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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

University College

International Affairs

THE CHANGING FACE OF ARAB-ISLAMIC TERROR: 1936 - 2006

by

Andrew Glauberg

A thesis presented to the
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of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
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THE CHANGING FACE OF ARAB-ISLAMIC TERROR 1936 – 2006

Since the 1930s, the face and methodology of terrorism have evolved to become part of the average person's daily life. The objective of terrorism is to inflict a permanent psychological impact on the psyche of a person. Arab-Islamic terrorism's fundamental goal is to create a policy or regime change in a government. According to Bruce Hoffman, author of *Inside Terrorism*, "terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctable about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change."¹ Authoritarian and totalitarian governments resort to much more drastic means to combat terrorism. While democratic societies such as the United States generally adhere to humane and humanitarian aspects of warfare, the opposite is true of non-democratic countries.

Modern terrorism since the 1970s has caused greater fear, damage, and mental illness than previous versions. Weapons are becoming deadlier, proliferating rapidly, and terrorists are growing in numbers. Terrorism has gone from holding victims hostage to the acquisition of poisonous gases and nuclear bombs. It is no secret that Iran, a country which supplies terrorists with ammunition and money, is in the race to produce its first nuclear bomb. The potential for nuclear technology to get into the hands of Al-Qaeda or Hamas has become a very real threat in today's world. Another example is the Sarin attack on the Tokyo subway, which was an act of terrorism committed by Aum Shinrikyo in March of 1995.

¹ Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 13

Through terrorism, the smaller, less powerful individual can strike terror into the governments and citizens of world powers. Al Qaeda can take down the World Trade Towers and inflict large-scale damage against the United States superpower economy. As stated in a report from Congress,

"Resources that could have been used to enhance the productive capacity of the country will not be used for security. Since it will take more labor and capital to produce a largely unchanged amount of goods and services, this will result in a slower rate of growth in national productivity, a price that will be borne by every American in the form of a slower rate of growth of per capita real income." ²

Hence, the United States economic shift as a result from 9/11 will be felt for generations to come. Terrorism has become one of the most difficult forms of warfare to combat and stop, despite the growth of technology and highly-trained intelligence services. Despite all efforts to control terrorism, it nevertheless continues to plague the daily lives of millions across the world, and cause permanent damage both physically and mentally.

In the case of Arab-Israeli terrorism, the majority of global governments and non-government organizations, particularly the United Nations, which actually created the Jewish state in 1947, have consistently been against the state of Israel and pro-Palestinian. The Arabs have been the main perpetrators of terrorism and violence globally, and the Israelis respond to constant threats by their neighboring Arab countries. In fact, the Israeli Defense Forces, or IDF, have been called the most human army in the world, often sacrificing their own citizens lives to protect those of Palestinians when resorting to warfare. Anytime Israel retaliates against the thousands of rockets that Hamas sends into its borders, one country after another condemns Israel for "continuing" to

² Report for Congress: The Economic Effects of 9/11: A Retrospective Assessment, CRS-2, <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL31617.pdf>

"oppress" Palestinians, rather than condemning that terrorism which has continued ruthlessly by Israel's Arab neighbors. The answer boils down to communication techniques and a grasp of the media, which the Arabs possess and the Israelis do not. Not only historically is the world against Jews, and the Arabs know this, but the Arabs have a perfect knowledge of what the media wants to see, and are masters of public relations and propaganda.

What defines terrorism? Brian Jenkins, a world renowned authority on terrorism and security, defines terrorism as "the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change."³ Terrorism, according to Osama bin Laden, is not justified if it is done against those who are innocent. Terrorists behave rationally and view their acts of violence as justified as those who are deserved of death, hence the United States according to Bin Laden. Terrorism is thus commended as long as those receiving it are deserving of the terrorist act. Palestinian terrorists do not consider any Israeli citizens as innocent since they believe the country is part of the entire army.⁴

David J. Whittaker, author of *Terrorism: Understanding the Global Threat*, defines terrorism as the premeditated threat or use of violence by sub-national groups or clandestine individuals intended to intimidate and coerce governments, to promote political, religious or ideological outcomes, and to inculcate fear among the public at large.⁵ Many definitions of terrorism have changed due to the arising of state-sponsored terrorism in the case of Iran which directly funds groups like Hezbollah and Hamas.

What has the response been to terrorism by democratic countries? The United States has responded to the attacks on September 11, 2001 by enacting the "war on terror" and attempting to lump all terrorists together and rid the world of all terrorism. Unfortunately, attempting to wipe out

³ <http://criminaljusticeonlineblog.com/archives/terrorism-brian-jenkins-theory-in-the-area-of-terrorism/>

⁴ Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, pp. 17.

⁵ David Whittaker, *Terrorism: Understanding the Global Threat*, pp. 10

terrorism in one fell swoop is not a realistic solution, even given American manpower, weapons, and intelligence. As Louise Richardson points out regarding American counterterrorism policy,

“We should never have declared a global war on terrorism, knowing that such a war can never be won. We should never have believed that Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein were working together against us. Our objective should not be the completely unattainable goal of obliterating terrorism; rather, we should pursue the more modest and attainable goal of containing terrorist recruitment and constraining resort to the tactic of terrorism.”⁶

The entire world changed after September 11 and terrorists marked a new era of recruiting through Al Qaeda’s successful blow against the United States. New terrorists emerged educated in American counterterrorism policy and the government.

