

## **Bibliography**

- Adams, P. 1992. Algeria, Islam and North Africa. *South Africa International*, July 1992: 18-25.
- Adams, G.J. 1983. Mawdudi and the Islamic state. In *Voices of resurgent Islam*, edited by J.L. Esposito. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Adamson, K. 1998. *Algeria: a study in competing ideologies*. London and New York: Cassell
- Agence France Presse. 2002. Algeria: new leader of hardline GIA vows more “blood, rape”. GlobalNewsbank.
- A good deal missing. 2004. *Africa Confidential*, 45(10), 10-14 May 2004. Internet: [www.africa-confidential.com/country.asp?ID=46](http://www.africa-confidential.com/country.asp?ID=46). Access: 19 September 2004.
- Ahsan, M. 2002. Globalisation and the underdeveloped Muslim world: a case study of Pakistan. In *Islam encountering globalisation*, edited by A. Mohammadi. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Ali, H.I. 1995. *The Islamist dilemma: the political role of Islamist movements in the contemporary Arab world*, edited by L. Guazzone. Reading: Ithaca Press.
- Anti-terror laws not worth the risk. 1999. *The Sunday Independent*, 14 February 1999: 10.
- Armstrong, K. 2000. *Islam: a short history*. New York: The Modern Library.
- Ayubi, N. 1991. *Political Islam: religion and politics in the Arab world*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Barber, S. 1999. International Relations: stumbling into the third millennium. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 6(2), Winter 1999: 33-60.
- Bellamy, R. 1993. Liberalism. In *Contemporary political ideologies*, edited by R. Eatwell and A. Wright. London: Pinter.
- Boshoff, H. 2001. Fighting back: the state’s operational response. In *Fear in the city: urban terrorism in South Africa*, Boshoff, H., Botha, A. and Schonteich, M. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

- Botha, A. 2001. The prime suspects? The metamorphosis of PAGAD. In *Fear in the city: urban terrorism in South Africa*, Boshoff, H., Botha, A. and Schonteich, M. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.
- Brennan, G. 1997. Rational Choice Political Theory. In *Political Theory: tradition and diversity*, edited by A. Vincent. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Briefing on urban terror in the Western Cape: a PAGAD perspective*. 2000. Unpublished.
- Brumberg, D. 1997. Rhetoric and Strategy: Islamic Movements and Democracy in the Middle East. In *The Islamism Debate*, edited by M. Kramer. Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University.
- Chandler, N. 1999. State moves to curb acts of terror. *The Star*, 15 January 1999: 3.
- Choueiri, Y.M. 1996. Political Discourse. In *Islamic fundamentalism*, edited by A.S. Sidahmed and A. Ehteshami. Colorado/Oxford: Westview Press.
- Choueiri, Y.M. 1997. *Islamic fundamentalism*. London and Washington: Pinter.
- Ciment, J. 1997. *Algeria: The Fundamentalist Challenge*. New York: Facts on File.
- Collins, R.O. 1999. Africans, Arabs, and Islamists: from the conference tables to the battlefields in Sudan. *African Studies Review*, 42(2), September 1999: 105-123.
- Constitution of the Republic of Sudan. 1998. *Internet*: [www.sudan.net/government/constitution/english.html](http://www.sudan.net/government/constitution/english.html). Access: 29 September 2004.
- Crunch time in Darfur. 2004. *Internet*: [www.icg.org](http://www.icg.org). Access: 29 September 2004.

Darfur destroyed: ethnic cleansing by government and militia forces in western Sudan. 2004. *Human Rights Watch*, 16 (6A): 1-75.

De Waal, A. 2001. Creating devastation and calling it Islam†: the war for the Nuba, Sudan. *SAIS Review*, 21(2), Summer-Fall 2001: 117-132.

Dekmejian, R.H. 1995. *Islam in revolution: fundamentalism in the Arab world*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Denaud, P. 1997. *Algérie; Le FIS: sa direction parle*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.

Derradji, A.R. 2002. *A concise history of political violence in Algeria 1954-2000: brothers in faith, enemies in arms*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Dews, P. 2003. Postmodernism: pathologies of modernity from Nietzsche to the post-structuralists. In *The Cambridge history of 20<sup>th</sup> Century political thought*, edited by T. Ball and R. Bellamy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunne, T. 1997. Liberalism. In *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eltigani, A. & Khaled, M. 1998. State violence against women: a current perspective from the Sudan. *Resources for Feminist Research*, 26(3-4), Fall-Winter 1998-99: 221-225.

