

# Understanding Terrorism and the Future of Terrorist Organizations

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By

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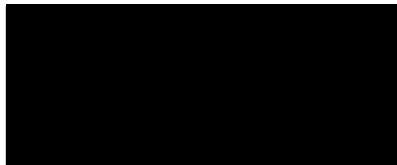
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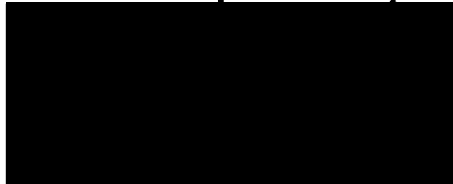
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## Introduction

In an attempt to understand terrorism and predict the future of terrorist organizations in post September 11 era, one must re-examine certain issues for a full comprehension of the matter at hand. This paper will do so by indulging in four main concerns. The first will be an understanding of terrorism and the complexities tied with its definition, aiming at finding an appropriate definition to be used in this paper. Second will be a look at terrorism today and the counter response by the U.S, with references to its "war on terrorism", Afghanistan and Iraq. Third, the paper will examine a case study of a so called "terrorist organization." The case of Hezbollah will be referred to due to the fact that it has been lately targeted by the U.S and has recently gained much international attention due to its hostage trade with Israel. Fourth, the paper will look at terrorism and the rise of terrorism after the start of the war launched by the United States. And finally the paper will examine the future of terrorist organizations with respect to the "war on terrorism" that has been launched by the U.S. Before moving on, it would be wise to have a full glance at the issues at hand in furthering the understanding of the aim of this paper.

## **Background-**

The bombing of the U.S. World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. brought havoc upon the country, and the days and weeks to follow September 11, 2001 would contain talk and predictions of more disasters. It was reported that the terrorists would strike again. They would do so with planes, or car bombs, or chemical warfare. An Anthrax attack was something that Americans had feared would occur and many other devastating fears have come to the forefront in the mind of a once comfortable public. Yet, by the end of September 2001, things quickly returned to normal. People started to debate public policy, and trains started their trek back to New York City. For the most part, the airports were open for business once more and within weeks; there was a sense of normalcy.

Despite this semblance of normalcy, nothing had really been the same. With an ongoing war, fear of retaliation, and the psychological effects of terrorism, a charge had been taken on America. Of course, to people who live in other parts of the world such as the Middle East, the threat of terrorism is something that has loomed for some time. Unlike one sudden wake up call, the people of Israel for example, live with the real possibility that they may go to work one morning and be subject to an attack on a bus or go to a discotheque and be killed in an explosion. These are not unusual scenarios there. For the Israelis, it is a way of life.

Yet, while the idea of "terrorism" seems to be abhorrent to some, it is something that others construe as necessary. There is in fact another point of view. The necessity of war or military action or even a simple police action is something that



people embrace as the norm. Karl Marx, for example, saw a society in need of change and that the only possible change that might occur would be one where the people would rise up. It would indeed be fair to state that many of such uprising would be joined with violence. It is well known that conflict would include violence, and change needs conflict. Examples through history of change driven by violence are significant. The French Revolution, for example, is one that was fought in order to induce a great shift in the way in which the people lived. They used the harshest ways to get their points forward, and blood shed and instigating terror was a normality. Today, they might be seen as terrorists, but then, they were simply engaging in a political action. Of course, that was in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

#### **War on terrorism-**

Neglecting centuries of bloodshed, leaders of today's world suggest that debate and diplomacy is the only civilized thing to do. When George W. Bush declared war on "terrorism", people were at first compliant and like most other "wars" on anything, the cause lost its fervor after a while. People would soon feel cheated and become disillusioned. And while they perhaps now do not sanction what they see as an illegitimate war, they do not sanction "terrorism" either. Today's times are complicated with issues that may seem to be living within a vicious circle. No one really knows the truth behind things, and all we can watch are nations building up for wars against ideas; ideas of terror.

Today there is a new trend of deadly conflict, which has found its way to the hearts of the media and the people. Not that it is new, yet "terrorism" has never enjoyed so much attention regardless of whether this attention is of a positive or negative notion. In the history of the world, "terrorism" is something that has existed in one way or another for quite some time. However, there has been a shift in thought. To prompt political change, instead of having all out wars, or armies against armies, smaller factions are taking over. The collapse of the World Trade Center is a job where one of the terrorists ordinary plots turned out better than expected. Their point was made. Of course, the reaction was perhaps not what was anticipated, which was an all out retaliation on terrorism, an endeavor that was perhaps branded unrecognizable before 9/11.

The biggest problem resides still in the simplest of things. Understanding what terrorism is has driven many people to debate and argue, hoping to resolve the matter once and for all. What is yet unattainable is a universal definition of terrorism, which the paper will later work into, in which all peoples and nations agree upon. Everyone seems to have their own take on the matter, from individuals to countries as a whole. Hoffman suggests that the term is difficult to define but says that *"virtually any especially abhorrent act of violence that is perceived as directed against society - whether it involves the activities of anti-government dissidents or governments themselves, organized crime syndicates or common criminals, rioting mobs or persons engaged in militant protest, individual psychotics or lone-extortionists--is often labeled terrorism"* (Hoffman , p.3). With so many types, one has to wonder whether or not the

term is misused. It could be. However, Harmon, cited in Tangredi, defines the term succinctly as follows: *"Terrorism is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends."* (Tangredi, p.147) Yet that leaves us with the question on a bombing on a military base like the one we had in Beirut against the Marines in October 23<sup>rd</sup> 1983? In any event, since 9/11, the term generally refers to Middle Eastern political groups and the tactics and desires of these small factions. Also, even after 9/11, the U.S. was the target of much criticism, something that to an extent elevated the plight of the terrorist.

The situation of September 11 created a great debate regarding the U.S foreign policy, and many have stated that the U.S simply had it coming. What did the U.S. do to "have it coming"? Why did the "terrorists" aim at the US? Further, the position of these groups should be examined in order to find a neutral position or a way to look at the situation from an objective perspective. In trying to discern motivation and acceptability of these groups' actions, a look at one specific group may help to shed light on this subject.

#### **State and non-State Terrorism-**

It is important to recognize that terrorism is not connected to non state actors, but can be linked to states in what is known as "State Terrorism." Although this paper recognizes the existence of state terrorism it does not examine it thoroughly since the main concern is terrorism derived from non state actors or terrorist organizations. Nonetheless, state terrorism, which is discussed in chapter 4, holds an important

position in the war against terrorism and should not be undermined in comparison with non state terrorism.

#### **The future of terrorist organizations-**

The case of Hezbollah would be good to examine, due to the fact that it has been labeled as terrorist by the United States, and especially that today it has gained greater reputation due to the prisoner exchange with Israel. It is actually a Lebanese group composed of Shiite militants opposed to Western ideology and instead tries to create a state that is Muslim fundamentalist, something on the order of Iran. Hezbollah has above all been labeled by the U.S and Israel as a terrorist group, and has been linked to a number of suicide attacks.

The group is also supposedly supported by Syria and Iran and receives weapons, training, and so forth from these states. It has also been obvious that Hezbollah is a significant player in the politics of Lebanon and provides social services to many Lebanese Shiites. Hezbollah, on the other hand, is blamed by The U.S. and Israel for many "terrorist" attacks. Because Hezbollah does not openly sanction the practice of suicide attacks, one could argue that it just creates armies much like armies are created for a state. One has to understand that its members are fighting for a cause and want to liberate their country from the occupation by Israel in the South. These individuals believe that they are entitled to land and that their army is therefore legitimate.

Jaber explains, driven from the writings of Naim Qassem Hezbollah's deputy secretary-general, that Hezbollah has claimed *"that the occupation of Palestine was*

*only the beginning and that Israel will not settle until it has regained what it regards as its Promised Land*" (Jaber, p.59). Essentially, the fight is about land and the fact that those in this religious group believe that the Israelis are on Palestinian land. Despite the fact that Israel is a colonial settler State the majority of the world recognizes Israel as a legitimate state. To understand why the Palestinians see their armies as legitimate, one must comprehend the fact that they interpret themselves as being a part of a country without any land, or rather that they are living in occupied territory much like the French did during the Second World War.

Clearly, perspective means a lot in terms of the acceptability of intermittent violence to achieve a goal. *"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."* The "terrorists" do justify their attacks even though they seem shocking and brutal to the victims and the international community. Obviously, the victims of such terror are horrified. While the latter position is more popular and has been touched on by the media, the former has not and should be explored more thoroughly. The role of the media has its own perspective and it would divert us from our goal in this paper if we were to indulge in its analysis. When is it okay to kill? During many conflicts understood as wars, governments give seemingly plausible justifications for their battles. Yet, when small factions throw bombs, sometimes for the same political reasons that do countries, they are labeled terrorists.

Today, George W. Bush's war on terrorism has been criticized as being too harsh. His philosophy is that if terrorism were eliminated, it would create a safer world. However, Brzezinski criticizes his position as Bush neglects the root causes of

terrorism, mainly the desire to liberate Palestine and the belief that American influence in the Middle East is purely imperialist (details will be discussed within the paper). Indeed, the U.S. has always refused to either negotiate with terrorists nor try to understand their position. While neglecting this understanding and the cause of "terrorism", the war on "terrorism" becomes an open conflict. When all factions are killed, new ones will spring up. What then? Does the United States continue to wage war on every new terrorist group forever?

### **Thesis-**

What is "Terrorism?" And what will become of "terror organizations"? Will the U.S. maintain its "war on terrorism" even though many obstacles have been proven to divert the U.S. from its entail plans? Osama Bin Laden has not been captured, there were no weapons of mass destruction found in Iraq and Hezbollah has gained more recognition and support after its trade with Israel. Many view the causes of the U.S. to be understandable, but the war it wages seems to be diverting from its aims. Many believe this war was necessary while others content that it should end before it gets out of control. What will become of organizations like Hezbollah, Al Qaeda and the Islamic Jihad? Will terrorist organizations fade away? Will we see the rise of more terrorist organizations when their predecessors fade? What will happen in the new world order and the open war on terrorism? While it is difficult to answer such questions, an attempt will be made by this paper at foreshadowing the future of terrorist

organizations after September 11, and how the U.S “war on terrorism” will end with respect to such organizations.

## (2)

# Defining Terrorism

**“As long as the resistance is a popular situation then it is legitimate” Bashar al-Assad**

### **A BRIEF HISTORY**

Terrorism as we know it today is not a recent phenomenon. It has been part of our recent history for some time now. The actual use of the word terrorism in English was driven from the *regime de la terreur* that prevailed in France from 1793-1794. *“Originally an instrument of the state, the regime was designed to consolidate the power of the newly-installed revolutionary government, protecting it from elements considered ‘subversive’.”* (Center of Defense Information, p.1) Thus terror was justified by the state at that time as a necessity to impose justice.

Terrorism was thus seen as a positive idea or action. Later on in the revolution things were to move in the opposite direction. Many of the leaders of the revolution were faced up with this terror they started by guillotine, and as many as 40,000 people were executed. (Center of Defense Information, p.1)

From that point terrorism started gaining the negative connotations it carries today. But it was a time of change, and the writing of Marx created a sense of unrest among classes, and many viewed terrorism as a means for this change. This was evident in the writings of the Italian revolutionary Carlo Pisacane’s theory of the



'propaganda of the deed' - which understood the need of terrorism as a mean to deliver a message to an audience other than the target and draw attention and support to a cause – typified this new form of terrorism. (Hoffman, p.17)

Such ideas were then put into practice by a Russian popular group known as Narodanya Volya (NV), which translates as the People's Will, formed in 1878 to oppose the Tsarist regime. Their most famous deed was the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. *"Unlike most terrorist groups, the NV went to great lengths to avoid 'innocent' deaths, by carefully choosing their targets."* (Center of Defense Information, p.3)

The NV's actions inspired radicals elsewhere. Nationalist groups such as those found in Ireland and the Balkans started to adopt terrorism in pursuing their goals and objectives. By the time the 20<sup>th</sup> century was at hand, it was evident that terrorism had been adopted and carried out as far as India, Japan, and the Ottoman Empire, with two U.S. presidents and a succession of other world leaders victims to assassinations by many anarchists and fundamentalists. (Laqueur, p.20)

Many groups were founded around the world, such as the Red Army Faction in Germany driven from Baader-Meinhof gang in the 1960's. The group is believed to have caused the killings of around 30 to 50 people, including high ranking German politicians, business executives and U.S. military personnel. Their ideology was an obscure mix of Marxism and Maoism, with a commitment to armed struggle. ([www.ict.org](http://www.ict.org))

They carried out series of attacks world wide, including the massacre in 1972 at

Lord Airport in Israel, two Japanese airliner hijackings, and an attempt takeover of the U.S. embassy in Kuala Lumpur.

Other organizations have also driven our understanding of terrorism to what we know it today including Al-Harakatul Islamia, better known as the Abu Sayyaf group, aiming for the creation of a devotedly religious Islamic theocracy in the Philippines, and the Red Brigades who are a Marxist-Leninist group whose aim is to separate Italy from the Western Alliances. ([www.ict.org](http://www.ict.org))

It was those early incidents in history that has brought to us what we know today as terrorism. Yet the question that simply is not answered easily still resides. What is Terrorism? A question that has aroused debate and arguments with various and endless definitions, a question that needs to be answered.

## **DEFINING TERRORSIM**

One of the most dealt with topics today, and especially after the September 11 attacks on the US, is terrorism. Not only is it the talk of the hour, but more importantly, it has struck reactions from all the big and small powers. The U.S and other major powers in the world are currently combating terrorism in an attempt to make the world a better place to live in. The attacks on Afghanistan targeting the Al Qaeda terrorist group headed by Osama Bin Laden and the removal of Saddam and the Ba'ath party from power in Iraq are seen as the first of a series of missions by the west, with the collaboration of other factions from around the world, to clear out any future strikes that may injure or disturb the democratic world. George W. Bush stated that this campaign

may take years and that killing Bin Laden will not free the world from terrorism.

Yet the fight on terrorism has aroused many rejections and calls for international agreement on the topic. It seems that many people, factions, organizations and even states are asking for a complete definition to what terrorism is, and who terrorists are. It seems that many of those that appear to be creating terror agree that terrorism should be abolished, claiming that they are not underlined as terrorists. Some call themselves freedom fighters, others back their ideas with Jihad and the rest combine their efforts with guerrilla warfare. The concept of terrorism is ill-defined and seems to be subjectively defined by either states or people.

Many have agreed that Bin Laden is a terrorist, yet Israel as a state falls behind such title. Some agree that Saddam Hussein is a Terrorist leader, while others view him as an Arab freedom fighter that shall bring the Palestinians back to their glory. The question is, "what is terrorism, and what thin line holds it off from other conventional war tactics and techniques?" It is important to define terrorism for the sake of coordinating international collaboration. No international nor regional collaboration towards or against terrorism will come without a complete definition of the topic. Although this definition will remain theoretical, it should be addressed as close as possible to the reality of the practice.

This chapter will attempt to look at terrorism from a new prospective. Meaning that terrorism will have to be defined in order to understand the subject at hand. In order to define terrorism one should not look at terror organizations and how they form their attacks only. One should, on the other hand, compare it to all the conventional

war techniques that are known and that seem to be internationally agreed upon as conventional. From that point, this chapter will analyze terrorism as a war style in comparison with other styles. The chapter will also enable the reader to look at a two sided coin in order to attain the full understanding of terrorism and terrorists.

In simple terms, this chapter will try to answer the following debated questions that seem to be the most essential in defining terrorism:

1. *What are the problems with defining terrorism?*
2. *Is one man's terrorist another man's freedom fighter?*
3. *What is the difference in targets between terrorism and other forms of conventional warfare?*
4. *Is there a difference between Guerilla warfare and terrorism?*
5. *What is terrorism?*

#### **What are the problems with defining terrorism?**

One of the biggest problems today, when it comes to defining terrorism, resides in what is known as "State Terrorism." The problems with the issues concerning sovereignty of the state and its "right" to use coercive measures with its citizens makes this issue even harder to tackle. Some states have used coercive measures and others have resorted to even worse tactics, some being labeled as terrorist acts. This papers, as indicated in chapter one, does recognize the existence of "State Terrorism," but did not

thoroughly examine them in order to maintain a complete focus on non state terrorism. (A brief analysis of state terrorism will be examined in chapter four.)

