 15:1/2, 2011, 275-298.

James Hughes, *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad*, University of Pennsylvania Press: 2008.

**הלוחמה** בטרור וניצולה לצרכים פוליטיים **(חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 10)**

**11.06**

John Russell, *Chechnya--Russia's 'War on Terror*, Routledge: 2007.

Alexander Verkhovsky, “[Who is the enemy now? Islamophobia and antisemitism among Russian Orthodox nationalists before and after September 11.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvS6%2bpsUqxp6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Patterns of Prejudice,* 38:2, 127-143.

Pavel Baev, “[Instrumentalizing Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in Putin's Russia,](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvS7Gmt0%2b1qaR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15" \o "Instrumentalizing Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in Putin's Russia. ) *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 27:4, 2004, 337-352.

Thomas F Remington, “[Putin, Parliament, and Presidential Exploitation of the Terrorist Threat,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV7uXmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOySrOpsFGyqqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 15:2/3, 2009, 219-238.

Greg Simons, “[The Use of Rhetoric and the Mass Media in Russia's War on Terror,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7insVKzrZ5Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwS7Sts0uyqqR%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Demokratizatsiya*, 14:4, 2006, 579-600.

Aglaya Snetkov, “[The image of the terrorist threat in the official Russian press: the Moscow theatre crisis (2002) and the Beslan hostage crisis (2004).”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOwT7Oqr0u2p6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59:8, 2007, 1349-1365.

Sarah Oates, “[Framing fear: Findings from a study of election news and terrorist threat in Russia.”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meT7iotlKup55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVbSts0%2bxrrFMpOLfhuWz44ak2uBV3%2bbmPvLX5VW%2fxKR57LOvUbWsr1Gur6R%2b7ejrefKz5I3q4vJ99uoA&hid=15) *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58:2, 2006, 281-290.

**טרור והימין הקיצוני ברוסיה של היום (חומר קריאת חובה בתיקיה 11)**

**16.05**

Martin Larys and Miroslav Mares, “[Right-Wing Extremist Violence in the Russian Federation,](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meSa6wrk%2b4q7c4v8OkjPDX7Ivf2fKB7eTnfLuntlCur69RrqyuPurX7H%2b72%2bw%2b4ti7iO3epIzf3btZzJzfhrurtUuwprZNtJzkh%2fDj34y73POE6urjkPIA&hid=15)” *Europe-Asia Studies,* 63: 1, 2011, 129-154.

Richard Arnold, “[Visions of Hate: Explaining Neo-Nazi Violence in the Russian Federation,”](http://ehis.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6trUuupbBIr6meSa6wrk%2b4q7c4v8OkjPDX7Ivf2fKB7eTnfLuntlCur69RrqyuPurX7H%2b72%2bw%2b4ti7iO3epIzf3btZzJzfhrurr0m2r7VNr5zkh%2fDj34y73POE6urjkPIA&hid=15) *Problems of Post-Communism,* 57:2, 2010, 37-49.

**הלאומי? הדתי? הגלובלי? הטרור ברוסיה של היום והשלכותיו: סיכומים בקורס**

**18.06**