Enayat, H. 1982. *Modern Islamic political thought*. London and Basingstroke: The Macmillan Press.

Ensor, L. 1999. "Liberal legislation harms crime fighting". *Business Day*, 20 January 1999: 2.

Euben, R. 1999. *Enemy in the mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the limits of modern rationalism, a work of comparative political theory*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

*Europa World Year Book*. 2003. London: Europa publications.

*Europa World Year Book*. 2004. London: Europa publications.

Erasmus, C. 1996. Islamic vigilantes. *Maclean's*, 109 (37): 24.

Esack, F. 1996. Pagad and Islamic radicalism: taking on the state? *Indicator South Africa*, 13(4), Spring 1996: 7-11.

Esposito, J.L. 1991. *Islam and politics*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Syracuse University Press.

Fischer, M.M.J. 1983. Imam Khomeini: four levels of understanding. In *Voices of resurgent Islam*, edited by J.L. Esposito. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fukuyama, F. 1989. The end of history? *National Interest*, Summer 1989: pp. 3-18.

Fuller, G. 2003. *The future of political Islam*. Hounds Mills: Palgrave MacMillan.

George, D. 1996. Pax Islamica: An alternative new world order? In *Islamic fundamentalism*, edited by A.S. Sidahmed and A. Ehteshami. Colorado/Oxford: Westview Press.

Front Islamique du Salut, 2002. *Plate-forme du FIS pour le salut de l'Algérie*, Congrès du Martyr Abdelkader Hachani, 4 August 2002.

Gray, J. 1995. *Enlightenment's wake: politics and culture at the close of the modern age*. London and New York: Routledge.

Groupe Islamique ArmÈ. 2004. *Internet*: [www.crti.org/Groupes/GIA.htm](http://www.crti.org/Groupes/GIA.htm) Access: 4 July 2004.

Haefele, B.W. 1998. Islamic fundamentalism and Pagad: an internal security issue for South Africa? *Crime & Conflict*, Number 11, Autumn 1998: 8-12.

Halliday, F. 1996. *Islam and the myth of confrontation: religion and politics in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.

Halliday, F. 2002. West encountering Islam: Islamophobia reconsidered. In *Islam encountering globalisation*, edited by A. Mohammadi. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Hallowell, J.H. & Porter, J.M. 1997. *Political philosophy: the search for humanity and order*. Scarborough. Ontario: Prentice Hall.

Hamdi, M.E. 1996. *The making of an Islamic political leader*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Harris Interactive 2002. A world transformed: foreign Policy attitudes of the US public after September 11<sup>th</sup>. *Internet:* [www.worldviews.org/key\\_findings/us\\_911\\_report.htm](http://www.worldviews.org/key_findings/us_911_report.htm) Access: 30 November 2003.

Hawthorne, P. 2000. Cops and bombers. *Time*, 7 February 2000: 31.

Hechter, M. 1997. Religion and Rational Choice Theory. In *Rational Choice Theory and religion*. New York and London: Routledge.

Hoveyda, F. 1998. *The broken crescent*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. Sudan: world report. *Internet:* [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org). Access: 29 September 2004.

Huntington, S.P. 1996. *The clash of civilisations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Husain, M.Z. 1995. *Global Islamic politics*. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers.

Iannaccone, L.R. 1997. Rational Choice: a framework for the scientific study of religion. In *Rational Choice Theory and religion*. New York and London: Routledge.

Ibrahim, A.A. 1999. A theology of modernity: Hasan al-Turabi and Islamic renewal in Sudan. *Africa Today*, 46(34): 195-222.

International Crisis Group 2002. Middle East Briefing, Algiers/Brussels 24 June 2002: *Diminishing returns: Algeria's 2002 legislative elections*. Internet: [www.crisisweb.org](http://www.crisisweb.org) Access: 5 July 2004.

Ismail, S. 2003. Islamic political thought. In *The Cambridge history of 20<sup>th</sup> Century political thought*, edited by T. Ball and R. Bellamy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Joffe, G. 2002. The Role of Violence Within the Algerian Economy. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 7(1), Spring 2002: 29-52.

Juergensmeyer, M. 1993. *The New Cold War? Religious nationalism confronts the secular state*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press.

Kalyvas, S.N. 1999. Wanton and senseless? The logic of massacres in Algeria. *Rationality and Society*, 11(3): 243-285.

