

Terrorism as the Weapon of the Weak in Yasmina Khadra's Novel the Sirens of Baghdad

Asst.prof. Afrah Abdul Jabber

University of Missan - College of Education / English Department.

Corresponding Author: Asst.prof. Afrah Abdul Jabber- afrahaljabar15@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

Terrorism emerges in Yasmina Khadra's *The Sirens of Baghdad* not as a calculated political strategy, but as a last, anguished cry of the powerless. Through the intimate and psychologically charged narrative of a young Iraqi man's descent into radicalism, the novel challenges reductive portrayals of extremism by foregrounding the emotional devastation wrought by occupation, humiliation, and cultural erasure. What begins as a quiet life in a rural village unravels into a profound crisis of identity, masculinity, and belonging, culminating in the protagonist's tragic embrace of violence. Drawing on postcolonial theory, trauma studies, and masculinity discourse, this analysis traces how Khadra reframes terrorism as a consequence of violated dignity and sustained invisibility. Through introspective monologues and vivid depictions of psychological collapse, *The Sirens of Baghdad* offers a haunting meditation on the emotional costs of war, ultimately positioning terrorism as a weapon of the weak a desperate assertion of selfhood in a world that has rendered the protagonist voiceless and expendable.

KEYWORDS: Yasmina Khadra, *The Sirens of Baghdad*, terrorism, War, weapon of the weak, trauma, masculinity, postcolonialism, Arab literature.

2. Theoretical Background and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In the post-9/11 literary landscape, terrorism has frequently been portrayed through ideological, religious, or geopolitical frameworks that foreground global narratives of security, fear, and the clash of civilizations. However, Yasmina Khadra's novel *The Sirens of Baghdad* (2006) diverges from this dominant paradigm by offering a more intimate, psychological exploration of radicalization. Rather than focusing on broad political movements or religious dogma, the novel centers on the emotional journey of a young Iraqi man from a quiet village who, in the aftermath of personal and communal trauma, becomes susceptible to extremist ideology. Khadra delves into the inner turmoil of his protagonist, portraying his descent into violence not as an inherent predisposition but as a desperate response to accumulated experiences of humiliation, loss, and powerlessness. Through richly textured narrative and evocative inner monologue, Khadra illustrates how systemic violence and social fragmentation exacerbated by foreign occupation, cultural alienation, and the erosion of identity can catalyze a psychological rupture that pushes individuals toward acts of terror. This chapter offers a critical review of key scholarly interpretations of the novel and supplements these perspectives with close textual analysis to explore how Khadra constructs

terrorism not merely as a political act, but as an existential expression of despair. Drawing on postcolonial and trauma theory, the chapter examines how the novel portrays terrorism as the weapon of the weak a last resort for the silenced, the marginalized, and the dispossessed who seek to reclaim a sense of agency, however destructive. By humanizing the terrorist figure and tracing his radicalization through emotional and social degradation, Khadra invites readers to grapple with the uncomfortable realities behind extremist violence, challenging reductive stereotypes and opening up a space for empathy and critical reflection.

2.2 Terrorism as the Weapon of the Weak

James C. Scott's (1985) theory of the "weapons of the weak" originally refers to subtle, non-violent forms of resistance such as foot-dragging, false compliance, evasion, and sabotage used by oppressed communities who lack access to formal political power. These everyday acts of subversion, often hidden beneath the surface of apparent conformity, represent creative strategies for asserting agency in the face of structural domination. However, in contemporary political theory and postcolonial literature, the scope of Scott's concept has been extended to include more overt and destructive forms of resistance, including terrorism, particularly when all other avenues of dissent have been violently closed. In such contexts, terrorism may be understood not as an expression of ideology or fanaticism, but as the desperate, destructive articulation of those who have been rendered politically and existentially voiceless.

This framework is powerfully illustrated in Yasmina Khadra's *The Sirens of Baghdad* (2006), where the protagonist an unnamed young Iraqi man undergoes a radical transformation in response to the moral and emotional devastation inflicted by foreign occupation. Initially presented as a quiet, apolitical student aspiring to become a teacher, the narrator's world collapses following a series of traumatic events: the desecration of his village, the humiliation of his father, and the broader cultural and bodily violations experienced by his community. These acts of collective degradation mark a point of no return for the protagonist, who comes to see silence and inaction as forms of complicity. His decision to embrace violence is encapsulated in a powerful reflection:

"I was just a simple student, dreaming of becoming a teacher... I didn't care about politics or war. Then they came and defiled everything my village, my people, my father. And I understood that silence is a crime, that inaction is complicity, and that when no one listens to your pain, you must scream louder, even if your scream is a bomb." (Khadra, 2006, p. 164)

