

Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya
Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy

Religion, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution (4338)

Semester A (2014/2015)

Prof. Assaf Moghadam

Course Description: Religion is an ambivalent concept. On one hand, it plays an important role in generating violent conflict, but on the other it has a pro-social function that can potentially contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. This class will examine the relationship between religion, conflict, and conflict resolution broadly, using examples from all major religions and discussing a range of conflict types, from interstate wars to civil wars and terrorism. The course will then discuss the role of religion in conflict resolution, focusing on both historical and contemporary case studies.

Course meeting time: Tuesdays, 14.00-15.30

Instructor: Prof. Assaf Moghadam, assafm@idc.ac.il

Instructor Office hours: By appointment through email

Teaching Assistants: Kasey Barr, barr.kasey@gmail.com

Course Assistant Office Hours: The TA is available for office hours on the day that classes are held, either before or after class. To schedule a meeting, email the TA.

Course Requirements: There are two graded assignments. A midterm paper, worth 20 percent of the final grade, and a final examination, worth 80 percent of the final grade.

Assignment	Percentage of Final Grade
Midterm Paper	20 %
Final Exam	80 %
Total	100%

Midterm Papers:

Course plan:

BLOCK I: RELIGION AND GLOBAL POLITICS

Lesson 1: Religion in Global Politics

Lesson 2: The Global Resurgence of Religion

Lesson 3: Religion: Definitions, Features, Functions

BLOCK II: RELIGION AND CONFLICT

Lesson 4: Religion, War, and Civil War

Lesson 5: Doctrinal Underpinnings of Religious Conflict

Lesson 6: Guest Lecture (Prof. Ron Hassner): The History of the Jerusalem Conflict

Lesson 7: Christian and Jewish Fundamentalist Movements

Lesson 8: Islamism

Lesson 9: Religious Terrorism

Lesson 10: Case Study: The "Islamic State"

Lesson 11: Martyrdom, Suicide Terrorism, and Global Jihad

BLOCK III: RELIGION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Lesson 12: Interfaith Dialogue and Reconciliation

Lesson 13: Religious Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation

Lesson Schedule and reading assignments:

BLOCK I: RELIGION AND GLOBAL POLITICS

Lesson 1 (Oct 28): Religion in Global Politics

Recommended Readings:

- Monica Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Michael Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton), Ch. 1
- "William McGowan, "Buddhists Behaving Badly," *Foreign Affairs*, August 2, 2012.
- Daniel Philpott, "Has the Study of Global Politics Found Religion?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 12 (2009), pp. 183-202.
- Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72.3, pp. 22-49.
- J. P. Larsson, *Understanding Religious Violence: Thinking Outside the Box on Terrorism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 9-24.
- Jonathan Fox, ed., *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-4, 36-93.

Lesson 2 (Nov 4): The Global Resurgence of Religion

Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, "A Global Resurgence of Religion?" Working Paper No. 3-3 (Harvard University: Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, August 2003): 1-68. Available at http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/723_Moghadam03_03.pdf
- Michael C. Desch, "The Coming Reformation of Religion in International Affairs? The Demise of the Secularization Thesis and the Rise of New Thinking About Religion," in "Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research," pp. 14-55. Available at http://rmellon.nd.edu/assets/101872/religion_and_international_relations_report.pdf

Recommended Readings:

- Peter L. Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Eerdmans, 1999), Chapter 1: pp. 1-18
- Timothy Shah and Monica Toft, "Why God is Winning," *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 155 (July/August), 2006, pp. 38-43.
- Daniel Philpott, "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics*, Volume 52, Number 2 (January 2000), pp. 206-245.
- Toft, et.al., *God's Century*, Ch. 3
- J. P. Larsson, *Understanding Religious Violence: Thinking Outside the Box on Terrorism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 14-17.
- Jonathan Fox, "Secularization and Secularism," in Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 17-35