Kelly, P. 2000. Political theory in retreat? Contemporary political theory and the historical order. In *Political theory in transition*, edited by N. O'Sullivan. London and New York: Routledge.

Kemp, Y. 2002. Jeneker and Maansdorp found guilty. *Cape Argus*, 18 December 2002.

Khatami, M. 2001. The need for dialogue among civilizations, text of President Khatami's address at the United Nations General Assembly, 21 September 1998. In *Dialogue among civilizations: a paradigm for peace*, edited by T. Bekker & J. Pretorius. Pretoria: Unit for Policy Studies.

Khatami, M. 2001. Dialogue and the new millennium, text of President Mohammad Khatami to the annual session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO), on 29 October

1999. In *Dialogue among civilizations: a paradigm for peace*, edited by T. Bekker & J. Pretorius. Pretoria: Unit for Policy Studies.

Khatami, M. 2000. The practice of dialogue among civilisations, text of the address by President Khatami at the Dialogue Among Civilizations Conference at the United Nations in New York, 5 September 2000. In *Dialogue among civilizations: a paradigm for peace*, edited by T. Bekker & J. Pretorius. Pretoria: Unit for Policy Studies.

Le Roux, C.J.B. 1997. People Against Gangsterism and Drugs. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 22(1), 1997: 51-80.

Lesch, A.M. 1998. *The Sudan: contested national identities*. Oxford: James Currey.

Lesch, A.M. 2001. The impasse in the civil war. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 23(2), Spring 2001: 11-30.  
*Internet:* <http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=cookie,ip,url,uid&db=aph&an=4905130>. Access: 9 September 2004.

Lobban, R. 2001. A concise chronology of 1989-1999: ten years of the national Islamic front. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 23(2), Spring 2001: 115-131. *Internet:*  
<http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=cookie,ip,url,uid&db=aph&an=4905130>. Access: 9 September 2004.

Martinez, L. 2000. *The Algerian civil war 1990-1998*. London: Hurst & Company.

Martinez, L. 2003. Le cheminement singulier de la violence islamiste en Algérie. *Critique Internationale*, 20, juillet 2003: 165-177.

McLean, I. 1996. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Meftahi, H. 2004. Algeria's new president is sworn in. The Associated Press Service, *Global NewsBank*, 19 April 2004.

- Merten, M. 1999. Police helpless in Cape of fear. *Mail & Guardian*, 3-9 December 1999: 10.
- Merzouk, M. 1997. *Quand les jeunes redoublent de férocité: l'Islamisme comme phénomène de génération*. Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions 42(97): 141-158.
- Mgxashe, M. 1999. Qibla speaks on terrorism. *The Cape Times*, 12 February 1999: 1.
- Michaels, J. 2003. Boeremag, PAGAD "still threaten SA security". *Cape Times*, 18 June 2003: 4.
- Mohsin, M.I.A. 2002. Review of the Sudanese socio-economic development problems. *Journal of Economic Cooperation*, 23(2): 85-102.
- Morrison, S. 2001. The political thought of Hasan al-Turabi of Sudan. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 12(2), April 2001: 153-160.
- Moussalli, A.S. 1999. *Moderate and radical Islamic fundamentalism: the quest for modernity, legitimacy and the Islamic state*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Muddying Machakos: the gap widens between interpretations of last month's peace agreement. 2002. *Africa Confidential*, 43(16), 9-16 August 2002. Internet: [www.africa-confidential.com/country.asp?ID=46](http://www.africa-confidential.com/country.asp?ID=46). Access: 19 September 2004.
- Nantulya, P. 2003. The Machakos Protocol and prospects for peace in Sudan. *Conflict Trends*, 4/2003: 8-14.
- Neitz, M.J. & Mueser, P.R. 1997. Economic man and the sociology of religion: a critique of the Rational Choice Approach. In *Rational Choice Theory and religion*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Noorani, A.G. 2002. *Islam and jihad: prejudice vs. reality*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Norval, M. 2001. *Triumph of disorder: Islamic Fundamentalism, the new face of war*. Indian Wells, California: McKenna Publishing Group.
- Nyot-Yoh, J.G. 2001. The dynamics of war and peace. *Conflict Trends*, 4/2001: 28-37.
- O'Fahey, R.S. 1996. Islam and ethnicity in the Sudan. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 26(3), August 1996: 258-267.
- Oifield, battlefield: the opposition regroups and threatens Khartoum's control of the oilfields. 2002. *Africa Confidential*, 43(5), 5-8 March 2002. *Internet*: [www.africa-confidential.com/country.asp?ID=46](http://www.africa-confidential.com/country.asp?ID=46). Access: 19 September 2004.
- PAGAD. 1996. Past events. *Internet*: [www.pagad.co.za](http://www.pagad.co.za). Access: 29 September 2004.
- PAGAD. 1997a. Aims and objectives. *Internet*: [www.pagad.co.za](http://www.pagad.co.za) Access: 29 September 2004.
- PAGAD. 1997b. National Conference – March 1997: Western Cape's Education Substructure. *Internet*: [www.pagad.co.za/conf97.htm](http://www.pagad.co.za/conf97.htm) Access: 29 September 2004.
- PAGAD. 1998. Response to allegations by police intelligence: bombings in Athlone, Cape SA on Wed 10 June 1998. *Internet*: [www.pagad.co.za/athlone.htm](http://www.pagad.co.za/athlone.htm) Access: 29 September 2004.
- PAGAD. 1999. PAGAD response to address by President Nelson Mandela to Parliament: press statement, 8 February 1999. *Internet*: [www.pagad.co.za](http://www.pagad.co.za) Access: 29 September 2004.
- PAGAD. 2000a. Dawood Osman: prisoner of faith. *PAGAD Bulletin*, April 2000: 4.
- PAGAD. 2000b. Hunger strike – a cry for help. *PAGAD Bulletin*, April 2000: 1.
- PAGAD. 2000c. New laws to stop PAGAD. *PAGAD Bulletin*, April 2000: 2.