This passage captures a seismic shift in the protagonist's moral and psychological orientation from passive victimhood to violent defiance not as a result of ideological indoctrination, but as a product of existential

rupture. His words express what Slavoj Žižek (2002) describes as the nihilistic logic of terrorism: a symbolic and spectacular cry for recognition issued from a place of absolute marginalization. In this context, the “bomb” functions less as a political instrument and more as a violent punctuation mark a final, catastrophic attempt to assert subjectivity in a world that has reduced him to invisibility. The novel thus reframes terrorism as a perverse mode of communication, a scream of last resort by those who have been systematically silenced and stripped of all conventional tools of resistance. By situating this narrative within the wider discourse on trauma, masculinity, and postcolonial displacement, Khadra invites readers to reconsider the roots of extremism not in dogma, but in the psychic wreckage left by imperial violence and cultural annihilation.

2.3. Postcolonial Resistance and Psychological Collapse

Yasmina Khadra's *The Sirens of Baghdad* deeply resonates with Frantz Fanon's seminal work *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), particularly Fanon's assertion that colonial violence inevitably produces violent resistance. For Fanon, the colonized subject internalizes both the physical brutality and the psychological degradation inflicted by the colonizer. In such a context, violence is not merely a political tactic but a necessary act of psychic liberation an effort to purge the shame, fear, and self-negation instilled by systemic domination. Violence, in Fanon's view, becomes a cathartic process through which the oppressed individual reclaims agency, affirms existence, and reconstructs a shattered sense of self. Khadra's novel reflects this trajectory through its protagonist, who is gradually driven to extremism not by ideology, but by the cumulative weight of humiliation, loss, and the collapse of personal and collective dignity. This psychological metamorphosis is powerfully expressed in the protagonist's words:

"When you are treated like a dog, day after day, when soldiers force your father to his knees in front of you, when your people are mocked and trampled on like insects there comes a time when you stop being afraid, when you say to yourself: they made me an animal, so I will bare my fangs." (Khadra, 2006, p. 147)

Here, the metaphor of animalization being treated “like a dog” or an “insect signifies a complete stripping away of humanity, a process that Fanon describes as central to the colonial project. The protagonist's turn toward violence is not merely reactive, but reconstructive: it marks the moment at which fear gives way to rage, and internalized degradation is externalized in an act of feral defiance. The phrase “I will bare my fangs” is especially telling, as it suggests a reclaiming of power through the same logic of dehumanization that was used to oppress him. It is an inversion of colonial logic a deliberate reappropriation of the animalistic identity imposed upon him as a form of resistance. Moreover, this turn to violence is deeply

entangled with issues of masculinity and cultural emasculation. The forced humiliation of the protagonist's father an elder, a symbol of wisdom and authority in traditional patriarchal structures represents not only a personal trauma but a symbolic assault on communal identity and masculine honor. The degradation of paternal authority destabilizes the protagonist's own sense of self, rendering violence not only a political statement but a gendered performance a means of reclaiming lost virility and strength. As postcolonial scholars have noted, colonial regimes often emasculated indigenous men as part of their broader project of domination, undermining social cohesion and instilling a deep sense of impotence and shame. Khadra's protagonist internalizes this dynamic, and his radicalization can be read as both a psychological and gendered response to this symbolic castration. In this way, Khadra's narrative offers a powerful dramatization of Fanon's theory: violence becomes a vehicle for the recovery of autonomy, identity, and masculine integrity in the face of colonial degradation. The protagonist's transformation thus embodies the tragic logic of resistance in the postcolonial world, where the path to subjectivity and selfhood is forged through destruction. Far from glorifying violence, however, Khadra's novel exposes the emotional and existential toll it exacts, revealing the profound human cost of systems that render dignity and voice inaccessible except through acts of despair.

2.4 Trauma, Humiliation, and the Quest for Dignity

Trauma theory, particularly as articulated by Cathy Caruth (1996), emphasizes trauma as a profound rupture in experience that defies direct representation or full conscious understanding. Rather than a singular event with a clear beginning and end, trauma is experienced as a persistent and often fragmented wound that resists integration into the survivor's narrative and disrupts the continuity of identity. In Yasmina Khadra's *The Sirens of Baghdad*, trauma is depicted not as a momentary shock but as a slow, corrosive psychological erosion that unravels the protagonist's sense of self over time. This process is embodied most poignantly in the haunting image of his father's public humiliation at the hands of foreign soldiers a moment that becomes a symbolic fulcrum in the novel, representing both personal and collective devastation under occupation. The narrator recounts:

"My father, the most dignified man I had ever known, was forced to kneel like a beggar before boys half his age. I saw his eyes they were no longer my father's. Something had broken inside him, and that thing broke inside me too. In that moment, I knew I had died. The person I was no longer existed." (Khadra, 2006, p. 95)

This passage serves as a powerful metaphor for the symbolic death of the self, triggered by witnessing the disintegration of paternal authority and the violation of deeply ingrained cultural values surrounding honor

and dignity. The protagonist's identification with his father's brokenness signifies a psychic shattering, a loss of stable identity that echoes Caruth's conception of trauma as an event that "overwhelms the capacity to process experience" and "returns in repeated flashbacks and intrusive memories" (Caruth, 1996, p. 4). The narrator's assertion "I knew I had died" encapsulates this experience of psychic death a sense that the core of one's being has been irrevocably fractured, leaving behind a fragmented self struggling to survive. Following this moment of symbolic death, the protagonist undergoes a painful and disorienting rebirth into a new persona shaped by rage, grief, and shame. This transformation illustrates how trauma acts not only as destruction but also as a catalyst for identity reconstruction albeit one that may veer toward pathology or violence. Jessica Stern (2003), in her psychological analysis of terrorism, highlights that experiences of humiliation and loss of dignity frequently create the emotional terrain fertile for radicalization. Such profound psychological wounds engender feelings of invisibility and powerlessness, which terrorists attempt to redress through violent acts that claim visibility and agency, however catastrophic. Moreover, the erosion of the protagonist's identity through trauma is intertwined with cultural and political displacement. The humiliation of his father is not merely a private family tragedy but a symbolic enactment of the broader colonial and military subjugation of the Iraqi people. This collective dimension of trauma intensifies the protagonist's isolation and desperation, as the novel depicts how systemic violence fractures not only individuals but also the social fabric that sustains community and belonging. In this light, Khadra's narrative aligns with trauma theorists who argue that unresolved collective trauma can perpetuate cycles of violence and alienation, complicating the possibility of healing or reconciliation. Through sustained narrative focus on the protagonist's psychological interiority his memories, fears, and fragmented sense of self Khadra's novel invites readers to engage empathetically with the invisible wounds of war and occupation. The trauma portrayed is thus both deeply personal and emblematic of broader historical violences, offering a poignant exploration of how the destruction of dignity and identity can sow the seeds of extremism. Far from simply recounting acts of terror, the novel illuminates the haunted psychic landscape from which such acts emerge, challenging readers to confront the enduring human cost of geopolitical conflict and systemic dehumanization.

2.5 The Collapse of Traditional Masculinity and Honor

In Arab culture, masculinity is deeply entrenched in values such as honor, protection, authority, and the preservation of family dignity. Historically and socially, a man's role has been closely associated with his capacity to defend his household, uphold familial and tribal honor, and assert his strength in the face of adversity. However, in the context of prolonged war, foreign occupation, and political instability, these roles become increasingly difficult to fulfill, resulting in a profound crisis of identity and self-worth. When men are unable to protect their families or maintain control over their lives, they are often

consumed by feelings of failure, emasculation, and psychological disintegration. As Fadia Faqir (2007) argues, contemporary Arab literature frequently grapples with this masculine crisis, particularly as it unfolds in the shadow of colonial modernity, militarization, and societal disruption. The destabilization of traditional gender roles is not merely a personal tragedy, but a reflection of collective trauma and disillusionment. Literature becomes a powerful medium through which authors portray the internal and external collapse of male protagonists, illustrating the emotional toll of geopolitical conflict.

This sentiment is poignantly captured in Yasmina Khadra's novel, where the protagonist reflects:

"I had always believed a man must die before dishonor touches his family. And yet I stood there, watching them insult my father, invade my home, destroy our name and I did nothing. What kind of man was I? What was left of me?"

(Khadra, 2006, p. 132).

In this passage, the character's anguish stems not only from the violence he witnesses but also from his perceived failure to embody the ideal of masculine responsibility. His silence and inaction in the face of humiliation become symbolic of a broader impotence felt by many men in war-torn societies, where conventional ideals of manhood are rendered unattainable or irrelevant. The erosion of traditional masculinity in such contexts creates a psychological void a state of vulnerability and loss that extremist ideologies often seek to exploit. By presenting a distorted promise of reclaiming power, honor, and control through violence, radical groups offer disenfranchised men an illusion of restored masculinity and purpose. Thus, the crisis of masculinity is not merely a cultural issue but a dangerous political one, as it becomes a fertile ground for radicalization and destructive ideologies. Through literature, Arab writers expose the intricate links between gender identity, political oppression, and the seductive allure of violence, urging readers to consider how deeply personal the consequences of national trauma can be.