There have been many attempts by writers, scholars, and students of politics to define terrorism. Although such attempts seem successful, most of those who have attempted to define terrorism have admitted to the problems and confusion accompanying the word. It would be only fair to look at these definitions given by many writers, and see the problems facing some of those definitions before moving on with the chapter. This will make it easier for the reader to understand the conflicts and problems facing the definition of terrorism. It is important to point out that all these definitions are a very good attempt on behalf of defining terrorism, yet some problems hold them back from being widely accepted. Another point is that terrorism at many times is defined in accordance with the interests of the definer, thus bringing with it rejections and reservations by individuals, groups, and countries. Before moving on I would like to quote this simple conversation, although not simple in essence, between Ned Walker, Assistant to the Undersecretary of Middle East Affairs at the U.S State Dept., and Hon. Lee Hamilton, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. This will simplify to the reader, as a start, the problems involving the use and the definition of "Terrorism":

*Hamilton: Well, how do you define terrorism, do you define it in terms of non-combatants?*

*Walker: The State Department definition which is included in the terrorist report annually defines it in terms of politically motivated attacks on non-combatant targets.*

Hamilton: *So an attack on a military unit in Israel will not be terrorism?*

Walker: *It does not necessarily mean that it would not have a very major impact on whatever we're proposing to do with the PLO.*

Hamilton: *I understand that, but it would not be terrorism.*

Walker: *An attack on a military target. Not according to the definition. Now wait a minute; that is not quite correct. You know, attacks can be made on military targets which clearly are terrorism. It depends on the individual circumstances.*

Hamilton: *Now wait a minute. I thought that you just gave me the State Department Definition.*

Walker: *Non-combatant is the terminology, not military or civilian.*

Hamilton: *All right. So any attack on a non-combatant could be terrorism?*

Walker: *That is right.*

Hamilton: *And a non-combatant can include military?*

Walker: *Of course.*

Hamilton: *It certainly would include civilian right?*

Walker: *Right.*

Hamilton: *But an attack on a military unit would not be terrorism?*

Walker: *It depends on the circumstances.*

Hamilton: *And what are those Circumstances?*

Walker: *I do not think it would be productive to get into a description of the various terms and conditions under which we are going to define the act by the PLO as terrorism. (Ganor, p.2-3)*

Walker has defined terrorism as *politically motivated attacks on non-combatant targets*. Hamilton's, in this conversation on the other hand, was trying to trick Walker into admitting that an attack on a military target would not fall under the definition of the State Department. What Hamilton was aiming for is to reach a point where walker would admit that an attack on a military base or target would not fall under terrorism. Doing so, Hamilton would defiantly go for a final decisive question that would place Walker under major pressure. If walker did not end the conversation, or rather ran away from the confrontation, he would have to answer to Hamilton's question of whether the attack on the marine unit in Lebanon during the Lebanese war would be considered as terrorism or not. It was obvious that Hamilton was trying to get walker to fall in the trap, yet walker realized that the vagueness of the definition would lend hand to such and interpretation as the perceived by Hamilton.

One can see how this definition brought with it misinterpretations as well as misleading terminology. These simple interpretations that Hamilton attained were designed to trick Walker. A definition that would lend a hand to such misinterpretation would not be considered valid, and thus a new definition must be constructed to limit or demolish any kind of misinterpretation and/or misuse of terminology. This should put the reader in a better picture in accordance with the next three definitions selected and analyzed in context with their problems and misleading statement.

### **Unsettled Definitions of Terrorism:**

#### *State Definitions*

It is important to examine, before moving to further analysis, two definitions of terrorism adopted by the United States and United Kingdom governments. According to the United States Department of Defense, terrorism is defined as the “*calculated use of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.*” ([www.wordiq.com](http://www.wordiq.com)) This definition has been adopted in the pursuit of the war against terrorism. What this definition lacks is the ability to determine who terrorism targets. Although fear is an important aspect of this definition, it fails to determine whether an attack on combatants is seen as terrorist. It does not determine whether the targets are civilians or not, or whether an attack on an Israeli tank in Palestine is of terrorist nature.

Another part of this definition that surly arouses argument is present in the use of the words “use of unlawful violence.” The problem here is settled in the fact that the definition remained indecisive as to what unlawful violence is. Accordingly, any act of violence that is not created by a “state” is deemed terrorist. Does this also mean that if a state uses “lawful” violence to inculcate fear means that it is not terrorist. This, according to the definition, rules out Israel as a state that practices terrorism.

Another member of the war against terrorism is the United Kingdom which defines terrorism in the Terrorism Act 2000:

Terrorism is defined, in the first section of the Act, as follows:

**section 1. -**

- (1) In this Act “terrorism” means the use or threat of action where-
- (a) the action falls within subsection (2),
  - (b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and



*(c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.*

*(2) Action falls within this subsection if it-*

*(a) involves serious violence against a person,*

*(b) involves serious damage to property,*

*(c) endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action,*

*(d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or*

*(e) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.*

*(www.wordiq.com)*

According to this definition an act that is directed towards militants and combatants is ruled as terrorist. This is due to the fact that the definition used the word "person" rather than civilian. Yet this definition lacks to examine who commits these acts. Accordingly, an attack by a country on another in order to "influence the government" in "advancing a political cause" is understood as terrorism. This is false, yet the definition fails to examine the difference between violence perpetrated by a group or organization, and that by a state.

After examining these two definitions, which are governmental and not scholarly, it is obvious that such definitions are fit for the needs of those states, and would surely not coincide with the rest of the world. To understand terrorism better, it is essential to examine other definitions, mostly scholarly, that made a great significance in understanding terrorism.

### *Scholarly Definitions*

Three previously written definitions on terrorism have been chosen. These definitions come from different sources of political value. It is important to point out,

before moving on, that these definitions are all well written, and as such constructed on theoretical bases. There will be an attempt to find imperfections in such definitions in order to decline each definition as an “internationally agreed upon” one. This does not mean that such definitions are useless, yet it is obvious that each will maintain a sense of ambiguity and vagueness that opens doors for debate, reservations, and rejections by certain people, groups, and/or countries.

To start with, let's look at Alex P. Schmid's definition of terrorism provided in his book Political Terrorism. He defined terrorism in a very interesting way. Schmid tried as much as possible to close all gaps that may allow for different interpretations to his definition, and thus his definition is one of the longest and most deeply thought of. His attempt seems to be the best so far, yet many people have reservations towards this definition and we shall see why. It would be important to understand that any given definition at any given time will hold misinterpretations and/or misleading statements. A good definition would be one that limits such interpretations as much as possible. Schmid defined terrorism as the following:

*Terrorism is a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental target of violence. These instrumental victims share group or class characteristics which form the bases of their selection for victimization. Through previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence other members of that group or class are put in a state of chronic fear (terror.) This group or class, whose members' sense of security is purposefully undermined, is the target of terror. The victimization of the target of violence is considered extra normal by most observers from the witnessing audience on the basis of its atrocity, the time (e.g., peacetime) or place (not a battlefield) of victimization, or the disregard for rules of combat accepted in conventional warfare. The norm violation creates an attentive audience beyond the target of*

*terror; sectors of this audience might in turn form the main object of manipulation. The purpose of this indirect method of combat is either to immobilize the target of terror, or to mobilize secondary targets of demands (e.g., a government) or targets of attention (e.g., public opinion) to changes of attitude or behavior favoring the short or long-term interests of the users of this method of combat. (Schmid, p.14)*

This definition seems to address all the key points needed to define terrorism. Although long, some may find this definition satisfactory and acceptable as the standard definition of terrorism. But if one was to observe this definition closely one would realize that it contains some bugs and glitches here and there. The first would be that this definition neglects the symbolic quality of terrorist violence. Another would be as simple as that the individuals and groups that practice this method of violence may use other terrorist techniques which are not addressed in the definition (e.g. punishment of specific individuals rather than random or symbolic victims). A third problem is that the author stressed that the target of terrorism is aimed at random victims. Yet many terrorists have attacked military bases or the police, such as the attacks on U.S navy ships and U.S army headquarters in the Middle East. According to his definition, an attack by Bin Laden on a navy ship located in Yemen is not terrorism, since the victims are neither random nor symbolic as the author has stated in his definition.

The second definition that should be looked at is that given by Bruce Hoffman in his book Inside Terrorism. He defines it as *“the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.”* (Hoffman, p.43) This definition has more problems than the previous one. It does not

state what methods they use, neither does it observe who the targets are, and it neglects to separate it from other methods of political violence. According to this definition, all violence that creates threats for political change, such as freedom fighters and revolutionary violence, is ranked as terrorism. According to this definition, an attack on a military base would be as equal to an attack on civilians. It neglects to define targets, techniques, and beliefs.

The Third definition is given by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.), which defined it as *“the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”* ([www.wordiq.com/definition/FBI](http://www.wordiq.com/definition/FBI)) Again this definition does not quite clear out what is meant by “intimidation.” When is an act considered intimidating to the government or not? What about Military and combatant camps? Is an attack on a military base considered part of terrorism? Yet, the most problematic part of this definition is that it does not put a difference between terrorism and other forms of political violence, just as the previous definition, this one lacks the difference between terrorism and revolutionary violence, such as that of France, as an example.

All these definitions and many others have attempted in different ways to address and/or define terrorism. Yet the quest for an approved and widely accepted definition is still under way. The problem with defining terrorism is that it is always interpreted or misused by those who commit the act and many times by those whom the act has been committed upon. In order for terrorism to be defined it must be addressed in

comparison with the other known and so called conventional forms of violence and/or war. In doing that one can reach closer to understanding terrorism, yet a widely accepted definition seems far reaching.

- **Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?**

This previous statement has been one of the leading obstacles in understanding, defining, and dealing with terrorism. Not only is terrorism an undefined word or concept, but its definition has to face up with those who commit the acts. It is impossible, for example, to convince a man strapped in explosives that what he is doing is wrong. He would look at his actions as an act of freedom or one that brings glory to his people and country. On the other hand, one can't explain to the families of those who died by terrorist attacks that the attackers were freedom fighters. There is a big coin here that has to be flipped over and over again in order to understand all terms, concepts, ideologies and beliefs.

The first Idea that must be dealt with is the difference between terrorists and freedom fighters and/or national liberators. This cliché seems to be the most cohesive lately and the most debated by states and individuals. The West looks at Bin Laden as a terrorist, while Muslim fundamentalists claim that he is a "Mojahed" or a religious liberator to Islam. Who is right and who is wrong? What should be understood is both sides and how they maintain their understanding of the same attack; one views it as terrorism while the other claims it as a fight for freedom.

One of the biggest clashes today in making the definition of terrorism a hard

reaching fact is its conjunction with liberation movements. Many organizations and even states commit or support violence that may target innocent people and/or non-combatant personnel with the understanding and claim that those acts are justified under the code of national liberation and freedom fights. It would be obvious that those who commit violence, whether we shall refer to them as terrorists or not, have some kind of purpose behind such acts. There has been no group or organization that has yet performed acts of violence without any given reason or purpose. Seemingly this conjunction is the biggest obstacle in understanding terrorism. So is terrorism a freedom attack by a freedom fighter? Yes and no. To that person, group, or organization that has committed the act it is a freedom attack, and thus it is justifiable. The late Syrian president Hafez el-Assad said, in his November 1986 speech for the 21<sup>st</sup> Convention of Workers Unions in Syria, *"We have always opposed terrorism. But terrorism is one thing and a national struggle against occupation is another. We are against terrorism... Nevertheless, we support the struggle against occupation waged by national liberation movements."* (Harmon, p.88) Although many western states view Syria as a state that harbors and supports terrorism, the Syrian and Arab governments will see it in a different prospective.

An extract from the Charter of Hamas provides us with a good view on how, those so-called terrorists view their attacks and the beliefs or vows that follow them. A part of this charter states:

*Hamas regards Nationalism as part and parcel of the religious faith.*

*Nothing is loftier or deeper in Nationalism than waging Jihad against an enemy and confronting him when he sets foot on the land of the Muslims. And this becomes an individual duty binding on every Muslim man and woman; a woman must go out and fight the enemy without her husband's authorization, and a slave without his master's permission. This does not exist under any other regime, and it is a truth not to be questioned... The so-called peaceful solutions, and the international conferences to resolve the Palestinian problem, are all contrary to the beliefs of the Islamic Resistance Movement. For renouncing any part of Palestine means renouncing part of the religion... There is no solution to the Palestinian problem except by Jihad... (http://www.acpr.org.il/resources/hamascharter.html)*

It is obvious that Hamas as well as many other fundamentalist (terrorist) groups back their actions under justified political, social, or religious means. It would be impossible to convince those members that their actions are acts of terrorism; yes they would agree that violence is a must, but to them it is just and pure.

The difference between a terrorist and a freedom fighter tend to be subjective. Those that commit the acts state that they are not, although they tend to be extreme in their violence. A big example on interpretation is given from an extract of an interview with Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK.) This extract is from a conversation with a Turkish television reporter, in Ocalan's apartment in Syria 1991:

**Ocalan:** *An armed struggle does not mean only firing weapons. As far as I am concerned, an armed struggle is the highest form of ideological consolidation. This is probably a little truer for the Kurds, because no other option is given them to live like*

human beings.

**Reporter:** *A person in your situation must be very cruel, very removed from his feelings. At times you send even your friends to be executed. Does this not disturb you?*

**Ocalan:** *If someone steps on a plant unnecessarily, I say: Do not do that. That is how sensitive I am.*

**Reporter:** *The type of actions you carry out sometimes result in women and children also getting killed.*

**Ocalan:** *Do you know how I cope with the results of those actions? I consider those actions as a means of spreading our cause. A small group is eliminated, but a great humanity will be created in its place. ([www.kurdistan.org/Trial/ointerview.html](http://www.kurdistan.org/Trial/ointerview.html))*

It goes without saying that those committing so-called terrorist acts have bigger plans in mind and their justifications will always render the cause as the main motive. Leaving us with a choice, it is either we look at terrorism from the point of view of the victim or understand it from the point of view of the perpetrator. This alone is a cliché and an ongoing conflict in understanding terrorism and what truth is behind it. Terrorism will have to be defined with the understanding that it is never one sided, but thus always open to debate and justification from two contradicting sides.

On the other hand, it would be essential to examine some points related to this issue. Some political thinkers and students of international affairs argue that some of the attacks waged by terrorists may not be based on any political motive. Some of these



attacks, they argue, are based on simple aggression and hatred. If we were to look at the latest attacks waged by Bin Laden at the twin towers, it would be obvious that he had great hatred for the American government and people. Bin Laden associated his attacks with the liberation of Palestine and the expulsion of all American activity from the wholly land. It was a new claim for Bin Laden to associate Palestine as a key motive for his attacks. Many have claimed that this was a reason founded by Bin Laden after the attack in order to gain support from the Arab and Muslim communities, and that his key purpose was mainly guided by hatred.

This may be true. Yet it is obvious that Bin Laden has associated with a political motive. Regardless of that, it is obvious that this attack was mainly aroused by mere hatred to all Western civilizations. This would be true in other circumstances. A military group can wage a terrorist attack by mere hatred and/or desire to cause violence and instability. Aggression could be a motive to many terrorists, and it is, but it seems less likely that such aggression is not aided by any political motive. Hitler practiced aggression on the Jews and Stalin assassinated a great number of people. The problem behind this is that both Hitler and Stalin believed that such aggression has a higher cause. The previous wanted to rid the world of the Jewish plague as he noted while the later simply wanted to reserve his seat. Both subjectively have personal yet political in nature motives.

A group of terrorists can and might work on bases of aggression. Yet such aggression must have an end to it, subjective in nature, yet political in essence. It is simply inconceivable that any terrorist attack of any sort could be the simple desire to

create terror for no political reason. Yet, if such situation is founded, and it did, the terrorists will automatically fall to political reasoning, the way Bin Laden and Hitler did, thus making the attack one based on political motives.