PAGAD 2000d. PAGAD at work: interview with a former drug addict. *PAGAD Bulletin*, April 2000: 5.

Pierre, A.J. & Quandt, W.B. 1995. Algeria's war on itself. In *Foreign Policy*, Vol 99, Summer 1995: 131-148.

Pillay, S. 2002. Problematising the making of good and evil: gangs and PAGAD. *Critical Arts*, 16(2): 38-75.

Political overview, Algeria Country Review. 2004. *Internet*: [www.countrywatch.com](http://www.countrywatch.com) Access: 1 July 2004.

Q & A: Sudan's Darfur Conflict. 2004. BBC News, 9 September 2004. *Internet*: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3490751.stm> Access: 24 September 2004.

Rise and fall of PAGAD. 2002. *Cape Argus*, 24 October 2002.

Rone, J. 2003. Sudan: oil and war. *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(97): 504-510.

Rouadjia, A. 1996. Discourse and strategy of the Algerian Islamist Movement (1986-1992). In *The Islamist dilemma: the political role of Islamist movements in the contemporary Arab world*, edited by L. Guazzone. Berkshire: Ithaca Press.

Roy, O. 1994. *The failure of political Islam*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Russet, B., Layne, C., Spiro, D.E. & Doyle, M.W. 1995. Correspondence: the Democratic Peace. *International Security*, 19(4), Spring 1995: 164-184.

Sandhu, A. 2001. Algerian Conflict: An Exercise in state terrorism. *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict*, 2001-2002: 1-15.

Sayeed, S.M.A. 1999. *The myth of authenticity: a study in Islamic fundamentalism*. New Delhi: Kitabkhawan.

- Schonteich, M. 2001. Laws as weapons: legislating against terrorism. In *Fear in the city: urban terrorism in South Africa*, Boshoff, H., Botha, A. and Schonteich, M. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.
- Schroeder, F. 2002. Chaos erupts as PAGAD hitman gets 180 years' jail. *Cape Times*, 22 October 2002.
- Sekhonyane, M. 2003. Vigilantes supported as crime levels soar. *Sowetan*, 2 June 2003: 12.
- Shahin, E.E. 2003. The Foreign Policy of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 14(2): 121-143.
- Shaw, M. 2000. Theatre of terror: responding to the Cape bombings. *Crime & Conflict*, Number 21, Spring 2000: 5-10.
- Sidahmed, A.S. 1996. Sudan: ideology and pragmatism. In *Islamic fundamentalism*, edited by A.S. Sidahmed and A. Ehteshami. Colorado/Oxford: Westview Press.
- Sivan, E. 1985. *Radical Islam*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Smith, A. 2003. PAGAD nie eens oor toekoms – intelligensie. *Die Burger*, 18 June 2003: 4.
- Solomon, H. & Swart, G. 2004. *Political Islam and the state in Africa*. Unpublished.
- Sonkosi, Z. 1998. The role of Islamic Fundamentalism in Algeria. *Scientia Militaria* 28(2): 200-219.
- South Africa: PAGAD. 1996. *Africa Research Bulletin*, 12376 – 12378.
- South African PAGAD vigilante sentenced to 11 life terms. 2001. *Internet*: [www.ict.org.il/spotlight/det.cfm?id=586](http://www.ict.org.il/spotlight/det.cfm?id=586). Access: 29 September 2004.
- South African Press Association. 2001. RSA researcher: increase in vigilantism due to inefficient justice system. *Internet*: [www.sapa.org.za](http://www.sapa.org.za). Access: 29 September 2004.