2.6 The Role of Foreign Occupation and Cultural Erasure

Khadra's narrative does not seek to justify or exonerate acts of terrorism; rather, it endeavors to place them within the complex and often brutal context of occupation, displacement, and systemic dehumanization. Through the inner reflections of his protagonist, Khadra invites readers to grapple with the painful contradictions of life under military domination where concepts like freedom, dignity, and justice are distorted by the very powers that claim to uphold them. His critique is not a defense of violence, but a forceful interrogation of the structures that create the conditions for it to emerge. In doing

so, Khadra challenges readers to confront uncomfortable questions about agency, trauma, and the psychological cost of war. The protagonist often articulates a deep skepticism and resentment toward the rhetoric of the occupiers, unmasking the hypocrisy of their stated intentions:

“They claim they’ve come to free us. But what kind of freedom do you bring in tanks? What sort of liberation forces a father to hide from his son’s gaze? They say they are the guardians of civilization, but everywhere they go, only chaos and silence remain.” (Khadra, 2006, p. 120).

This passage encapsulates a powerful indictment of the colonial logic that frames military aggression as benevolent intervention. The emotional weight of a father’s shame his inability to face his own child serves as a potent symbol of the psychological devastation wrought by the occupation. Liberation, in this context, becomes a cruel irony, leaving behind fractured families, broken spirits, and silenced voices. This critique echoes Edward Said’s (1993) seminal analysis in *Culture and Imperialism*, where he argues that imperial domination is often cloaked in the language of progress and civilization. According to Said, empires historically justified their expansion through narratives that portrayed the colonized as backward, chaotic, and in need of moral guidance. These civilizational discourses, while presented as humanitarian, are fundamentally violent in nature they delegitimize indigenous identities, rewrite histories, and suppress resistance by rendering it illegible or irrational. Khadra’s work lays bare the psychological dimension of this violence, revealing how cultural erasure is not limited to the destruction of heritage or language, but extends to the erosion of selfhood, memory, and communal bonds. By foregrounding the internal struggles of his protagonist, Khadra emphasizes that the trauma of occupation is not only structural but also profoundly intimate. The humiliation of being powerless, the confusion of moral certainties, and the rupture of generational trust all converge to create a mental and emotional landscape in which extremism can appear, paradoxically, as a form of clarity or reassertion of agency. It is in this context that Khadra explores how individuals are pushed to the margins not only socially and politically, but existentially. His narrative thus becomes a powerful exploration of how the language of empire devastates not only cities and institutions but also hearts, minds, and identities.

2.7 Moral Ambiguity and the Tragic Appeal of Violence

One of Yasmina Khadra’s most compelling literary strategies is his deliberate refusal to frame his narrative within a simplistic moral binary of good versus evil. Instead, he constructs a layered and morally ambiguous world where violence is not glorified, but interrogated its roots traced back to profound emotional wounds, systemic injustice, and historical trauma. The protagonist is portrayed not as a fanatic or villain, but as a deeply conflicted individual haunted by loss, alienation, and the erosion of hope.

Khadra does not ask the reader to condone the character's actions, but rather to understand the psychological and social forces that render violence an intelligible, if tragic, response. This moral complexity is especially evident in the protagonist's own introspection: "I wasn't born to kill. I don't want to be a monster. But every door I've knocked on has been shut in my face. Every dream I had was crushed under boots. They left me no choice. *I am not choosing death I am choosing to be heard.*" (Khadra, 2006, p. 186). In these lines, the protagonist articulates the unbearable tension between his humanity and the path he has taken. His longing to be seen and heard to reclaim agency and dignity emerges not from ideology, but from despair and marginalization. The refusal of society to offer space for healing, justice, or meaningful existence leaves the character in a psychological state where violence becomes the only remaining form of expression, a last resort to assert one's presence in a world that has systematically denied it.

This narrative resonates with Robin Yassin-Kassab's (2010) observation that much of modern Arab literature resists framing terrorists as abstract symbols of evil or religious zealotry. Instead, these characters are often portrayed as emotionally broken individuals, products of political violence, displacement, and betrayal. Their resort to extremism is less about belief and more about a desperate, though misguided, attempt to make sense of a shattered world. In this view, violence becomes a tragic and corrupted language one that emerges when all other means of communication, justice, and recognition have failed. It is not a choice made in freedom, but in the absence of alternatives.