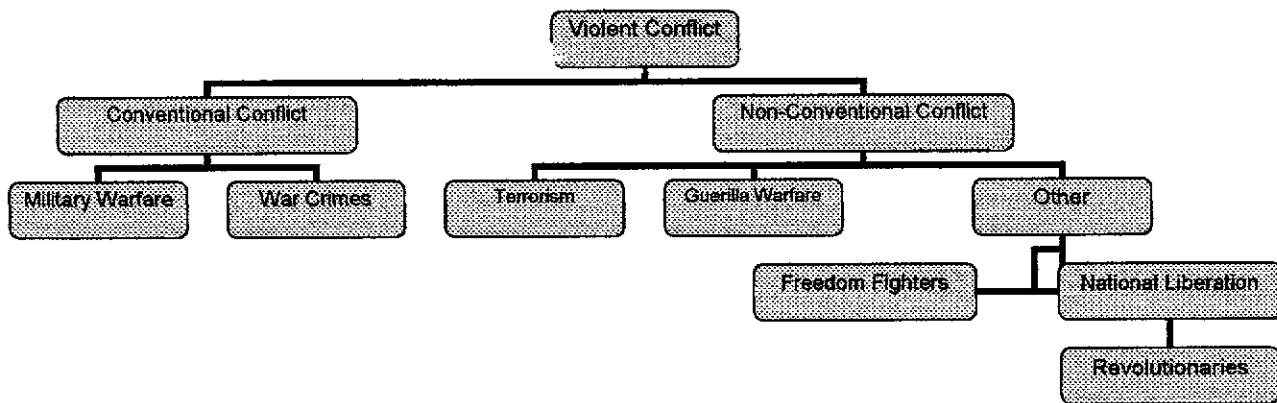
Many claims by terrorists have been theoretical and not true. Yet the fact that such a claim is given, such as a freedom fight, national liberation or the rid of American presence in the wholly land, would alter and give substantial reasoning on the behalf of the terrorists. Many would disagree with this declaration stating the main motive is the only motive, and that any given reasoning would hold no power in effect. This is true as well. This all would simply lead to the following analysis: Any attack by terrorists based on political motives, or claimed to be political, can and will be considered terrorism.

### **What is the difference between terrorism and other forms of conventional warfare?**

It is obvious that one of the most agreed upon subject regarding terrorism is that it is unconventional. By that one means that terrorism does not follow the normal patterns of war. Thus a new question arises at this point: "What is unconventional warfare or yet what are the conventional methods of war?" These patterns fall under military commands by governments against one another or against a group of individuals within or without their territory. This Military is divided into many subsections ranging from the Navy to the Secret Service all the way into the anti terrorist and Commando fleets. Accordingly, such use of attack on a government or a

group is underlined as war, thus clearing itself as conventional and therefore accepted as non terrorist.

The following chart will clearly show what is meant by conventional warfare in comparison with what is unconventional terrorist warfare. Please keep in mind that this chart is not in any way a final understood perception, but rather one that will bring the reader closer to what is meant when stating "conventional" or "unconventional" warfare.



As one can see from the chart above, violence is divided into two sectors, that which is viewed by the international community as a conventional form of warfare while the other is interpreted as non-conventional or unconventional form of political violence. The first is subdivided into both military action and war crime. Although war crimes are rejected by the international community it still remains part of the conventional warfare. The latter observes two major forms of violence, terrorism and

guerrilla warfare. The third is re-divided into revolutionaries, freedom fighters, and both fall under national liberation.

I chose to organize the chart in this manner because the problems of definition do not reside in whether terrorism is a war crime, but on whether it is linked to guerrilla warfare or that of national liberation. There are some unconventional methods of war that seem to be legitimate but are misunderstood by many nations and people, and here is where the big problem resides. Alongside government legitimate military forces, there may exist other sectors, parties, or groups that function as freedom fighters or liberation movements with or without the government's consent. One major example resides in Lebanon. Hezbollah, although approved by the government, has been linked several times to terrorist activities against the state of Israel. Many Western states regard Hezbollah as a terrorist group, while Lebanon and the Arab world view the party as a Liberation Movement aimed at freeing Lebanon from Israel. What both the West and Arabs Agree upon is that Hezbollah is using non-conventional methods of violence, and as seen in the previous chart, its location is not well understood. According to Prof. Martha Crenshaw, "*All incidents of terrorism depend on the political content in which they occur. There are conceptual similarities that permit us to make comparisons, but each conflict has unique qualities.*" (Wilkinson, p.65) Meaning that each situation generating violence will thus generate different interpretations and conceptions none of which will be internationally agreed on.

The problem that is being addressed here is where do Liberation Movements along with Revolutionary Violence come as separate from terrorism? The answer is

that they do not. This is due to the fact that many who call such attacks terrorism are the ones who suffered the attacks, and not those who perpetrated them. While Hezbollah tries to liberate Lebanon from the Israeli occupation, the West and Israel view those attacks as targeting the innocent and an unconventional form of warfare, thus labeling it as terrorism. In Hezbollah's statement of purpose, which is presented by its press office, the following is stated, placing the party in a non violent atmosphere while claiming its acts of violence as just:

*"We are anxious to offer a model of performance in struggling targeting the enemy that represents a challenge for the existence of the whole nation along with its regimes and people. We also circumvent conflicts that do not serve the main aim, fighting the enemy, or that could create discord at the front, which is to be unified around the common interests. The hope is to rid of the pressuring threats practiced by the foreign Zionist entity which has been thrust upon the Islamic and the Arab contemporary nation. It should be clear that the kind of Islam we want is a civilized endeavor that rejects injustice, humiliation, slavery, subjugation, colonialism and blackmail while we stretch out our arms for communication among nations on the basis of mutual respect."*  
(<http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/320/324/324.2/hizballah/statement01.html>)

Many nations have attempted to put a line between terrorism and national liberation, in order for the two concepts to be seen differently. For instance, the fifth summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference meeting in Kuwait, at the beginning of 1987, stated in its final communiqué that: *The conference reiterates its absolute faith in the need to distinguish the brutal and unlawful terrorist activities perpetrated by individuals, by groups, or by states, from the legitimate struggle of oppressed and subjugated nations against foreign occupation of any kind. This struggle is sanctioned by heavenly law, by*

human values, and by international conventions. ([http://icssa.org/ICSS%20-%20theme\\_terrorism\\_Jihad.htm](http://icssa.org/ICSS%20-%20theme_terrorism_Jihad.htm))

Senator Henry M. Jackson was quoted in Binyamin Netanyahu's book, Terrorism: How Can the West Win: *"The idea that one person's terrorism is another's freedom fighter cannot be sanctioned. Freedom fighters or revolutionaries don't blow up busses containing non-combatants; terrorists do. Freedom fighters don't set out to capture and slaughter schoolchildren, terrorists do... It is a disgrace that democracies would allow the treasured word freedom to be associated with acts of terrorism."* (Ganor, p.12)

The idea that freedom fighters cannot be involved in terrorist actions is inconceivable. It must be understood that terrorists can and will be at many times those whom are claiming freedom and national liberation. Thus it should be understood that these two words work hand in hand, and fall back to the fact that terrorism and national liberation may be the same thing at one time. When an attack is made in the name of National Liberation, those being bombed will only view it as terrorism. Thus, at this point, it seems that terrorism is in the eye of the beholder. National Liberation movements and freedom fighters don't own tanks and big military equipment to stand up to a full military force. The only way that they can keep up with causing damage and terror is to use the unconventional tools better known to the West as terrorism.

### **What is the difference in targets between Guerilla Warfare and Terrorism?**

Although the term terrorism created a negative effect when used, Guerilla

warfare still maintains an adequate response when used. Yet, many have misunderstood the previous thinking that it is comparable to the later. This previous statement is incorrect. It is true that both terrorism and guerilla warfare act on unconventional warfare, aiming towards a political goal, mostly national liberation, yet one differs from the other in a very critical way.

It is important to point out the difference between both those unconventional methods of war. It has been obvious that terrorists sometimes target non combatants, although they never regard them as innocent, and civilians in attaining their goals. Guerilla warfare on the other hand aims at destroying enemy numbers, whether they were individuals and/or tanks and military equipment. According to Ernesto Guevara in his book Guerilla Warfare, the fight is always towards the army and never the people.

He wrote:

*"Let us first consider the question: who are the combatants in guerrilla warfare? On one side we have a group composed of the oppressor and his agents, the professional army, well armed and disciplined, in many cases receiving foreign help as well as the help of the bureaucracy in the employ of the oppressor. On the other side are the people of the nation or region involved. It is important to emphasize that guerrilla warfare is a war of the masses, a war of the people. The guerrilla band is an armed nucleus, the fighting vanguard of the people. It draws its great force from the mass of the people themselves. The guerrilla band is not to be considered inferior to the army against which it fights simply because it is inferior in firepower. Guerrilla warfare is used by the side which is supported by a majority but which possesses a much smaller number of arms for use in defense against oppression." (Guevara, p.7)*

Guevara has pointed out the Guerrilla warfare is *"the war of the masses, a war of*

*the people*” and not one that targets them in any way. He also maintained that the targets are the “professional army.” This comes hand in hand with the statement given by Mao Tse-tung who stated that *“It is one aspect of the entire war, which, although alone incapable of producing the decision, attacks the enemy in every quarter, diminishes the extent of area under his control, increases our national strength, and assists our regular armies. It is one of the strategic instruments used to inflict defeat on our enemy. It is the one pure expression of anti-Japanese policy, that is to say, it is military strength organized by the active people and inseparable from them. It is a powerful special weapon with which we resist the Japanese and without which we cannot defeat them.”* (Tung, p.12)

This target, by the guerilla warfare, differs from that of other national liberation or freedom fighter groups. Guerilla warfare does not target non combatants but derives its power from them. If we were to compare this to the attacks labeled as “terrorist” than it would be obvious that terrorist would aim at non combatants and civilians in order to reach their political goal. Let’s go back to the Charter of Hamas in which it stated: *“for our struggle against the Jews is extremely wide-ranging and grave...”* (Hoffman, p.30) It is obvious that Hamas targets the Jews and not the Israeli army; its attacks will include non combatants and civilians thus placing it in the area of terrorism. In 1998 Osama Bin Laden issued a Fatwa urging those faithful to Islam to *“kill the Americans and their allies – civilians and military...”* (<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Terrorism/fatwa.html>) thus proving the previously stated point.

It is obvious that terrorism targets not only the military, but goes beyond to



attack the civilian population regarding them as part of their target. Terrorists view those non combatants as part of the game as their country, and feel no shame in declaring them part of a target for a greater cause. They may want to liberate Palestine, but seek to attack a local restaurant in order to create terror and discomfort in the Israeli government.

The difference between terrorism and guerrilla warfare is clear cut. It is clear at this point that terrorism can and will target non combatants and civilians. I made clear not to use the term innocent, for it generates debate and rejections from the attacking side, claiming that those people are not innocent.

#### Goals and Causes of Terrorism

Socioeconomic grievances, some assert, explain (though they don't justify) terrorism in general. What is yet most important is understanding the goals of terrorism. *"Some believe that individuals or groups resort to terrorism when other avenues for change, including economics, protest, public appeal, and organized warfare, hold no hope of success (also see rioting). Therefore some argue that one approach to reduce terrorism is to ensure that where there is a population feeling oppressed, some avenue of problem resolution is kept open, even if the population in question is in the minority."* (www.wordiq.com) Other causes of terrorism include attempts to gain or consolidate power either by instilling fear in the population to be controlled, or by stimulating another group into becoming a hardened foe, thereby setting up a polarizing us-versus-them paradigm.

The goals of terrorism are understood and seen generally in five points:

- 1) Remake society towards communist lines.
- 2) Establish a home and liberation when the belief of occupation exists.
- 3) Creation of a devoutly religious theocracy.
- 4) Seeking national homeland within a country.

These causes are general, and thus do not in any way justify terrorism, but it is important to understand that terrorism is not an act that is driven by an individual or group without having prior justifiable causes.

#### **Definition of Terrorism:**

The underlined statements given at the end of each section will enable us to get closer in defining terrorism. Those points, which have come out of analysis of certain important issues, are the following:

2. Terrorism will have to be defined with the understanding that it is never one sided, but thus always open to debate and justification from two contradicting sides.
3. It must be understood that terrorists can and will be at many times those whom are claiming freedom and national liberation. Thus it should be understood that these two words work hand in hand, and fall back to the fact that terrorism and national liberation may be the same thing at one time.

4. It is clear at this point that terrorism can and will target non combatants and civilians.
5. Any attack by terrorists based on political motives, or claimed to be political, can and will be considered terrorism.

I would like to add to the previous points two other points that are internationally agreed on regarding terrorism. Those points were discussed in the paper and used to come up with the three previous points. They are the following:

1. Terrorism always uses non conventional methods of violence.
2. Terrorism always has a political motive; otherwise it would fall under non political crimes and/or murder.

Using those given points I would define terrorism as the following:

**Terrorism:** The use or the threat of use, of non conventional methods of violence, by inflicting fear, aiming at achieving political, religious and/or ideological goals of national liberation, revolution, and/or freedom fight, and it is justified by the terrorists as such. Such attacks are based on aggression and violence, yet claimed as political in nature by the aggressor. It targets combatants, non combatants and civilians in order to attain those goals. The word terrorism will always be used by those who oppose the attack and not by those who fashioned it.

## Critique on Definition

The reason this definition seems to work, as far as this paper is concerned, is the fact that it is able to join two perspectives into one. When we examined the issue of freedom fighters and the issue of the victims, it was evident that both sides look at an attack in two different perspectives. The definition reached thus enables us to look at an attack as "terrorist" while bearing in mind the fact that those committing the attack have a cause whom they find justifiable. It is obvious thus, that the definition entitles the reader to understand an attack as "terrorist" while perceiving a good understanding of the causes behind it. This is especially obvious when I used the fact that the word terrorism will only be used by the victims, furthering our understanding that the committers of this act have a reason or a cause by which they justify the act.

Nonetheless, the definition has one major limitation just as those provided earlier. The definition, it must be said, caters for the needs of this paper, allowing us to examine further issues with a clear picture on terrorism and how it is being misinterpreted and misused. Yet the definition would surely fail as one that would cater to any situation. This is simply seen in the definition itself, especially the start, where it is stated that terrorism is "the use or the threat of use, of non conventional methods of violence aiming at achieving, or the claim of achieving, political goals of national liberation, revolution, and/or freedom fight..." This means that any attack on civilians that has no political goals is not "terrorist", which is false in nature. It is evident that many attacks would not even be claimed by any organization and has no direct political cause. According to the definition, such an attack will not be labeled as terrorist.

This limitation, which is a major one, does not affect the paper in any way. This is due to the fact that the definition reached was aiming at making the reader become more familiarized with how terrorism is understood by the major parties being addressed in the paper. It should be thus stated that my definition will only work to serve the purposes of this paper, and would fail to be valuable otherwise.

### (3)

## September 11 and the War on Terrorism

When the day began on September 11, 2001, few people recognized that the world will become different. In less than two hours, the illusion of security harbored by most Americans was ripped to pieces, as 19 individuals hijacked four internal American planes. Two were flown to New York City, where they were used as bombs to destroy the World Trade Center Towers, the most visible world-wide symbols of the U.S. financial district. One flew to Washington D.C., where it ended up in the side of the Pentagon, the symbol of U.S. military might. It's hard to say where the fourth plane might have ended up – the passengers ended up taking over the hijackers and bringing the plane down in a Pennsylvania field. Intelligence has it, however, that the destination of this plane was likely the Capital Hill Building or the White House. That, of course, would have symbolized destruction of the American political system.

Afterwards, the United States and the administration of George W. Bush were hard at work, trying to fight what it now understood as a terrorist attack. More than two years after 9/11, the results of the administration continue to be with us. The hunt is still on for Osama bin Laden who, according to many, engineered the terrorist attack on U.S. soil. Homeland security measures have been stepped up in different fields all over the U.S and abroad. But perhaps the latest and biggest campaign in the “war on terror”, as it was named by Bush, has been the invasion of Iraq, with the intent to overthrow the Iraqi

leader Saddam Hussein. Though Saddam has been caught after the occupation took place, problems in Iraq continue to rise, compounded by additional, alarming news from Afghanistan, namely, that the U.S.-backed government functioning there isn't doing quite so well. Added to that are ever-growing and upsetting beliefs of the regrouping of the Taliban, who are considered to be behind the terror of the 9/11 attacks.