Lesson 3 (Nov 11): Religion: Definitions, Features, Functions

Required Readings:

- Toft, et.al., *God's Century*, Ch. 2.
- William T. Cavanaugh, "What is Religion?" in "Religion and International Relations," pp. 56-67. Available at http://rmellon.nd.edu/assets/101872/religion_and_international_relations_report.pdf

Recommended Readings:

- Jonathan Fox, " Religious Worldviews, Beliefs, Doctrines, and Theologies," in Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012)
- Daniel Philpott, "The Religious Roots of International Relations Theory," in "Religion and International Relations," pp. 76-86. Available at http://rmellon.nd.edu/assets/101872/religion_and_international_relations_report.pdf
- R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), Ch. 1, pp. 25-56.
- Victoria S. Harrison, "The Pragmatics of Defining Religion in a Multi-Cultural World," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 59 (2006) 133-52.

BLOCK II: RELIGION AND CONFLICT

Lesson 4 (Nov 18): Religion, War, and Civil War

Required Readings:

- Michael C. Horowitz, "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading". *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009), pp. 162-193.
- Ron E. Hassner and Michael C. Horowitz, "Correspondence: Debating the Role of Religion in War," *International Security* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 201-208.
- Ron E. Hassner, "Fighting Insurgency on Sacred Grounds," *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2006).
- Monica Toft et.al., *God's Century*, Ch. 6

Recommended Readings:

- Jonathan Fox, "Religion and Conflict," in Fox, ed., *An Introduction to Religion and Politics*, pp. 122-36.
- Paul Rowe, *Religion and Global Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 199-218.
- Daniel Byman, "Fighting Salafi-Jihadist Insurgencies: How much does Religion Really Matter," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 3.5 (2013), pp. 353-371.
- Svensson, Isak (2013). One God, many wars: religious dimensions of armed conflict in the Middle East and North Africa, *Civil Wars* 15 (4): 411-430.

- Greg Austin, Todd Kranock and Thom Oommen, "God and War: An Audit and Exploration," *BBC*. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/world/04/war_audit_pdf/pdf/war_audit.pdf.
- Tal Dingott Alkopher, "The Social (and Religious) Meanings that Constitute War: The Crusades as Realpolitik vs. Socialpolitik," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.49 (December 2005), pp. 715-737.
- Stuart Cohen, *The Scroll or the Sword? Dilemmas of Religion and Military Service in Israel* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997).
- Alexander de Juan, "The Role of Intra-Religious Conflicts in Intrastate Wars," *Terrorism and Political Violence*
- Jonathan Fox, "Do Muslims Engage in More Domestic Conflict than Other Religious Groups?" *Civil Wars*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2003), pp. 27-46.
- Jonathan Fox, "The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars, 1945-2001," *Journal of Peace Research* 41.6 (November 2004), 715-31.
- Monica Toft, "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 4 (Spring 2007), pp. 97-131
- Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Ch. 2, pp. 57-80

Lesson 5 (Nov 25): Doctrinal Underpinnings of Religious Conflict

Required Readings:

- James Turner Johnson, "Historical Roots and Sources of the Just War tradition in Western Culture," in John Kelsay and James T. Johnson, eds., *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 3-30.
- Gideon Aran and Ron Hassner, "Religious Violence in Judaism: Past and Present," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25.3 (2013), 355-405.

Recommended Readings:

- Marc Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 65-76.
- Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer, *Is Religion Killing Us? Violence in the Bible and the Quran* (New York: Continuum, 2003), pp. 1-94.
- Abdulaziz Sachedina, "From Defensive to Offensive Warfare: The Use and Abuse of Jihad in the Muslim World," in Joseph I. Coffey and Charles T. Mathewes, eds., *Religion, Law, and the Role of Force* (Ardsey, NY: Transnational Publishers, 2002), pp. 23-37.
- Thomas J. Massaro and Thomas A. Shannon, *Catholic Perspectives on Peace and War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), pp. 1-38.
- Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics World Wide* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).
- Vesselin Popovski, Gregory Reichberg and Nicholas Turner, *World Religions and Norms of War* (Tokyo: United Nations UP, 2009).