Khadra's portrayal underscores the dehumanizing effects of structural violence the kind that crushes dreams before they have a chance to form, and turns the desire for justice into a cycle of further suffering. Rather than romanticizing the protagonist's journey, Khadra invites the reader into the unsettling space of moral discomfort. He poses difficult questions: What happens when a person is denied every avenue of dignity? What becomes of those who are constantly treated as expendable, invisible, or criminal? In raising these questions, Khadra aligns with a broader postcolonial literary tradition that seeks to humanize the so-called "enemy" and expose the emotional toll of imperialism, occupation, and global indifference. Ultimately, Khadra's narrative functions not as a justification of violence, but as a powerful exploration of its roots. He dismantles the stereotype of the terrorist as a one-dimensional villain, replacing it with a profoundly human portrait of pain, loss, and the yearning to be heard. In doing so, he challenges the reader to confront the uncomfortable reality that behind every act of violence, however reprehensible, there may lie a history of silencing, humiliation, and desperation that demands to be acknowledged.

2.8 Critical Reception and Interpretive Insights

Academic responses to *The Sirens of Baghdad* have consistently acknowledged Yasmina Khadra's nuanced and humanizing portrayal of individuals often reduced to caricatures in mainstream media. Rather than reproducing reductive depictions of the "Arab terrorist" as a fanatic or ideologue, Khadra offers a complex, introspective account of radicalization that is grounded in emotional, psychological, and existential dimensions. Amal Amireh (2013) observes that the novel "offers a rare, internal perspective on the psychological fragmentation that leads to terrorism, without falling into either justification or condemnation." This critical observation highlights Khadra's refusal to moralize or sensationalize; instead, he creates a literary space in which the reader is compelled to engage with the internal crises that precede violent action. The protagonist's descent into radicalism is not framed as an inevitable outcome, but as a painful, reluctant trajectory shaped by accumulated traumas, humiliations, and failed attempts at belonging.

Critics have particularly praised Khadra's use of introspective narration as a powerful literary tool for exploring radicalization as an intensely personal and human experience, rather than a purely ideological or geopolitical response. The first-person narrative voice allows readers to witness the protagonist's gradual unraveling from a quiet, apolitical student to someone consumed by grief, rage, and a sense of invisibility. Through this lens, violence emerges not as a strategic political choice, but as a final, tragic outcry against a world that has systematically denied meaning, dignity, and justice. This literary strategy aligns with the views of scholars such as Edward Said and Frantz Fanon, who argue that colonial and neocolonial systems produce psychological wounds that manifest in unpredictable and often destructive ways. Khadra's work echoes these ideas, illustrating how the occupied subject internalizes loss and degradation until violence appears as the only available form of agency. While some critics have expressed concern about the novel's potential leanings toward psychological determinism suggesting that trauma alone cannot fully explain or predict acts of terrorism there is broad scholarly consensus that Khadra's approach offers a significant corrective to dominant Western narratives. Rather than portraying Arab terrorists as emotionless symbols of religious extremism or political hatred, Khadra reveals the deep human layers that often go unrecognized: shame, grief, helplessness, and the longing to reclaim a sense of purpose. In this way, his novel functions as both a political intervention and a psychological exploration, bridging the gap between individual interiority and structural violence. Moreover, by tracing the protagonist's transformation from an ordinary young man into someone contemplating an act of mass violence, *The Sirens of Baghdad* challenges readers to reconsider the ways in which trauma accumulates in the lives of the marginalized. Acts of violence are not presented as spontaneous eruptions of hatred, but as the culmination of prolonged dehumanization, familial rupture, and existential despair. Khadra invites his

audience to question the conditions that allow such despair to fester foreign occupation, cultural erasure, institutional failures, and global apathy. In sum, Khadra's novel stands out in contemporary Arab literature for its empathetic and psychologically rich portrayal of radicalization. Academic engagement with *The Sirens of Baghdad* continues to underscore the novel's importance as a counter-narrative one that resists the dehumanizing gaze of the media and foregrounds the personal toll of collective trauma. Through this, Khadra not only tells a powerful story, but also reclaims the humanity of those often reduced to symbols, offering insight into the emotional and moral complexities that accompany life in a world marked by violence and displacement.

Conclusion

The Sirens of Baghdad is not just a novel about terrorism it is a meditation on loss, dignity, and the limits of human endurance. Yasmina Khadra presents terrorism as the "weapon of the weak," shaped not by dogma but by dehumanization and humiliation. Through long, reflective monologues and emotionally charged scenes, the novel portrays a young man's descent into extremism as a consequence of cultural erasure, violated masculinity, and unresolved trauma. Situated within postcolonial theory, trauma studies, and moral philosophy, Khadra's work reveals the emotional and existential complexities that precede acts of terror offering readers a lens not of sympathy, but of understanding.

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