As more information came in and gathered, the CIA, the FBI and the U.S. government were able to pin down the architect behind the attack. The ringleader of the hijackers, Mohammed Atta was a member of the ruling group in Afghanistan, known as the Taliban. And Atta himself was found to have strong ties to Osama bin Laden, a Saudi-born man who ended up being one of America's worst enemies and, as a result, was considered among the top terrorist threats to U.S. security interests. It was also found that the hijackers had been trained in terrorist camps located in Afghanistan. Having realized the origins of the attack, the U.S. government made no hesitation in waging a war against the Taliban group in an effort to seize Bin Laden and hopefully put an end to one of the biggest terrorist leaders of the time.

### **Immediate Retaliation**

From the very first moment George Bush declared the retaliation as the "war on terror," with the belief that all the terrorists would be brought to justice. He was also publicly open in noting that this was not necessarily a war that would be easily fought. Unlike wars in the past in which the U.S. had engaged, there was no defined enemy and no direct target. Rather, it would be the effort to target various terrorist cells. As a

result, the U.S. military needed to change its thinking and strategy from that of Cold War battle to that of fighting against guerilla groups that would have no conjunction of taking their own lives in order to destroy others. The first target was Afghanistan because its conservative Taliban government had welcomed Osama bin Laden and his terrorists and extremists. Because of this, Bin Laden and his disciples had protection, thanks to the Afghan government (Canada and the World Backgrounder, p. 18-24 ).

During October 2001, a U.S.-led coalition, in conjunction with the Northern Alliance, attacked Taliban troops and strongholds. The Northern Alliance consisted of several tribal groups that were opposed to the Taliban. The Taliban resistance collapsed almost at once – and without its support, the al-Qaeda was overrun in a matter of days (Canada and the World Backgrounder, p. 18-24).

The result of that action against Afghanistan was successful, in the beginning. Thanks to Bush and his ability to build a coalition in the aftermath of 9/11, the Taliban were brought down from power, the training camps destroyed, arms seized, with many Taliban leaders either caught or killed. Yet critics note that Bush left Afghanistan too quickly – that work still remained to get the country in order (Albright, p.2-20). This, despite the fact that by September 2002, American and coalition forces had succeeded in forcing al Qaeda and the Taliban from Afghanistan and were beginning to assist the Afghan people in rebuilding that country's infrastructure (Hasenauer, p.4-54).

There is some reason for alarm in this regard. According to The Economist, some 5,000 to 10,000 Saudis had passed through the Qaeda training camps during their existence and *“most are now dormant in sleeper cells”* (www.economist.com, p.1).



Additionally, many Algerians, Egyptians, Palestinians (and at least one American) have graduated from the bin Laden terrorist training camps. ((www.economist.com, p.1)

In short, experts predict that many of these terrorists are now lying low, all over the world – and tracking them down or putting them behind bars would be difficult, if not impossible. Even worse is that many of these terrorists don't "act" like terrorists – many are educated and well-traveled – they're able to slip easily and blend in with Western society. This had been the case of the hijackers – they blended in so well, few knew what was going on until it was too late.

#### *The Search for Osama*

The man continues to be missing, more than two years after the attack of the U.S.-led coalition forces against the Taliban. Some experts believe that the war on terrorism can't be considered won until bin Laden is captured and brought to justice. But it's difficult to say where the man might be holed up as of now – some have thought Somalia, some Pakistan and others claim he's laying low in bases of Islamic separatists in the Philippines (Canada and the World Backgrounder, p.18-24).

Many believe, in fact, that President Bush's proposed war against Iraq (see later on in this paper) is pretty much an excuse to get the country's mind off the fact that Bin Laden still hasn't been captured.

But do Americans benefit if he is captured? What does this do for security and future wars against terror? Unfortunately, the Bush administration suffers more in the man's capture. For one thing, an open trial would give him a platform – an international one – to speak his propoganda. And if he's killed in the heat of battle (or non-battle), he

becomes a martyr. If he remains in hiding, he becomes the “Robin Hood of the Muslim world.”

There has also been fears that if Bin Laden is indeed captured, that this would cause the cells of the Taliban and Al Qaeda to rise up in retaliation. This is possible – and it should be considered when it comes to finding Bin Laden – provided he is ever found.

#### *The Efforts to Stop Funding*

One plan to fight terrorism (which has not been quite so glamorous as war) has involved freezing the accounts of purported terrorists (Oxley, p.1). It was the belief of the U.S. Congress that one way to attack terrorism was to attack the way it was financed – meaning “attacking the financial networks and systems that support them” (Oxley, p.1).

Though Chairman Michael Oxley’s commentary was meant mainly against money-laundering activities of Hamas, the PLO’s alleged terrorist group, in actuality, the government had frozen accounts of both Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein in an attempt to cut off funds that would support the development and growth of terrorism. Again, whether such methods have worked is hard to determine. For example, Osama is a very canny opponent and no doubt has his money stashed in hard-to-reach accounts. Still, the assumption can be that the ban on funding terrorists activities is likely having some effect on the war against terror, even if the effect is a small one.

## **HOMELAND SECURITY**

### *Creation of the Department*

Within months of the 9/11 attacks, Bush authorized the creation of a Department of Homeland Security, which became under the leadership of Tom Ridge, a former governor of Pennsylvania. The department, launched in June 2002, was an attempt to join differing government activities into a single department with the mission of protecting the homeland.

By mid-2003, the department was charged with carrying out the Bush administration's National Strategy for Homeland Security, which was a 90-page document that mandated terrorism prevention (CQ Weekly, 2003). When necessary, the federal government would coordinate with "first responders," specifically law enforcement officials at the state and local level, in the event of a potential act of terrorism.

The Department of Homeland Security employs 170,000 people and includes all or parts of 22 federal agencies under its arm including Customer Service, the Coast Guard and the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Furthermore, reorganization of America's Unified Command Plan for homeland defense directly led to establishment of the U.S. Northern Command, as well as realignment of U.S. Joint Forces Command and U.S. Strategic Command (Hasenauer, p.4-54).

Still critics, as usual, point out the difficulty of Ridge's job in overseeing different departments with different cultures that have their own private turfs. There was a definite security breakdown between the FBI and CIA in the days before September 11, 2001. In hindsight, critics note that if there had been more cooperation,

perhaps the hijackings never would have taken place. However, this doesn't seem to discourage those who are under Homeland Security as they continue to struggle for their own specific territory.

#### *Airports, Alerts and Other Initiatives*

Airports. As we've seen before, the first area targeted for security purposes were the airports. Immediately following the 9/11 attacks, the private companies responsible for airport security were fired, with the government mandating that airport security and training coming under the arm of the government. As a result, airport security is now a federal issue (rather than that of a private company's). In addition, updated devices that check bags and bodies are good at finding metal objects. The problem is, however, that plastic explosives can slip right through. In response, the private industry is beginning to step up to offer screening devices to assist in the detection of these soft explosives (Lacayo, 56-60).

Bio-terrorism. According to experts, this is the one area that is hugely lacking (Lacayo et al, 2003). For one thing, smallpox, which was technically eradicated as of 1970, doesn't have a vaccine anymore. But it's certain that terrorists have access to such germs. In the meantime, Bush launched Project BioShield during January, 2003 – with the goal of making Washington the guaranteed buyers for vaccines and drugs to combat any type of bio-terrorism (Lacayo, p.56-60).

Color Alert System. One major initiative of the Department of Homeland Security has been the color-coded alert system, which alerts the U.S. population of the potential of danger from attacks, terrorist and otherwise. For the most part, the alert is at

“yellow,” which is caution – in other words, the attacks could happen, but aren’t imminent. Three times during 2003, the alert was raised to “orange,” the threat of attacks as a distinct probability. The Department raises these attacks, based on “chatter” it intercepts from known terrorist cells. However, it was proven that once during the summer of 2003, when the level had been elevated to orange, it had been done so mainly because of some incorrect information. As could be expected, the level was elevated to orange during September 11, 2003, and during the holiday season of 2003. Although the September 11 elevation didn’t yield much, the elevation during the holiday season did help raise awareness – some flights were cancelled from Europe to the U.S. because of various concerns.

The large problem with such a system, however, is that it tends to breed panic in the U.S. During the warning issued in mid-2003, Americans were told to buy bottled water, canned goods and secure duct tape for a “safe room,” one in which biological gasses couldn’t intrude. The problem is, nothing happened. The danger in this is that when orange is announced, the response could be a big yawn – and that could be the time when terrorists attack.

#### *On Land and on Sea*

Though much effort has been put into improving airline security systems, there is still some question about the effectiveness of security in the area of the movement of goods and services. It makes sense that the early days of security emphasis should be on the airlines and passengers – after all, passengers hijacked planes and turned them into weapons. By making it more difficult for potential hijackers in the future, it was felt,

this was one way to deal with security issues.

But as of yet, there are still gaps when it comes to cargo security. Experts note that there are 19,000 cargo containers that arrive on U.S. shores on a daily basis – and that any one of those containers could be hiding security weapons. In the Port of New York and New Jersey alone, about 4,000 shipping containers arrive on a daily basis (Montaigne and Kashi, p. 90-99). Given this, analysts have noted that detecting weapons of mass destruction among the approximately seven million containers flowing into the U.S. on a daily basis is similar to “*catching a minnow going over Niagara Falls*” (Montaigne and Kashi, p. 92).

The problem with international cargo transport is the huge lack of accountancy when it comes to the system. This point was proven when, during the summer of 2003, a man managed to ship himself cross country without anyone catching him until he reached his destination. This was not only illegal – it struck fear into many hearts that it was too easy for this man to infiltrate the cargo logistics system.

Noted Stephen E. Flynn, a retired Coast Guard commander and an expert on security on the seas:

*"As I look at the cargo transport system today, when I wake up each morning and see that we haven't had an attack, I just declare ourselves lucky. The secretary of the treasury, the secretary of defense, the secretary of commerce, the secretary of state and the president of the United States should be tossing and turning at night knowing that this system has so little security."* (Montaigne and Kashi, p. 94).

Not only are there concerns about detonation of a WMD in a major city – but attack on a major port would force its shutdown, meaning it would also cripple the U.S.

economy (Montaigne and Kashi, 2004).

*The US government Role – Is It Effective?*

In discussing this, there are some things to consider. First is the physical aspect, of whether the government, through its anti-terrorism measures and other security measures, has enough resources to help protect citizens. The second is a little more disturbing, and deals with the giving up of certain freedoms in order to enjoy a little more security.

When it comes to the issue of security vs. freedoms, the issue becomes somewhat sharper. There was a vast outcry against the Patriot Act when it first came out in early 2001, stating that such an act was a violation of many freedoms (not to mention the fact it tended to stereotype one particular cultural group). The Patriot Act was passed by congress at the Bush Administration's urging six weeks after September 11, 2001 attacks. The law strengthens the executive branch's power to conduct surveillance and share intelligence with criminal prosecutors and charge suspected terrorists with crimes.

Outspoken critics went one step further, complaining that the bill (introduced and endorsed by U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft) meant that Muslim men were being held guilty, with no charges leveled against them, and no lawyers assigned to them (CQ Weekly, 2003). The Patriot Act also gave permission to search, under certain conditions, without having to obtain a search warrant.

But even in the above-mentioned example of protection against WMD through cargo imports, security vs. freedom becomes a contentious issue. As one expert noted,

controlling cargo tends to pit the need for security against the “*ideal of an open society and free trade*” (Montaigne and Kashi, p. 94). This is especially true in the area of global trade – nations without borders and other aspects. Restricting the flow of goods because of WMD fears could end up cutting off the lifeblood of global trade.

In the meantime, the one main problem faced by the government is that it is spread too thin. Although a great deal of money has been authorized for homeland security, it’s impossible to plug every single portal or close every single border without being isolationists. It’s also difficult to pass measures scrutinizing various people without compromising the U.S. constitution.

In the meantime, there is the logical question of who is going to pay for all of the security measures. Although President Bush has authorized tax rebates to the American people (in an attempt to spur the economy), this is money being returned that could go toward helping the war on terrorism.

## **THE U.S., IRAQ AND THE U.N.**

### *The Rationale for War*

Starting in the middle of 2002 and moving well into 2003, Bush and his administration did its best to rally world support for yet another war – against Iraq this time. To provide a convincing argument, the administration made allegations that Saddam Hussein’s regime could easily be tied to that of al Qaeda’s, and that Saddam constituted as much of a threat to U.S. security as did the Taliban-trained hijackers of 9/11. It was Bush’s feeling that America had to go to war, mainly to prevent enemies



from obtaining more weapons of mass destruction. The United States ultimately did invade Iraq – but without support of the U.N. Security Council to back the action – only four members of that Council saw the justification for war (Albright, 2-20).

But it's interesting to note that Bush's rationale for war in Iraq pretty much changes, depending on the mood. First, there was the fear that Iraq was building weapons of mass destruction. As we're finding out now, however, that assertion could have been the fault of poor intelligence; only time will tell.

What Bush has been more honest about, however, is that Iraq is the first step toward transforming the Middle East. In transforming the Middle East, what Bush is aiming for involves causing "*terrorists and those who shelter and sponsor them to tremble*" (Albright, p. 5). The thought was, that the creation of a democratic Iraq would end up sending an important message to the less-disciplined Arab regimes.

But the start of the Bush-Saddam fight technically began when the administration made allegations that al Qaeda had ties to Iraq.

#### *The UN–U.S. Battle*

The history of the United Nations as it pertains to Iraq is a rather long and colorful one, complete with defiance on the part of Saddam Hussein (especially as it pertains to UN weapons inspectors), who ended up booting out the weapons inspectors during the mid-1990s. George W. Bush ended up running mad over the Security Council after that Council's delay in working with Iraq. This was in direct contrast to George W.'s dad, George H.W. Bush, who led a coalition of international forces sanctioned by the UN to the Persian Gulf in 1991 to oust Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

During much of 2002, efforts had been made to avert war (with the U.S. wanting it and the UN fighting it). Then, during December 2002, Saddam allowed UN weapons inspectors to enter the country – the first time since 1998. The inspectors looked carefully throughout Iraq, extending the search even to underground bunkers and tunnels. Although Saddam appeared to be cooperating with the inspectors and the UN Security Council resolutions, his actions spoke louder than words (Hasenauer, 4-54). His aircraft continued firing at U.S. and coalition aircraft in the northern and southern no-fly zones. And Bush, as mentioned before, was becoming tired of Saddam's delay in adhering to the UN resolutions.

Although the question of whether future compliance might be accomplished through diplomatic means was asked, "*Bush wasn't having any of it*" (The Economist, p.9). He pointed out that 12 years of containment, sanctions and inspections had failed to deter Saddam – and another few months would hardly make a bit of difference.

On March 19, 2003, in direct defiance of the UN's recommendations, Bush authorized the first pre-emptive strike against Iraq after Saddam didn't respond to Bush's ultimatum to leave Iraq in 48 hours or face the consequences. The irony, however, is that, with the continuing struggles of post-war Iraq, some U.S. officials are waking up to the fact that the United Nations, with its experience in rebuilding nations, might actually have something to offer when it comes to reconstructing Iraq (Henneberger, p.23).

Much has been written about Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, and how he and his organization have been humiliated through this process. However, the UN

could be having the last laugh – although the Bush administration was able to thumb its nose at the UN and the Security Council, as time goes on and searches continue to turn up no weapons of mass destruction, it seems as though UN weapons inspector Hans Blix had been correct in his assessment – there were simply no weapons to be found. The question was, of course, whether Saddam moved them out of the country (which is likely). But the point was, Bush authorized an attack on a country with a certain assumption – and as of now, that assumption hasn't been proved.

It's too soon to see what will happen in Iraq – but there are questions both in the U.S. and in Iraq as to whether such an invasion was justified – especially given the lack of the Security Council's backing.

Is the U.S. war against terror succeeding, or are we flailing away, moving one step back for every two steps forward? Again, as we said before, only history will tell the tale. The point we're facing these days is that terrorism is a real threat.

The main problem with that is the fact that many nations are in disagreement regarding what terrorism is, as stated earlier, and who the terrorists are. The war on terrorism has been launched by a super power, aiming at resolving the issue once and for all. What is striking, which we will see in the coming chapters, that the war on terrorism has let the “dog of his leash” so to speak. Terrorism will never be the same, and terrorist organizations now have more to say.