Lesson 6 (Dec 2): Guest Lecture by Prof. Ron Hassner: The History of the Jerusalem Conflict

Required Reading:

- Ron. E. Hassner, "'To Halve and to Hold': Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies* Vol. 12, No. 4 (Summer 2003), pp. 1-33.

Lesson 7 (Dec 9): Christian and Jewish Fundamentalist Movements

Required Readings:

- Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *The Fundamentalism Project, Volume 1: Fundamentalism Observed* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. xiii-x, 814-42.
- Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York: Free Press), pp. 145-179.

Recommended Reading:

- Jonathan Fox, "Religious Fundamentalism," in Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 109-121
- Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 119-244.
- Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Ch. 3, pp. 81-120.
- Bruce Lawrence, *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt in the Modern Age* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).

Lesson 8 (Dec 16): Islamism

Required Readings:

- International Crisis Group, "Understanding Islamism." Available online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/North%20Africa/Understanding%20Islamism.ashx>
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, "A Genealogy of Radical Islam," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 28 (2005), pp. 75-97, 2005.

Recommended Readings:

- Michael Cook, "The Appeal of Islamic Fundamentalism," *Journal of the British Academy* Vol. 2 (2014), pp. 27-41.

- Barak Mendelsohn, "God vs. Westphalia: Radical Islamist Movements and the Battle for Organising the World," *Review of International Studies* Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 589-613.
- Assaf Moghadam, "Introduction," in Assaf Moghadam, ed., *Militancy and Political Violence in Shiism: Trends and Patterns* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-21.
- Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), Introduction and Ch. 1.
- Emmanuel Sivan, "The Clash Within Islam," *Survival*, Vol 45, no, 1, Spring 2003, 25-44.
- Assaf Moghadam, "Mayhem, Myths, and Martyrdom: The Shia Conception of Jihad," *Terrorism and Political Violence* Vol. 19, No. 1 (2007), pp. 125-43.

Lesson 9 (Dec 23): Religious Terrorism

Required Readings:

- David C. Rapoport, Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 78, No. 3 (September 1984), pp. 658-77.
- Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion," *Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 50, No. 1 (Summer 1996)

Recommended Readings:

- Nilay Saiya, "Religion and Terrorism: What Remains to be Said?" in "Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research," pp. 152-62. Available at http://rmellon.nd.edu/assets/101872/religion_and_international_relations_report.pdf
- Heather Gregg, "Three Theories of Religious Activism and Violence: Social Movements, Fundamentalists, and Apocalyptic Warriors," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (forthcoming)
- Jeroen Gunning and Richard Jackson, "What's So 'Religious' about 'Religious Terrorism'?" *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 4.3 (2011), pp. 369-88.
- Lutz, James, and Brenda Lutz (2004). "Religious Justifications for Terrorism" (Chapter 5). In *Global Terrorism*. London: Routledge, 63-88.
- Eli Berman and David D. Laitin, "Religion, Terrorism, and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model," *Journal of Public Economics* 2008.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, revised and expanded edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 81-130.
- Jessica Stern, "The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord," in Jonathan Tucker, ed., *Toxic Terror* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).
- Stuart Gottlieb, ed., *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 100-30.
- Anne Aly and Jason-Leigh Striegher, "Examining the Role of Religion in Radicalization to Violent Islamist Extremism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 35. 15 (December 2012), pp. 849-62.