Spencer, C. 1996. The Roots and Future of Islamism in Algeria. In *Islamic Fundamentalism*, edited by A. Salam Sidahmed and A. Ehteshami. Colorado/Oxford: Westview Press.

Stopard, A. 2003. Anti-terror bill hits opposition. Inter Press Service, *Global NewsBank*, 1 October 2003.

Struwig, F.W. and Stead, G.B. 2001. *Planning, designing and reporting research*. Cape Town: Pearson Education South Africa.

Sudan coup plot evidence “a lie”. 2004. *BBC News*, Wednesday, 15 September 2004. *Internet*: [www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3039208.stm](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3039208.stm) Access: 24 September 2004.

Sudan Country Conditions, Background 2003. *Internet*: [www.countrywatch.com](http://www.countrywatch.com) Access: 9 September 2004.

Sudan grudgingly accepts UN vote. 2004. *BBC News*, Monday, 20 September 2004. *Internet*: [www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3670590.stm](http://www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3670590.stm) Access: 24 September 2004.

Sudan rebels hit outside Darfur. 2004. *BBC News*, Thursday, 23 September 2004. *Internet*: [www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3684532.stm](http://www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3684532.stm) Access: 24 September 2004.

Sudan talks break up with no deal 2004. *BBC News*, Friday, 17 September 2004. *Internet*: [www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3667514.stm](http://www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3667514.stm) Access: 24 September 2004.

Sulaymani, Y. 2004. Algerian president on domestic, regional issues, terrorism. *London Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 2 April 2004.

Sullivan, D.J. & Abed-Kotob. S.1999. *Islam in contemporary Egypt: civil society vs. the state*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Stone, M. 1997. *The agony of Algeria*. London: C. Hurst & Co.

Tahi, M.S. 1995. Algeria's democratisation process: a frustrated hope. *Third World Quarterly*, 16(2): 197-21.

Taji-Farouki, S. 1996. Islamic state theories and contemporary realities In *Islamic fundamentalism*, edited by A.S. Sidahmed and A. Ehteshami. Colorado/Oxford: Westview Press.

Takeyh, R. 2003. Islamism in Algeria: a struggle between hope and agony. *Middle East Policy*, 10(2), Summer 2003: 62-75.

Tayob, A.I. 1996. Jihad against drugs in Cape Town: a discourse-centred analysis. *Social Dynamics*, 22(2), 1996: 23-29.

The Associated Press Service. 2004. Algerian leader reportedly killed, 20 June 2004. GlobalNewsbank.

The Islamic Salvation Front. 2000. All-encompassing program of an Islamic State. In *Modernist and fundamentalist debates in Islam: a reader*, edited by M. Moaddel and K. Talatoff. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Tibi, B. 1998. *The challenge of fundamentalism*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Turabi still powerful. 2000. *Africa Research Bulletin*, 1-31 May 2000: 13984-13986.

Voll, J. 1982. *Islam: continuity and change in the Muslim world*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Wakoson, E.N. 1998. Islamism and militarism in Sudanese politics: its impact on nation-building. *Northeast African Studies*, 5(2): 47-94.

Washington Correspondent and Staff Reporter. 1999. US lists PAGAD as terror group. *Cape Argus*, 5 May 1999: 4.

- Watt, W.M. 1968. *Islamic political thought: the basic concepts*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Woodward, P. 1997. Sudan: Islamic radicals in power. In *Political Islam: revolution, radicalism or reform?* Edited by J.L. Esposito. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Yongo-Bure, B. 1994. Islam, Arabism, and the disintegration of the Sudan. *Northeast African Studies*, 1(2-3): 207-222.
- Zwier, L. 1999. *Sudan: North against South*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company