## **BEHIND THE SCENES**

One of the most debated arguments today resides in the motives of the American

government in advancing its geopolitical goals in the Middle East. Many believe that the fight on terrorism is only a reason for the U.S. government to place its forces and thus control in the Middle East, while others claim that the Americans are only after the oil. It goes without saying that the U.S. government has an interest in the Middle East, not only in the hopes of democratization and the end of terrorism, but also in the natural resources that are evidently a valuable commodity for the U.S.

According to Sokolsky and Lesser *the "region accounts for roughly 60 percent of the world's proven oil reserves and 30 percent of all oil that is traded globally."* (Sokolsk, p.42) Accordingly, American imports of Gulf oil are on the rise and will surely double in the next two decades. It is hence evident that the U.S. and the Western World has strategic and geopolitical interests in the security of this area, as well as its support to American standards.

Neither September 11 nor the war in Iraq made fundamental changes in the U.S. strategic interests in the area. If anything, September 11 and the wars to follow prove only the risks that the U.S. faces if it does not come into grip with the security problems in the Middle East. Although the area provides many problems for the U.S. government, such as the problems in Palestine and the rise of terrorism, the U.S. maintains the need to bring this area into better standards, standards that serves better the American economic needs. *"The U.S. is steadily more dependent on a global economy and the global economy is steadily more dependent on Middle Eastern energy exports, particularly from the Gulf."* (Cordesman, p.2) According to the U.S. Department of Energy the petroleum exports from the Gulf will amount to 60 percent of

world wide exports in the year 2020. These Gulf reserves make the Gulf region the one area in the Middle East that is a truly vital American strategic interest.

One major problem that the U.S. is facing is the case of Saudi Arabia. The Events of September 11 created major new tensions between the Gulf States and the West and particularly between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. Today the Saudi government is facing many internal problems; some are fundamentalists and others are of terrorist nature. Regardless of the problems residing in the kingdom, it is imperative that the U.S. maintain a good hold on the situation. The removal of Saddam from office made the Saudi's have breathing space. Nonetheless, efforts and pressures for the Saudi movement to come to grips with the situation are being imposed daily by the U.S. administration.

It is thus evident that the U.S. administration needs to have political and military presence over the region in the Gulf. Extreme fundamentalism only causes havoc in the oil market, and the U.S. surely needs to bring an end to it. The U.S. call for democratization and the removal of Saddam coupled with its military buildup in the region limits any sense of political and religious extremities like that found in Iran. Bringing the area to peace will provide better economic prosperity for the U.S. in the long run.

Another point that must be visited is the fact that the Bush administration is using the Homeland Security measures in furthering their objectives of popular support. Keeping the American people in continues understanding that terrorism is a security issue, and that the terror attacks of September 11 can happen again, provides a source of

need for this administration in providing homeland security. The Bush administration is working to show the American public opinion that such measures are vital for American interests.

Although skepticism is rising as to the efforts the Administration has taken, yet the U.S. citizen is kept on his toes, with ongoing claims of future terror attacks. The U.S. fight on terrorism is seen by the current administration as a winning card in the future elections, as they pursue to provide security for the people they work for.

It would be especially important to understand that this war has been launched in full scale, and trying to bombard oneself with the true motives behind it only diverts one from understanding and examining the situation at hand. All in all, whether the fight on terrorism is justified as claimed by the Bush Administration or whether there are certain goals and motives behind it make little difference regarding the issues at hand. The war has been waged and terrorist organizations and terrorism in general will have to face up to this broad attack launched by the Bush Administration.

## **THE EU-US RELATIONS**

The European nations, whom in the months before Sept. 11 seemed to differ with many aspects of U.S. policy, especially on the U.S. unilateral action, are now keenly occupied in Afghanistan, working hand in hand with the U.S. government. Nevertheless, the U.S. has been accused of isolationism and unilateralism, especially with the arrival of President George W. Bush to office. Yet, within weeks of Sept. 11,

the U.S. government built one of the largest political and military coalitions in recent history and held it together through eight months of fighting in Afghanistan. However, on a closer look, a more rigid view emerges, particularly in relation to U.S.-E.U relations. The truth is that in the U.S. the terrorist attacks have radically changed the way Americans think about their role in the world.

According to Europe, terrorism is not a new problem, it has rather become a fact of life for decades. The terrorist attacks in Europe have come not from the Middle East, or Bin Laden, but from domestic sources, such as the Irish Republican Army, the ETA in Spain, or the Red Army Faction in Germany. Thus the European countries believe that terrorism should be fought by law enforcement and not by a military action, contrary to the point of view of the U.S. The attacks of September 11, after all, targeted the United States and not Europe. It is understood that democratic countries is a fertile place for terrorism due to their freedom of allowing civil rights to be extremely flexible, making it easier for terrorists to maneuver around.

Because the Europeans do not have the sort of a global military presence that America does, European governments and their public think their countries present a far less attractive target for international terrorists. As a result, terrorism is unlikely to bring about a boom in Euro-Atlantic cooperation. Europe already has most of the mechanism it needs to take steps against terrorism. Some cooperation with the United States, Russia, the Middle East and North Africa will clearly be required — the radical Islamic terrorism, after all, is a problem that transcends national borders. But cooperation is a

very different deal from working under a U.S.-led coalition or alliance. If anything, European counterterrorist activities will end up strengthening purely European institutions at the expense of NATO.

All in all, as long as the European countries are mainly preoccupied with European problems, terrorism is unlikely to change their relations with the United States. There is an ongoing understanding in Europe that September 11 has not really changed the unilateralist tendencies of the United States, it may in fact have made them worse. Europe will continue to play an active role in the fight against terrorism. There is a strong moral imperative to do so. Also, the more far-sighted leaders in Europe are very aware of the potential terrorist threat to their countries, this was obvious in Spain. However, for terrorism to truly change Europe's foreign and defense policy, an attack of the magnitude of September 11 would likely have to happen in Europe itself. Without such a dramatic event, the political elites will continue to be preoccupied — and rightly so — with issues related to the European Union itself rather than terrorism.



## (4) State Terrorism and Israel

On the basis of my definition of terrorism, one should examine the involvement of states in terrorist attacks. Note that all violent activities committed by a state against civilians are forbidden by international conventions and are clearly defined as "war crimes" or as "crimes against humanity". Thus, whereas these definitions have led to the international disapproval of the use of violence against civilians by military personnel and political leaders, an open problem still exists concerning the use of violence against civilians by organizations or individuals on political grounds.

States can thus be involved in terrorism in various ways: from various levels of general support for terrorist organizations, through operational assistance, initiating or directing attacks, and up to the perpetration of terrorist attacks by official state agencies. All forms of state involvement in terrorism are usually placed under the general category of "terrorist states," or "state sponsored terrorism." Such a designation has taken on the character of a political weapon; rival states ascribe it to one another, and terrorist organizations use it against states acting against them.

One of the countries that has been blamed for the use of terrorism is Israel. Most Palestinians as well as many Arab nations view Israel as a state that uses terrorism in an effort to bring an end to the Palestinian struggle of liberation. The problems that reside

between those to nations is far too complicated to cast a blame on either side. Yet Israeli state terrorism is a subject of much controversy, especially since they have the backing of the United States. Officially, the position of the United States is that Israel has engaged in such terrorism as a means of self-defense. However, looking at the matter objectively necessitates a deeper understanding of exactly what terrorism is, and what it is not. To distinguish between the acts of the Israeli's and those of the Palestinians often can be likened to splitting hairs. Therefore, in the final analysis it will become apparent that in reality, Israel operates as a terrorist state but has the advantage of being backed by the United States. Therefore, the repercussions of being a terrorist state do not exist for Israel as they do for other Middle-Eastern countries.

Historically, the self-defense argument has been that since the Palestinians have used force and violence against the Israeli's, it only stands to reason that the Israeli's would defend themselves against such acts (Grinberg, 2002). But defending against such acts and terrorism is a very fine line – one that is often indistinguishable from the other (Grinberg, 2002).

*Suicide bombs killing innocent citizens must be unequivocally condemned; they are immoral acts, and their perpetrators should be sent to jail. But they cannot be compared to State terrorism carried out by the Israeli Government. The former are individual acts of despair of a people that sees no future, vastly ignored by an unfair and distorted international public opinion. The latter are cold and "rational" decisions of a State and a military apparatus of occupation, well equipped, financed and backed by the only superpower in the world (Grinberg, 2002).*

Evidence of the dichotomy that exists in dealing with this issue is evidenced in

the way that the United States treats Yassir Arafat and Ariel Sharon (State Terrorism in Israel? 2004). For instance, Arafat is condemned and put under house arrest while being monitored while Sharon is actually given the permission and backing of the United States to continue to invade Palestinian cities (State Terrorism in Israel? 2004). Clearly, this is not equitable treatment and presents an obvious double-standard (State Terrorism in Israel? 2004). *“Every Israeli terror attack is always justified in terms of the last Palestinian terror attack, ignoring the fact that each attack is part of an unfinished circle of mutual violence and futile retaliation”* (State Terrorism in Israel? 2004).

The U.S. government contends that states sponsoring terrorism will be punished by the imposition of sanctions against that state (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2000). In other words, U.S. policy dictates that states sponsoring terror will be isolated and pressured into not engaging in such activities, and to finding a more practical means of political expression (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2000). Furthermore, the U.S. government contends that states participating in terrorist activity will be brought to justice and will be held accountable for all presents and past attacks (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2000). Interestingly, the state of Israel has not made it to the U.S. list of states that subscribe to terrorist activity, despite the means by which they have furthered their political position (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2000).

In fact, Israeli terror against the Palestinians is not something new (A Brief List of Massacres in Palestine, 2004). In 1946, there was the King David Massacre, which was perpetuated by the Irgun’s and resulted in the deaths of 92 Britons, Arabs and Jews

(A Brief List of Massacres in Palestine, 2004). This attack occurred at the King David Hotel when bombs were set off in the basement, and there is a plethora of evidence to indicate that the plan for this event evolved over the course of months of planning (A Brief List of Massacres in Palestine, 2004). The brutality of this attack shocked the world (A Brief List of Massacres in Palestine, 2004).

Other attacks have since followed. For instance, consider the Yehida Massacre, the Khisas Massacre and the Qazaza Massacre as just a sampling of the evidence (A Brief List of Massacres in Palestine, 2004). There are many other instances that highlight the intent of the Israeli's to commit to terrorist methods in order to achieve their political and ideological goals. In all of these cases, Israeli's perpetuated attacks against Palestinians even though there was no cause for provocation (A Brief List of Massacres in Palestine, 2004). Instances such as this provide glaring evidence of the terrorist tactics of the Israeli's, despite their ability to escape such technical classification.

*"The root cause of Sharon's downfall now is his failure to come to grips with Yasser Arafat"* (Sharon Falls Flat on His Disengagement Plan, 2004). Many contend that the reason for Sharon's downfall is due to the same hubris with which he has governed his political campaign and terrorist actions against the Palestinians (Sharon Falls Flat on His Disengagement Plan, 2004). In other words, even though the rest of the world recognizes the terrorist actions of Sharon and his downfall has occurred as a result, the United States continues to back Israel and to refute allegations of terrorist activity (Sharon Falls Flat on His Disengagement Plan, 2004). In the end, it is obvious

that the United States has an important stake in refuting the terrorism of the Israeli's, but this denial is an apparent affront to reality (Sharon Falls Flat on His Disengagement Plan, 2004).

The war on terrorism that is currently underway in the Middle East heightens tensions in Israel as well, and puts the United States in an increasingly precarious position. Having taken such a staunch stance against terrorist actions in other locations throughout the Middle East, defining the actions of Israel differently is becoming a more difficult task. It becomes important to recognize that the war against terror in the Middle East is greatly aided by the relationship that the United States shares with Israel, for a number of political, practical and tactical reasons. Given this reality, the position of the United States in regards to Israel is unlikely to change.

One person's terrorism is another person's freedom fighter, and the case of Israel is the perfect manifestation of this belief. While the Palestinians certainly look upon the actions of Israel as being terrorism, the United States continues to support them under the guise of self-defense. In reality, the relationship between the United States and Israel is one that is politically advantageous, and for this reason the label of terrorism is one that is avoided. So where does this leave Hezbollah, an organization that seeks to end the Israeli control of Lebanon and Palestine?

(5)

## Hezbollah

Before moving on with the topic, it is essential to clear out some points. This paper does not in any way determine whether Hezbollah is a terrorist group or not. On the other hand, the use of the definition founded in the previous chapter clearly states that Hezbollah uses terrorism in furthering their goals. Understanding Hezbollah as a terrorist group only is true from the Western point of view, and is thus not seen as a fact in any sense.

According to many in the U.S., Hezbollah is known as "*the A-team of terrorists*" (U.S. Embassy, 2003). Prior to the Al-Qaeda terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, Hezbollah was blamed for more American deaths (through terrorism) than any other organization (U.S. Embassy, 2003).

Since its establishment more than 20 years ago, Hezbollah has been known as both a religious and a political power in Lebanon, collaborating with the Shiite population and discharging its own brand of Islamic fundamentalism and Islamic resistance. In addition, this group has strong ties to both Iran and Syria, making it a powerful ally (Globalterrorism 101.com). It's been said that any peace process between Israel and the Arab world will be more than agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

As of 2004, Hezbollah boasted 20,000 active members (PBS.org, 2004). Yet despite vague connections to suicide bombings and other terrorist incidents, Hezbollah consistently notes that it isn't a terrorist organization, as it focuses more on politics than it does on armed might. In the Lebanese parliament, Hezbollah holds eight seats, making this the single largest-party group in the National Assembly (PBS.org, 2004).

Furthermore, Emile Lahoud (Lebanon's president and a Maronite Christian) considers that Hezbollah is a "*legitimate political organization*" in Lebanon, rather than a terrorist block (PBS.org, 2004).

What is the truth behind Hezbollah? This is a very difficult question to answer -- it's a group that enjoys enormous support from its home country and neighbors, even while causing the U.S. government to wonder about how to contain the military elements of the group. It's a group known for its suicide bombings as well as the building of schools and creation of social services, making it one of the hardest organizations to label as simply "terrorist."

In this chapter, we'll provide an overview of Hezbollah and also determine the nature of its causes. Following that, we'll discuss the future of this complicated organization.

### **Historic Overview**

In the world of terrorism, Hezbollah makes Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda operatives little more than children. Since the 1980s, Hezbollah has been at the top of the list of U.S. counter terrorism efforts (Byman, 2003). Hezbollah promoted and

pioneered the use of suicide bombing, which led to such tragedies as the bombing of the U.S. marine barracks in 1983 in Beirut, the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut that same year and a year later the hijacking of TWA flight 847 (Byman, 2003). Hezbollah was blamed, although some are not yet settled, for attacks on Israeli targets in Lebanon, the bombing of the Israeli embassy in Argentina in 1992, and the bombing of a Buenos Aires Jewish community center just two years later (Byman, 2003). It should be noted nonetheless that Hezbollah denies all these accusations.

The organization came out glorious by performing suicide attacks were Israel was forced to withdraw to a "security zone" for protection in southern Lebanon during 1985, and then left Lebanon for good in 2000, with the exception of a small area of Chebaa Farms (Byman, 2003). This placed Hezbollah as a successor for most of the Lebanese population and thus gained major popularity in the days following the retreat of the Israeli army.

During the 1980s, Hezbollah followed Khomeini's line, namely that the Israeli state should be totally destroyed (Bazargan, 1994). This was attractive to most of the Shi'as, who were mainly without a home (Bazargan, 1994). It also resembled more guerilla warfare than outright terrorism, as many of Hezbollah's actions were focused on Israeli military personnel that were on Lebanese soil (Byman, 2003). Though Hezbollah also attacked some civilians, Hezbollah only claimed responsibility as far as the fact that Israel violated its "red lines" or that Israel caused problems by assassinating Hezbollah leaders (Byman, 2003).



But as the 1990s moved into the 2000s, the reason for Hezbollah's original existence is beginning to fade. Questions have arisen lately about what will happen to this group, and whether or not it can adapt to changes in political structures and pressure put forth through the "war on terrorism."