Lesson 10 (Dec 30): Case Study: The "Islamic State"

Required Readings:

- Brian Fishman, "The Islamic State: A Persistent Threat," Prepared Testimony to the House Armed Services Committee, United States Congress, 29 July 2014
- Michael Knights, "ISIL's Political-Military Power in Iraq," CTC Sentinel 7.8 (August 2014). Available at <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/isils-political-military-power-in-iraq>.
- Thomas Hegghammer, "Calculated Caliphate," Lawfare Blog, 6 July 2014. Available at <http://www.lawfareblog.com/2014/07/the-foreign-policy-essay-calculated-caliphate/>
- William McCants, "State of Confusion: ISIS Strategy, and How to Counter It," *Foreign Affairs*, September 10, 2014.

Recommended Readings:

- Aaron Zelin, "ISIS is Dead: Long Live the Islamic State," *Foreign Policy*, June 30, 2014. Available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/06/30/isis_is_dead_long_live_the_islamic_state_iraq_syria
- J. M. Berger, "The Islamic State vs. Al Qaeda," *Foreign Policy*, September 2, 2014. Available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/09/02/islamic_state_vs_al_qaeda_next_ji_hadi_super_power.
- Barak Mendelsohn, "Collateral Damage in Iraq: The Rise of ISIS and the Fall of Al Qaeda," *Foreign Affairs*, June 15, 2014

Lesson 11 (Jan 6): Martyrdom, Suicide Terrorism, and Global Jihad

Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks," *International Security* 33.3 (Winter 2008/2009), pp. 46-78
- Peter L. Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al-Qaeda* (New York: Free Press, 2011), 11-35.

Recommended Readings:

- Mohammed Hafez, *Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers* (Washington, DC: USIP, 2006), 33-52.
- Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 1-93.

BLOCK III: RELIGION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Lesson 12 (Jan 13): Interfaith Dialogue and Reconciliation

Required Readings:

- Monica Toft, et.al., *God's Century*, Ch. 7
- Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Ch. 5, pp. 167-206.

Recommended Readings:

- Paul Rowe, "Religion and Conflict Resolution," in Rowe, *Religion and Global Politics*, pp. 221-42
- Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Ch. 4, pp. 121-166
- Scott Atran and Robert Axelrod, "Reframing Sacred Values," *Negotiation Journal* 24.3 (July 2008), 221-46.
- Jerald D. Gort and Hendrik M. Vroom, "Religion, Conflict, and Reconciliation," in Jerald D. Gort, ed., *Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation: Multifaith Ideals and Realities* (New York: Editions Rodopi, 2004), 1-10.
- Marc Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 76-86.
- Tzvi Marx, "Theological Preparation for Reconciliation in Judaism," in Gort, ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Reconciliation*, 93-104.
- Cees van der Kooi, "Three Models of Reconciliation: A Christian Approach," in Gort, ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Reconciliation*, 104-116.
- Marc Gopin, *Holy War and Holy Peace: How Religion can bring Peace to the Middle East* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), 103-43.
- Daniel Philpott, "Reconciliation: an Ethic for Peacebuilding," in Philpott and Powers, eds., *Strategies of Peace*, pp. 91-118.

Lesson 13 (Jan 20): Religious Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation

Required Readings:

- Cynthia Sampson, "Religion and Peacebuilding," in William Zartman and Lewis Rasmussen, eds., *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques* (Washington: USIP, 1997), 273-326.
- Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Ch. 6, pp. 207-244

Recommended Readings:

- John Paul Lederach and R. Scott Appleby, "Strategic Peacebuilding: An Overview," in Daniel Philpott and Gerard Powers, eds., *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 19-44
- Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice* (University Press of Florida, 2003), Ch. 2.

- Douglas Johnston, *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- David Little and R. Scott Appleby, "A Moment of Opportunity? The Promise of Religious Peacebuilding in an Era of Religious and Ethnic Conflict, in Harold Coward and Gordon Smith, eds., *Religion and Peacebuilding* (Albany: State University of New York, 2004), 1-26.
- Anna Halafoff and David Wright-Neville, "A Missing Peace? The Role of Religious Actors in Countering Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32. 11 (Oct 2009), pp. 921-32.