It's true that in 2000, when the Palestinians announced their "intifada," Hezbollah was claimed to be responsible for arming and training Palestinian terrorists and generally getting in the way of creating a peace process in the Middle East (Byman, 2003).

Hezbollah's charter involved an end to imperialism from the West and total annihilation of the state of Israel. But these days, many of the founding principles of this organization have been abandoned, at least in theory. Though the group still denounces the U.S., it has been somewhat more cautious in its opposition.

Additionally, direct attacks on Israel have become rarer, but Hezbollah continues to strike at Israel indirectly -- through helping Palestinian terrorist groups become more dangerous. In short, Hezbollah has become the *"single most effective adversary Israel has ever faced"* (Byman, 2003, p. 60).

### **Where is Hezbollah today?**

According to experts, *"like many other radical Islamist groups, Hezbollah builds both bombs and schools"* (Byman, 2003, p. 60). With Saddam Hussein in captivity, the search for Osama bin Laden continues, there are increasingly more and more cries to devote resources dedicated to the War on Terrorism to eliminating Hezbollah

(Ghorayeb, 2002). The reasons for this outcry are clear; for one thing, Hezbollah is commonly known to be the reason for a good deal of the global terrorist activity today (Ghorayeb, 2002). The U.S. is putting pressure on Syria and Iran, which are both powerful patrons of Hezbollah. Israel, needless to say, is ready to fight back in its own way (Crisisweb.com, 2003).

Basically, according to some experts, the original reasons for Hezbollah's existence simply aren't valid any more. For one thing, when Israel engineered its withdrawal from southern Lebanon, in the year 2000, it also took away Hezbollah's main reason for existence (Crisisweb.com, 2003). In addition, Hezbollah still continues its resistance and attacks against Israel -- Israel, in fact, continues to be the basis for the Hezbollah ideology (U.S. Embassy, 2003).

Moreover, international efforts to try to build peace between Israel and Palestine have left Hezbollah without justification to *"invoke the Palestinian struggle as a justification for armed action"* (Ghorayeb, p.47).

Additionally, there is some evidence that Hezbollah is likely to (if not already has) turn its efforts toward getting American forces out of Iraq (U.S. Embassy, 2003). According to a recent report from the U.S. Embassy, Hezbollah's philosophy tends to focus toward eliminating oppressors and helping the oppressed (U.S. Embassy, 2003). "Oppressed" in this case is defined as not only Muslims, but all those who are being oppressed on earth, as stated by the Koran -- and this oppression can be social, economical, political and cultural (U.S. Embassy, 2003). But for the most part, this

report cautions that much of Hezbollah's "assistance" is based on the attitude toward Zionism (U.S. Embassy, 2003).

In this regard, Hezbollah continues to regard both Israel and the U.S. as "*public enemy number one*" (Ghorayeb, p21). In addition, Hezbollah is vehemently opposed to any type of Western culture, fearing that such culture will both restrict the Hezbollah movement and curtail Islam's influence (Ghorayeb, 2002).

Hezbollah has also taken some other rather unorthodox steps (unorthodox, at least, in comparison to what was going on in the past with this organization). Interestingly enough, Hezbollah ended up joining the tourism industry for a brief time in its attempts to attract visitors to Baalbek, a Hezbollah stronghold located in the Bekka Valley of Lebanon (Theodoulou, 1996). There are Roman ruins in this area, and Hezbollah officials wanted to ensure tourists that, despite a decade and a half of civil war, that the Bekka Valley was perfectly safe (Theodoulou, 1996). Promoting tourism, note the experts, is simply one way in which Hezbollah is trying to move from a militia-backed organization into one that can support a more peaceful and unified Middle East (Theodoulou, 1996).

Yet despite all of this, only recently, Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's Secretary General, noted that "*Death to America*" is the philosophy of this group (Byman, 2003). What makes this organization even more difficult to pinpoint furthermore, is the fact that it has many cells outside of Lebanon -- cells in Asia, Latin America, Europe and even possibly the United States. This means that any attack against Hezbollah in the Bekka Valley could end up activating these, other cells world-wide and causing some

pretty horrific attacks (Byman, 2003). Experts note that pretty much the only way to control Hezbollah is through controlling the nations that support this group.

## **Future**

Where will all of this leave Hezbollah? Some experts can only foreshadow a guess. Some note that this group faces an important decision whether to move more toward the political arena (and show its face as one among many Lebanese parties) or whether it will remain half political party and half armed militia (Crisisweb.com, 2003).

Others predict that there could be a time during which both Iran and Syria will run out of ammunition to support Hezbollah (U.S. Embassy, 2003). For example, Syria is supportive of secularism, Baathism and pan-Arabism (U.S. Embassy, 2003). Hezbollah, on the other hand, supports Shiite fundamentalism, Khomeinism and pan-Muslimism. Both of these are mutually exclusive philosophies -- and both groups know that with the Iraq military campaign (more or less) at an end, that the Syrian regime will be strongly encouraged to stop support of terrorist organizations (U.S. Embassy, 2003).

Additionally, the leaders of Hezbollah know that the war on terror could eventually impact this group. This could mean a direct attack from American forces or an Israeli attack with support of the United States. The Hezbollah leadership knows that if this happens, it could *"have a debilitating effect on its standing in Lebanon"* (U.S. Embassy, 2003).

Still, some experts note that the opposite is likely to be true -- that Hezbollah still remains strong and, as a result, will play a huge role in a unified Middle East

(Globalterrorism 101.com). The group, for example, will likely continue enjoying public support from both Muslims and Christians in Southern Lebanon because of its ability to provide desperately needed social services to this particular area. Some of these services have included schools, hospitals, housing and emergency loans to the population -- largely funded through Iran, of all places. This is how Hezbollah is gaining public support -- through obtaining the "hearts and minds" of many of the Lebanese who literally have no where else to turn (Globalterrorism 101.com).

Does this mean a more moderate and mellow Hezbollah? It's true that following the 9/11 attacks, the group harshly criticized Bin Laden for doing so (PBS.org, 2004). Furthermore, in recent interviews, Hezbollah leader, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah keeps reiterating that Hezbollah poses no threats to the United States (PBS.org, 2004). Yet as we indicated earlier, Nasrallah, as recently as 2003, claimed "Death to America" as the group's primary philosophy.

Although there is pressure on this group to at least change; there is little doubt that this will occur (PBS.org, 2004). The question becomes though, from where will this pressure come? The U.S. is will possibly further its war against terror to reach Hezbollah, but experts rightfully point out that such a war could backfire (Byman, 2003). Despite pressure from the U.S. on both Syria and Iran, these two countries continue to support Hezbollah; and any attack it could repel would be regarded as heroic by the rest of the Arab world (Byman, 2003). Adding to this is the fact that officials in France, Canada and other Western nations have supported Hezbollah's social and political projects (Byman, 2003).

Therefore, any attack against Hezbollah by the United States (or any other nation, for that matter), needs to keep several things in perspective. For one thing, as mentioned before, this group does enjoy huge international support for its good work. For another, the group has powerful allies in Iran and Syria (Byman, 2003). A military attack would not do very well -- in addition to leading to disapproval from much of the world, Hezbollah's members are tough and highly skilled and trained fighters. Furthermore, unlike the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, in which the Taliban were universally hated and despised, Hezbollah enjoys vast support from the local Lebanese (Byman, 2003).

Finally, the chances of the U.S. launching a military strike to try to get rid of Hezbollah are pretty small. These days, the U.S. position in the world is less favorable than it was when the war on terror began (Byman, 2003).

What must be stated before moving on is the fact that Hezbollah has become one of the most important organizations in the Middle East. Not only has it gained popularity with the Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon, but has gained international recognition with its prisoner trade off with Israel. Today Hezbollah is looked at, from the point of view of the Arabs, as a builder rather than a demolisher. The fact that the organization has been an important aspect of the Lebanese Legislature, and having many seats at that, gives this organization a push forward in the battle against terrorism. The U.S. no longer can advance at Hezbollah as a terrorist organization without having examined such issues, making it the more difficult to asses a strategy, if needed, to end this organization.

The future of this organization seemed to weaken with the start of the war on terrorism, but as the days move on, Hezbollah would only plant its roots stronger within the soil. With terrorism not being affected as the U.S. would have liked it to be, Hezbollah only grows stronger and smarter. On the other hand, the pressures that have been enforced by the U.S on the nations that support Hezbollah, such as the recent blockade on Syria, only pushes the organization to think twice about maintaining itself in the future. Leaving the organization with two choices:

- 1) *Hezbollah could remain as it is, knowing that the uncertainty of the war on terrorism may reach it some day, yet having gained national and regional support as well as international recognition, making it the harder to dismantle.*
- 2) *Hezbollah will slowly move to become a political group working within Lebanon, giving away with its arms when seen necessary after having realized that its support from Syria and Iran may come to an end.*

It would be difficult to state that either will surely occur. Yet, the second choice seems to be the most anticipated of the two. This is due to the fact that Hezbollah has been recently maneuvering in another direction than what we have seen before September 11. Attacks on Israel have been basically stopped, development on the social level has risen as stated earlier, and its role in the Lebanese government seems to occupy most of the organizations' time. Its prisoners' swap with Israel shows that this organization

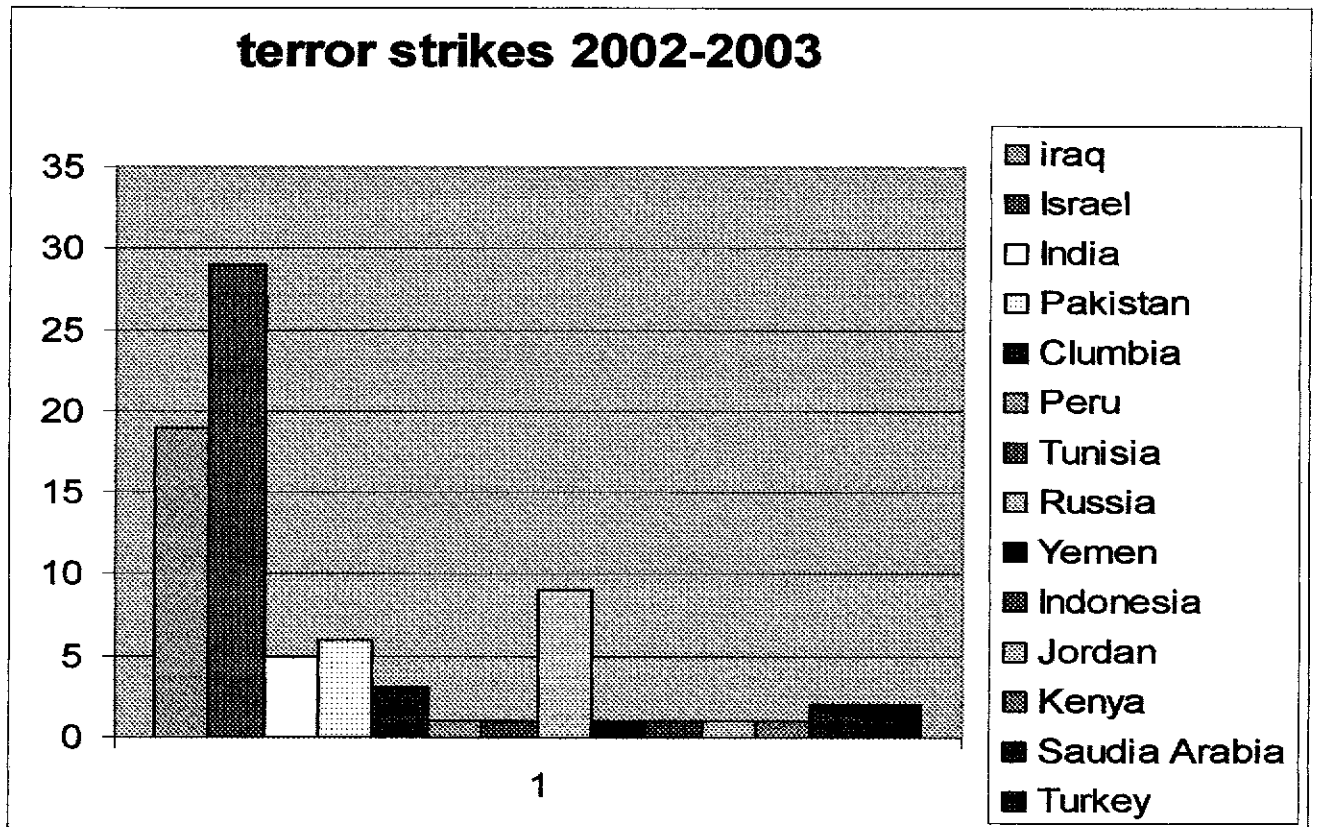
may be leaning towards a more moderate view of its importance in the Middle East. Hezbollah is a terrorist organization which I believe will do its best to move, though slowly, towards a more moderate political organization. This is due to the fact the terrorism is simply a tool that the organization uses in attaining its goals. Once the end is achieved it would defiantly be done with this tool. Realizing this, Hezbollah will have to direct its path towards a more non-militant organization.



(6)

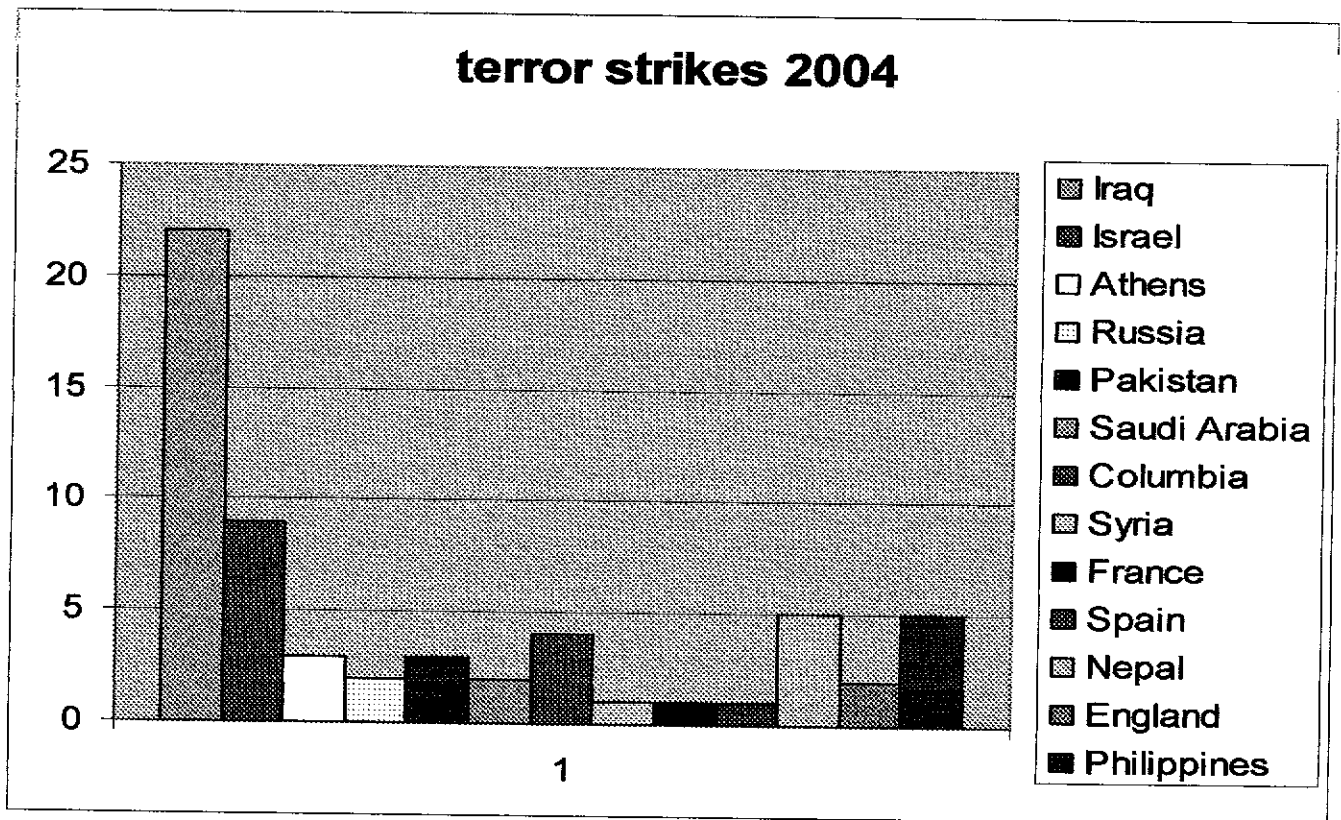
## The rise of terrorism and the failures of the war

The start of the war on terrorism brought about new beliefs and ideas in the hope that terrorism will be vanquished once and for all. The problem is that this war brought about the unexpected. Instead of limiting terrorist organizations and their activities, the war has brought about an increase in such activities. The following graphs show the trend of terrorism for the years 2002-2003 and the current terrorist activities for 2004.





## terror strikes 2004



- *Data gathered from U.S. Department of State and the Terrorism Research Center.  
([www.terrorism.com](http://www.terrorism.com) and [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov).)*

According to the graphs above, terrorism is rising, especially in Iraq, giving the Americans and the war on terrorism a new unexpected perspective. Today terrorism has gained much more attention than it did before September 11, and surely gave terrorist organizations the hope that their cause will finally be heard by an international audience. Hezbollah, for example, has gained the support of the major Lebanese society, as well as regional and partial international support. Osama Bin Laden on the

other hand, is viewed by many as a "Mojahed" and gains the support of a major part of the Islamic world.

Other prospects have also aided terrorist groups in their efforts. *"Terrorists have greater opportunities for terror as their access to media, weapons, and targets increased."* (Stack, 2002) With Bin Laden on the loose, many terrorist organizations see this as a good hope, realizing that the U.S. may not be able to track down individuals that run around loose, which is the basic structure of many terrorist organizations. Thus, the more involved the U.S. becomes in world affairs and its occupation of foreign territory, the more it would become an easy target for any freedom fighter.

Another aspect that must be examined is the fact that the strategy of cutting down on the financing of those groups did not bring an end to them. Terrorist organizations have been increasingly able to provide themselves with enough financial support through NGO's and charities as well as illegal enterprises such as drugs and kidnapping. Terrorist have also found it easy to relocate their activities in various areas around the world. Although many states are rethinking their support to terrorist organizations, many of those organizations are finding it easy to re-establish themselves in countries that find it difficult to combat them.

What must be understood is that many terrorist organizations, unlike Hezbollah, are merely clustered cells that can simply work individually and are thus harder to track down. Even with the presence of a super power on the ground, many Iraqis found it easy to gather themselves and create terrorist organizations. The army of

Sadr Mahdi has proved to be a strong organization, inflicting attacks not only on the American army, but on civilians as well. Only recently have we witnessed the beheading of Nicholas Berg, an American who was captured and killed by members of Al Qaeda.

So what is really going on with the war on terrorism? Although George W. Bush stated that this war is not a short one, it would be difficult to believe that the rise of terrorist organizations and terrorism was part of the plan.

### **The Failures of the War on Terrorism:**

The war on terrorism has discharged many doubts lately with regard to the American policy of foreign affairs. Many believe that the American war was nothing more than a means to enter the Middle East and control the oil, while others see it as a tactical move that failed to meet its objective. Nevertheless, attacks continue around the world, and threats will have an even greater significance than they did before the war on terrorism was launched.

George W. Bush continues to claim that America will be able to win the war on terror. Yet, the U.S still forgets that terrorism is a technique and not an institution or an organization, which is the first main cause of the failures that the U.S has been encountering lately. As seen in the definition earlier, the word terrorism basically relates to a style by which a group of individuals target civilians or non-combatants in order to inflict terror for political reasons. This does not in any way give you the names of those people nor does it shed light on who can go ahead and inflict such terror. The

war on terrorism is an idea that should not have graduated into an action by which military power takes the upper hand.

Jonathan Steele wrote an article for the Guardian on November 22, 2003 entitled A war that can never be won. He directly stated that *“terrorism is a technique, not an enemy state that can be defeated.”* (Steele, 2003) He pointed out that the failures of leaders to understand this issue gave out the wrong reaction as a counter strike for September 11. Bernard Adam agree with Steele when he wrote that the *“Madrid bombings of March 11, nine days before the first anniversary of the attack on Iraq, shows just how badly the current United States-led fight against international terrorism is failing.”* (Adam, 2004) He argued that the U.S-led war was simply targeting no one. It was launched against an ideology that can never be narrowed down to a simple group or organization.

Although the war on terrorism seems to be directed towards an idea, as those writers claim, it would be false not to recognize that many organizations such as Al Qaeda and Hezbollah are not of a terrorist nature. The idea that the U.S war on terrorism is losing due to the fact that terrorism is an ideology is simply ridiculous, although it has its share in making the war difficult.

The most important aspect in the failure of the war on terrorism, which is identified by the fact that terrorism is recently on the rise all around the world, is directed towards three main aspects. The first is that terrorism is not bound to an area or location. The second relates to the fact that the U.S failed to produce any evidence that Iraq was harboring weapons of mass destruction. The third aspect, which is the

most debatable, is based on the American desire for democratization in the Middle East. These three directives settle the fact that the American government gave no thought to understand the reasons as to why terrorism exists. Understanding these issues will surely lead to understanding why this campaign against terrorism is facing many difficulties, and why the U.S is facing many hostilities in the International arena, especially by the Arabs and some EU members.

One of the leading arguments today is that terrorism is not limited to groups residing in a single area or country, but is rather clustered all around the world. The simple example is Al Qaeda. After the war on Afghanistan up till recently, AL Qaeda still maintains a powerful effect in the international arena. Terror attacks by this group did not stop and are seemingly increasing after the group has been targeted.

The former CIA director, George Tennes, told the Senate on March 2004, that Al Qaeda has *“morphed into a loose and expanding association of regional terror cells linked less by chains of command and communication than by a common vision of Jihad against the US.”* (Karon, 2004) The growing embrace of the movement’s goals and tactics by terror cells with no direct operational connection to Bin Laden’s network, said Tenet, means that *“a serious threat will remain for the foreseeable future, with or without Al Qaeda in the picture.”* (Koran, 2004) Thus the growing threat by Al Qaeda is linked to the understanding that the organization has been developing lately by simple loyalty to Bin Laden and the idea of Jihad. Many cells have been growing around the world, especially in Iraq and Turkey, which do not have a direct link to Al Qaeda or Bin Laden, but yet proclaim their affiliation to the organization.

As long as Bin Laden is on the loose, terrorism linked to Al Qaeda will remain a strong threshold in the war on terrorism. The power of this organization is being developed by the war launched against them. Many Arabs see Bin Laden as a leader of the Jihad movement, and many have linked themselves to him due to respect and admiration. What has been a group that once resided in Afghanistan is now an international movement that needs not any communication with Bin Laden to go on with the Jihad war against that Americans and their alias. The growing threat of Al Qaeda places the Americans in a maze of confusion with regards to their war on terrorism. Hence the rise of terrorism, whether or not linked directly to Al Qaeda or not.

The second reason as to why terrorism is on the rise, which seems to evoke a higher level of hate within the Arab community, is the fact the U.S. failed to produce any evidence of any finding of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. This has transferred many ideologists to believe that the Americans were simply after the Arab world and in particular their oil. This in itself gave many individuals the reason to grab arms and declare what Bin Laden has been preaching, Jihad against the Americans.

What the American government declared was the main reason to enter Iraq and topple the leadership of Saddam Hussein now has become a backlash that has escalated violence in Iraq to a situation where Muslim fundamentalists all around the world have been given the push that they were waiting for in order to emerge and start the war of Jihad. According to the statistics established by Le Monde Diplomatique, *"from 1 May 2003, the date Bush officially declared the war over, to the end of February 2004, there*



*were an average of 17 attacks a day on allied forces.”* (Adam, 2004) Today more Americans have died after the war than during the military clashes with Saddam’s troops. This only makes the Terrorists recognize a very important issue, that they can seriously injure the Americans without having been organized into groups or platoons.

From October 2003 the Bush administration realized that Iraq has provided the unexpected, and that their war on terrorism seems to be fading away from the idea once obtained by that administration. This was obvious when the defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld said in a memo published in the USA Today, October 16, 2003: *“We lack metrics to know if we are winning or losing the global war on terror.”* (<http://www.usatoday.com>) He also asserted that Jihad had more recruits than it ever did, thanks in large to the invasion of Iraq. By the end of 2003 the Bush administration was daily criticized for their failing efforts in the war against terrorism. In a report for the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S Army War College, a visiting professor, Jeffery Record, called the invasion of Iraq *“an unnecessary preventive war against a deterred Iraq that has created a new front in the Middle East for Islamic terrorism and diverted attention and resources away from securing the American homeland against further assault by an undeterrable Al Qaeda... The war against Iraq was not integral to the global war on terrorism, but rather a detour from it.”* ([www.carlisle.army.mil](http://www.carlisle.army.mil))

Many other analysts agree the U.S invasion of Iraq has opened a new era of terrorism and has given terror groups both within and without Iraq a new cause to fight for, increasing their anti-U.S convictions. This was noted after the attacks of Madrid, the former EU envoy to the Middle East who is Spain’s new foreign minister, Miguel

Angel Moratinos, said: *"The strategy followed by the U.S administration and by other Western countries has failed spectacularly."* He added that this unilateral policy of preventive war had led to *"chaos and disaster."* (www.cnn.com) Adding to this, the president of the European Commission, Romano Prodi said in an interview: *"Clearly the fight against terrorism cannot be resolved through force."* He continued, *"We should remember that the war in Iraq began a year ago... The results are not good, whether we are talking about Iraq or elsewhere – Istanbul, Moscow and now Madrid. The terrorism that this war promised to stop is infinitely more powerful today than it was a year ago."* (La Stampa, 2004)

Hence the war on Iraq only made it easier for terrorist organization to rise against the US. This could be seen in the case of Al Qaeda that was able to rebuild itself after having been severely bombarded by the U.S troops. Al Qaeda was able to rise up once again, adapting to the new methods enforced by the U.S, and gaining much more attention than Bin Laden would have ever dreamed of. Today Al Qaeda stands out to all the fundamentalists in the Middle East to state that the Americans can do nothing but slow them down, eventually Jihad will win.

Concerning the third topic, which is democratization, many have stated different arguments regarding the matter. Some argue that democratization in the Middle East will bring forth a trend of prosperity that would limit terrorism and forms of hatred directed towards the West. This point of view, although far fetched, is the driving mechanism of the U.S. think tanks. According to the Bush Administration stabilizing the conflict-ridden region by rolling back religious extremism would help

contain the security threat posed by international terrorism and secure a stable supply of oil. It appears that the most important target is Saudi Arabia. *“Saudi Arabia was once a supporter of Osama bin Laden and his associates, many of whom carried out the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks against the United States. Recently, the country has itself been hit by a spate of terrorist attacks.”* {The Asahi Shimbun, June 12(IHT/Asahi: June 15,2004) (06/15)} As mentioned earlier, fear is mounting in the United States that the biggest oil producer in the world could become a prolific source of serious trouble and danger for American interests unless it is led in the direction of democracy.

The problem at hand is driven from many sub-issues. For one, many Arabs see this initiative as a project directed to bring down the power of their Arab nation. Many view the American government as the support of Israel, and perceive this initiative to work in favor of their most hated enemy, Israel. Another issue, which has been argued by many, is the fact that nations should be left alone to decide what system works best for them. The case of Iraq only proves the problems that the Bush Administration is facing up to in bringing democracy into a country that never enjoyed the slightest sense of freedom for centuries.

The European nations had their point of view on this matter as well. The invasion and occupation of Iraq has further hardened feelings against the United States. The dominant view in the Arab world is that the United States will not cede control to the interim government in Iraq even after the planned transfer of sovereignty. The anti-American sentiment in the region is also directed at the moderate governments that are not protesting the U.S. moves. Against this backdrop, chances are very slim that any

attempt to shove democracy down the throats of Muslim countries in such a patronizing way will succeed.

It was this concern that drove Middle East and European countries to urge Washington to temper the political tone of its original plan to push democracy across the region. During the G-8 summit, French President Jacques Chirac voiced his skepticism about the plan, saying the region doesn't need a missionary of democracy. Chirac's snub, along with the absence of the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian leaders, came as a painful setback for Bush, who wanted to cast the initiative as a historic achievement at the summit. ([www.g8.fr](http://www.g8.fr))

Today, and after the war of terrorism seemingly failing, terrorism has gained more attention and support than it ever did. Terrorism is on the rise, and terrorist organizations are planting their roots stronger in the ground, having been able to accumulate more recruits than they have ever done before the brink of this war.

### **The Rise of Terrorism**

As indicated earlier in the graphs shown at the start of this chapter, terrorism has been gradually on the rise. This was especially conceivable after the invasion of Iraq and the rise of different sectors apposing the presence of the U.S. army in their territory. Nevertheless, this does not in whole describe why terrorism has been on the

rise. Many other factors contribute to the rise of terrorism, and it would be fair to state that many of those factors are simply ideological or of a moral nature.

What the war on terrorism brought about is a change in the whole international system as we know it. Having the right to penetrate areas where the U.S. feels a threat to their security or a link to terrorism groups has aroused the world into skepticism on one part, and hate towards the Americans on the other. Due to this notion terrorist organizations today have found it easier to gather recruits, while others are restructuring and adapting to the new system established by the Western governments.

Al Qaeda, as stated earlier, was severely bombarded with the invasion of Afghanistan, bringing about the end of the Taliban rule in that region. Nevertheless, the failures to eliminate the whole organization, with its head Bin Laden, only made the organization more aware and better prepared for the coming days. In other words, this bombardment only made Al Qaeda stronger and more established around the world than it ever had been. Faye Bowers, a writer for the Christian Science Monitor, wrote an article by which she examined the rise of Al Qaeda after the invasion of Iraq. She directly stated that after the bombardment "*Al Qaeda was quite by choice, not because it plans have been disrupted.*" (Bowers, 2003)

What Bowers examined was the fact that Al Qaeda was rebuilding, especially that the organization's remaining leadership believes the war in Iraq will produce a new stream of recruits disenchanted with American action, perhaps allowing Al Qaeda to create a new front of international Jihad. According to an intelligence report prepared by a European partner in the war on terror, and as provided by Bowers, "*the toppling of*

*Saddam Hussein regime could have a cataclysmic effect on the mobilization of recruits for Al Qaeda,”* continuing that *“despite the significant success we’ve had against them, and the pressure we’ve brought to bear, we cannot say that the Al Qaeda network has been weakened, let alone destroyed.”* (Bowers, 2003)

Accordingly, since the fall of Afghanistan, Al Qaeda has continued to evolve and adapt to the realities of the war on terrorism in three key areas:

- Replaced some key leaders while decentralizing its operations – outsourcing many of its recruiting, training, and planning to regional Islamic groups.
- Made inroads in tacking back territory in Afghanistan.
- Adapted its financial support system, making it more difficult to detect.

According to the terrorist research center Al Qaeda is rebuilding itself in different areas of the world, and is not strictly bounded to one area or country. It thus continues to readapt and develop with a war being waged on it, making it stronger and more developed. (Bowers, 2003)

According to Paul Rogers’ article in Open Democracy *“Al Qaeda and its associates have been maintaining a level of activity over the last sixteen months that is actually higher than in the months leading up to New York and Washington atrocities.”* (Rogers, 2003) Many incidents include the bombing of the Spanish train and the recent beheading of the American captive. Thus the war on terrorism failed to demolish these terrorist organizations, which apparently was the main cause for the start of this war, and will eventually be one of the main reasons why this war is gaining more and more skepticism lately.

Yet the war on terrorism did not only fail to bring an end to Al Qaeda, but also was a main cause in producing and bringing to life new organizations that have established themselves with the use of terrorism as a key concept in their motives and ideologies of Anti-Americanism. As indicated by the graphs earlier, Iraq has witnessed a major rise of terrorist attacks after the invasion and the removal of Saddam Hussein and his part from rule. Although there are many givens to the situation, it would be fair to say that the removal of Saddam and the lack of a rebound government only left Iraq with a vacuum of anarchy that made it possible for small organizations and/or leaders to rise up and establish themselves in what has become an anti-American movement that pulses all around Iraq.

It is well known today that American casualties after the removal of Saddam mount higher than those during the course of the war. The rise of Al Mahdi army in Iraq has created a powerful shock to the system, whereby the American hoped for peace and tranquility. The rebuilding of Iraq is passing through a weary time, along with the war on terrorism, where prospects seem shady and unknown. Today, Al Qaeda has re-established itself in Iraq, and many recruits to both Al Qaeda and Al Mahdi army are joining from various areas of the Arab world.

Terrorism has become a key movement in Iraq, where daily attacks are taking place against civilians and combatants in that region. The war on terrorism brought about a rise in the number of terrorist organizations, which seems to many the product of wrong planning and misconduct from the Bush administration.

The war on terrorism also brought about the rise of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi who is viewed by many as Iraq's Bin Laden. He is *"fast gaining influence and importance in the loosely organized world of Islamic militants by orchestrating attacks aimed at the U.S presence in Iraq."* (Grier, 2004) Zarqawi has also claimed responsibility for bomb attacks on the UN headquarters in Baghdad and the Italian police station in Nasiriyah. According to the CIA report brought about this month, Zarqawi was the lead perpetrator of the murder of American businessman Nicholas Berg. *"If nothing else, his rise to prominence shows how a new generation of terrorist leaders may be stepping in to replace those eliminated by U.S efforts."* (Grier, 2004)

Zarqawi's network is known as the Al Tawhid, which started in an attempt to topple the Jordanian government and the royal family. Today, they have expanded their efforts to target the U.S presence in Iraq. *"Zarqawi is building a state-of-the-art operational and support network beyond the Middle East into Europe and North America,"* says Rohan Gunaratna, a terrorist expert and the writer of *"Inside Al Qaeda."* *"He works with about a dozen other Islamist groups... Al Qaeda among them."* (Grier, 2004)

Thus the establishment of such leaders and organizations only proves the theories behind the war on terrorism. Today, and especially with the war in Iraq, terrorism is gaining more support and is loosely on the rise. The Canadian Prime Minister, Paul Martin, stated that *"global terrorism as increased not declined, since the United States-led coalition toppled Saddam Hussein in Iraq."* (The Global Mail, 2004) He continued by saying *"I think that if we look at the situation in comparison with two*



*or three years ago, that the problems of terrorism are probably even more serious.”*

(The Global Mail, 2004)

In the 30 months since President Bush's declaration of war against global terrorism, the U.S. and its allies have ostensibly detained or killed 70 percent of Al Qaeda's senior leaders. *“But the frequency of terrorist acts worldwide attributed to al-Qaeda has increased, compared to the pre-9/11 period. Baby al-Qaeda's are being spawned in new regions of the world -- striking from Turkey to Spain, from Uzbekistan to Tunisia -- and a new generation of terrorists is stepping up to take the place of those killed in Afghanistan or detained in Guantanamo.”* (Haqqani, 2004)

The war on terrorism did target Syria as a state that harbors and/or supports terrorism. Today, Syria is faced with sanctions implemented by the U.S in an effort to weaken the Syrian authorities support to terrorism. Regardless of whether Syria is supporting terrorism or not, the Syrian president directly pointed the rise of terrorism to the U.S failed invasion to Iraq. President Bashar Assad stated that *“For the first time the United States has turned into a source of instability instead of stability... The war in Iraq has unleashed a hatred that is finding an echo in terrorism.”* He continued, *“Now we are going to see the effects on security. Iraq is chaotic and uncontrolled, there are arms being smuggled out toward Syria, also a rise in extremism and a feeling of hatred toward the United States which did not exist before.”* ([www.Iraq.net](http://www.Iraq.net))

What many experts and politicians are agreeing upon is the fact that the war on terrorism only spawned more terrorism and terrorism organizations all around the world. The fact that The U.S is fighting a technique and not a country or one

organization is a main cause as to way this war is ending up to be a failing effort by the Bush Administration. The rise of hatred towards the American government and the ability to recruit higher numbers of people into their organizations only makes terrorist organization stronger and more powerful. Today terrorism has gained the support of many people as the only possible way to stand up for the American wrong doing in the Middle East. Preachers like Bin Laden have used the media so well, that supports, whether already recruited or not, are picking up their army in the call for Jihad. One can only remember the writings of Huntington and the Clash of Civilizations with this war that seemed to create a two sided parts, the Western side and the Muslim Side.

Terrorism is on the rise. It is a proven fact, and the war on terrorism will only have to face up to the critiques and skepticism which it is being bombarded with daily. Today terrorism is no longer what it used to be; today terrorism seems to be the only way, for millions of people, to drive away the "Devils" from their land. A way that will target many people, whether combatants or not, in any and every place around the world. Terrorist organizations, like Hezbollah and Al Qaeda, seem to have a clear path in front of them, a path that may lead to their development in the future.

(7)

## The Future of Terrorism

It is important to clear an essential fact at this point and that it is as difficult to predict the future of terrorism and terrorist organizations as it is difficult to tell what will happen to you in the next hour. However one can always make a fair prediction, based on analysis and critique, that limits the possibilities and allows one to foresee a certain pattern that may occur in the near future. With regards to terrorism and terrorist organizations, it seems that my previous analysis has driven me to accept certain predictions as to what will occur in the future.

After having examined the different issues dealing with terrorism, I found it interestingly obvious that one of the main reasons for the whole conflict being so spread out and ambiguous in nature is the fact that the definition of terrorism is not yet a settled issue. As indicated earlier, each state uses its own definition of terrorism that best suits its interests, having not aided in providing an internationally agreed upon one. The lack of an international definition only makes the problems of dealing with terrorism as diverse and complex as they are today.

The definition which I have provided stated that terrorism is 'The use or the threat of use, of non conventional methods of violence aiming at achieving, or the claim of achieving, political goals of national liberation, revolution, and/or freedom fight, and

it is justified by the terrorists as such. Such attacks could probably be based on aggression, yet claimed as political in nature by the aggressor. It targets combatants, non-combatants and civilians in order to attain those goals. The word terrorism will always be used by those who oppose the attack and not by those who fashioned it.' Although my attempt was to get close as possible to serve both sides of the coin in understanding terrorism, i.e. the attackers and the victims, my definition only served one purpose and that is this paper in itself.

It would be false to claim that the definition provided should be conceived as an international definition, since each state will have to re-examine it and add their modifications to it in order to bring an end to it. Hence, the use of this definition is for a limited purpose.

Having realized that, it would only be fair to claim that one of the leading problems with the war on terrorism today, or any issue for that matter, are bound to come into conflict in regard to what terrorism is. The lack of a definition makes the problem harder to deal with. Who is a terrorist and who is not? Is Hezbollah a terrorist organization? Many states, especially the Arab states, find this organization as a resistance group, while the West claims the terrorism is their driving engine. Who is right and who is wrong, and what action on either side should be taken is a dilemma that will maintain to exist as long as a universal definition fades to exist.

Another conflicting point of view exists on states themselves, and whether they could be labeled as terrorist. Israel for example is seen by the majority population of the Arab world as a terrorist state, while it is perceived in the West as a state trying to

insure security for its citizens. What is a terrorist state, and what is a terrorist leader? Does Saddam fall under a terrorist leader category, while Sharon escapes such a title? Who makes the calls?

It is thus right to claim that one problem with the future of terrorism will reside in the definition of the word. As long as there is no definition, and it surely will not be foreseen in the near future, the world will always come into conflict. With the war on terrorism taking its toll on groups and organizations, many states, nations and people will come into conflicting points of view, which may lead to the creation of other problems. Thus the definition of terrorism will be a main cause of conflict, whether violent or not, in the future among states and groups.

Moving on to the security dilemma which the U.S encountered due to the attacks of September 11, it would be obvious that security is the driving mechanism behind the war on terrorism. The creation of the department for homeland security was a very important step in limiting the possibilities of attacks within the United States. The department was keen on monitoring movement on land, sea and air making it partially impossible for terrorists to strike with ease as they did on September 11. Along with the creation of this department, the Bush administration was also keen on fighting terrorism, a step that brought about unpredictable changes in the international arena.

Many claimed that war on terrorism was imperative, but its implementation was wrong. Many have stated that the United States lacked one important aspect in this war, which is to understand why terrorism occurred. It was obvious the Bush administration took no effort to understand the reasons behind terrorism, a step that

would have driven the war in a different direction. Others claim that understanding terrorism would not justify it and thus the war will be eventually reached one way or the other. The problem resides, as explained earlier, in the fact that the United States is not fighting an organization or state, but rather an ideology and/or method of war.

The main issue here, is what other alternatives does the U.S. have in fighting this war on terrorism? Many believe that the United States should find a new way in combating terrorism, while others assert that such a war will take time, and that the pattern undergone is correct. But it would be unconceivable to argue that this war could have been fought better, if the U.S. followed a different pattern. Terrorism is understood as a method by which certain groups, organizations or individuals use to inflict violence in an attempt to attain their goals. It is thus difficult to fight terrorism when you have no target, or when the target is so spread out that it does not reside in one area or another, but is rather spread out in all regions of the world. The attack on Afghanistan to eliminate the Taliban rule was successful as to bring about the end of Taliban control. However, it was Al Qaeda that was targeted with Bin Laden on the top of the list. This attempt to bring about the end of this organization failed to the point that Al Qaeda still maintains presence in Afghanistan and has developed to establish itself around the world.

Today, as seen earlier in this paper, Al Qaeda has been able to rebuild itself, and has been able to inflict terrorism in areas outside of Afghanistan such as Spain and Iraq. The war on terrorism did not in any way bring about an end to terrorist organizations, especially those that were directly targeted. Thus, it would be understood that this war

failed to produce any cut downs of terrorist attacks around the world. Terrorist organizations witnessed this pattern as a positive sign, and will thus have no second thoughts about continuing their operations and terror around the world.

The war on terrorism has also brought about a conflict among states, especially with the United States unilateral action and the bypassing of any decision from the United Nations. The fact that the Bush administration disregarded an effort planned and established by the United Nations aroused conflicting points of view with regard to the war on terrorism. Today many nations and states view this war as one that serves the U.S interests and not that of the entire world. Many states view the U.S war as an attempt to gain important threshold in the Middle East and, as such, is a main cause of debate and criticism. Thus, the United States-led war is apposed by many states, giving terrorist organizations a better chance at reorganizing and recruiting due to the rise of hatred towards the United States.

It is also evident that the invasion of Iraq did not in any way provide a positive diversion from the failures encountered in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the invasion of Iraq brought about dramatic changes which the United States and its allies feared might occur. The inability to find any weapons of mass destruction or any direct ties between the Saddam regime and Al Qaeda only raises suspicion and hatred. What the world saw as an end to a harsh dictatorship was now seen as the start of American imperialism. Unable to provide proof for their once claimed reasons of invasion, the United States was left in a vacuum of skepticism and direct hatred by the major population of Iraq and other Arab nations. This gave rise to new terrorism within Iraq,

and the recruitment of new members in other organizations, especially Al Qaeda. The peoples' hate was used well in providing the terrorist organizations with more members than they have ever gathered. This failure in Iraq only brought about a rise in terrorism. Today Iraq is faced with daily terrorist attacks on the U.S and coalition troops, as well as on civilians residing in Iraq. Today Iraq holds the number one spot in terrorist attacks, as indicated in the graphs earlier, proving that the war on terrorism has failed in its main objective; the end of terrorism and terrorist organizations.

The ill-treatment of prisoners of war by the United States troops in Iraq, as witnessed lately, only gave terrorist organizations a further push. The United States is viewed by many as an oppressor and an invader that seeks its own good over any other. Again this hatred was directly positive for terrorist organizations. If they once never had a cause, they do now so to speak. The times for hatred and skepticism can't get any better then this, and terrorist organizations know quite well that now is the time to grow and develop.

Adding to this is the fact the Bin Laden was never captured. This sign gave rise to a certain form of respect and admiration among the Muslim population around the Middle East. The fact that Bin Laden escaped the attacks designed to bring him down, and the fact that every once in a while, one tends to view him on TV preaching Jihad, only makes his spectators turn to loyalists. Many Muslim fundamentalists view Bin Laden as the new profit of Jihad, and terrorist organizations can only profit with the influx of recruits ready to pick up arms and die to deliver away with the United States' "wrong doing." The redevelopment of Al Qaeda and its continuous terror attacks all



around the world and in Iraq proves this point well.

Having stated all these givens provided by the earlier analysis, it would be essential to predict the future of terrorist organizations as well as those labeled by the U.S. as terrorists such as Hezbollah. As indicated earlier, Hezbollah enjoys a large amount of respect and loyalty of the majority of people in Lebanon. Not only that, but the fact that Hezbollah was viewed as the main reason behind the withdrawal of Israel from South Lebanon except the Chebaa Farms gave this organization a better position with regard to the surround nations and the Arab world. Hezbollah is seen by the Lebanese government as a resistance group, and with its ability to establish members in the Lebanese Parliament, only makes this organization have a better grasp in the region.

Many have predicted that the war on terrorism will force this organization to put down its arms and move to a political direction, while others have predicted an end of this organization by the U.S or the U.S pressure on Syria to bring it down. Lately, these two scenarios seem to fade away. This is based on several reasons, all thoroughly examined earlier in this paper. The first resides with the definition of terrorism. The problem that no one can claim whether Hezbollah is a terrorist group or a freedom fighter is a conflict that would arouse different points of view as to how one should deal with the organization. The Bush administration cannot simply claim that Hezbollah is a terrorist organization and thus move forward in an attempt to demolish it. This would only worsen the situation, especially having witnessed the aftermath of Iraq.

The second issue is based on the fact that bombarding Hezbollah, whether by the U.S or any other nation will definitely not bring an end to the Organization. Although

any military act would surely weaken the organization, the case of Al Qaeda only proves that Hezbollah will gain more admiration and would also be able to rebuild itself leading to a higher amount of terrorism. Because Hezbollah is well established in Lebanon, as well as its ability to hold seats in the parliament, only makes it difficult to bring an end to this organization. A third prospective is based on the realities of the war in Iraq. Since the U.S has failed to produce anything positive in its war, and the rise of hatred that has swept the entire Muslim world, only makes Hezbollah stick harder to its ideology. Hezbollah today is more in control than it did at the start of the war on terrorism. Having realized that an attack is far fetched makes this organization better prepared and gives it a better grasp of the entire situation.

The U.S. today is facing so many problems in Iraq that it seems impossible to shift its efforts and attention to Hezbollah. Even with the end of the crisis in Iraq, the Bush administration would have realized one important aspect and that it is not wise to jump to another conflict that might evidently have the same aftermath as that in Iraq. It seems that Hezbollah today is far from any interference whether American or not. Having also gained international recognition through its prisoner exchange with Israel, Hezbollah today is an organization that cannot be simply called a terrorist organization and cannot be simply dealt with through direct bombardment.

A fourth and final reason resides with the fact that Syria is providing no effort of cooperation in bringing an end to Hezbollah. Just recently the U.S government imposed sanctions on Syria in what is known as the Syria Accountability Act. What the U.S is trying to do is force Syria to cut down on its support to terrorist organizations

such as Hezbollah, which it failed to do with Al Qaeda. What Al Qaeda was able to do, and which Hezbollah will surely learn, is the ability to gather finance through other means that are harder to detect, many of which are simply donations and charities. If Syria cuts its financial support to Hezbollah, it would not mean an end to the organization. Hezbollah will find other means of financial and military support either from Iran or from the entire Muslim population that has grown to admire and respect this organization.

It is thus evident that terrorist organizations, will maintain a grasp on the situation, and will continue to provide terror as long as the U.S. lacks to find a better way in dealing with terrorism. The future of terrorist organizations seems to be one of prosperity and development, and with higher recruitment, these organizations will one day be a major force in the international arena. The war on terrorism only gave higher justifications to the act of terror, and the fact that it is partially impossible to bring an end to any organization proves that the future of terrorism is bound to rise up to a level never seen before.

Terrorism is on the rise and terrorist organizations are in better control than they did before the start of the war on terrorism. Having understood that their demolition is difficult, many organizations are re-planning, regrouping, and recruiting a higher amount of members. The rise of terrorism in Iraq also provides a key motive for those around the region to examine and abuse the failures of the Bush administration to fight terrorism. Terrorist organizations will continue to do what they do best, creating terror for causes that have become more just, according to them, than ever before.

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