Stephen Hayes, the author of *The Connection*, writes about terrorism and its evolution before and after September 11, 2001. Hayes argues that 9/11 hardly changed anything for terrorists. In actuality, 9/11 was just simply "a more successful battle in a much longer campaign."⁷ Hayes goes on to say that, "What changed, then, was America's response to terror. The battle was joined. The war would involve more than warnings, more than demarches, more than back-channel diplomacy, more than empty threats. Terrorists and the states that sponsor them would be eliminated."⁸ Originally terror was a compliment to political aims primarily used by militant opponents of specific political governments. Many of these groups primarily expressed anger or their own politics and were opponents of regimes with a clear political agenda.

A religious component has been added by groups of Arab intellectuals and theologians. As Shmuel Bar writes in *The Religious Sources for Islamic Terrorism*,

Modern international Islamist terrorism is a natural offshoot of twentieth-century Islamic fundamentalism. The “Islamic Movement” emerged in the Arab world and British-ruled India as a response to the dismal state of Muslim society in those countries: social injustice, rejection of traditional mores, acceptance of foreign domination and culture. It perceives the malaise of

⁶ Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, introduction pp. xix.

⁷ Stephen Hayes, *The Connection*, pp. xxii of the Introduction.

⁸ Stephen Hayes, *The Connection*, pp. xxii of the Introduction.

modern Muslim societies as having strayed from the “straight path” (*as-sirat al-mustaqim*) and the solution to all ills in a return to the original mores of Islam. The problems addressed may be social or political: inequality, corruption, and oppression. But in traditional Islam — and certainly in the worldview of the Islamic fundamentalist — there is no separation between the political and the religious. Islam is, in essence, both religion and regime (*din wa-dawla*) and no area of human activity is outside its remit. Be the nature of the problem as it may, “Islam is the solution.”⁹

While the concept of jihad, or religious war, has always been a part of the religion of Islam, even its meaning has evolved to encompass various types of religious warfare, including suicide.

Arab leaders such as Al-Banna, Arafat, and Salah al-Din have emphasized political ideas behind jihad. The idea of jihad became the religious justification for killing oneself and suicide as a means of achieving a political goal and elevating oneself to a higher status in life after death. The Muslim Brotherhood emphasized the importance of Arab countries being based on Shari'a, or Islamic law, which fought to eliminate non-Islamic ideologies like socialism and democracy. The Muslim Brotherhood established itself as a political and social movement and began to expand its influence to all aspects of everyday life. It established an entire social network of schools and hospitals, and was able to revive many formerly non-religious Muslims into a massive spiritual uprising.

Many internal power struggles in Middle East countries have adopted religious concepts to gather strength and support among potential supporters. Hezbollah is battling a power struggle with Lebanon's current government; it has altered messages to include religious tones to portray the internal power struggle as a larger one, part of a greater Muslim struggle against imperialists and foreign domination. Al Qaeda has adopted a broader religious doctrine which constantly exhibits new sets of beliefs and stories driven by religion to accommodate any country or ruler it deems unfit. Al Qaeda is once again shifting the political targets from fighting against corrupt Islamic leaders to any enemy. The largest threat in the Middle East today is Iran, which is rapidly advancing its nuclear

⁹ Shmuel Bar, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3438276.html>.

capability. Iran is struggling to gain dominance in the region and spread its Shi'a Islamic influence to overpower the predominantly Sunni-dominated Middle East countries.

Three changes have occurred in the doctrines and motives for terrorism. The first is the change in terrorist activity from purely oppositional to motives for jihad. There has been a deepening and broadening of a religious base for the justification of terror. The second change is the structure of terrorist activity. The change has been from opponents of local governments to state sponsorship of terrorism. The third change is the emergence of a supra-national terrorist structures, organizations, and state sponsorship. Hezbollah operates in Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank, Damascus, as well as hidden by humanitarian aid organizations throughout Europe and the western world. There has been a shift to sectarian identification within the terrorist world – Sunni vs. Shiite. The perfect example of this third change is Al Qaeda which is much less centrally organized than it is widespread. There has been a change from simple terrorism to highly complex organizations and doctrines which makes it incredibly difficult to define and locate all terrorists. Furthermore, the attacks have changed to attack many rather than one specific government.

Various types of terrorism exist, not of all which are the same, but all work towards common goals of instituting some kind of change or power structure in a country or government. Liston distinguishes between four types of terrorism in the world; "...Criminal terrorism, terrorism or ethnic or national liberation, state terrorism, revolution terrorism." Liston explains that to combat them the same way is a huge error and paralyzes those who are attempting to eliminate it. Liston further explains,

"Each has a different purpose, motive, rationale, and tactics. To lump them together is a mistake. Each must be understood separately so it can be combated in a different manner.

There is no one solution to all terrorism. And our worldwide efforts are hampered by our failure to recognize these four distinct types.”¹⁰

Terrorists are considered to be rational people operating under a specific set of ideals which they consider to be rational. In the modern era, terrorists generally are fighting against stronger military armies and countries. Clearly, Hamas would not be able to take on the full extent of the Israeli Defense Forces, but are able to successfully instill terror and fear into the country by committing random acts of violence. Historically, terrorism was done by government rulers which held the power of life and death at their disposal. In the twentieth century, state and anti-state terrorism evolved.

Arab-Islamic terrorism has existed long before the establishment of the State of Israel. An analysis of the history of Islamic terrorism shows that different sects of Muslims have never been able to live peacefully. Islam blames the Jews, Western culture, and Christians for its fall from power, rather than looking at themselves. In reality, these terrorist groups are continuing a battle to oppress any religious or ethnic group not similar to their own. The battle between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims has existed since the inception of Islam in the seventh century, and the fight to outlaw religious practices among others is what continues to this day. While many of these terrorist groups unite in their hatred towards the State of Israel, they are in fact in disagreement over what it means to be a proper Muslim and who deserves to rule the Muslim masses.

AL QAEDA

Osama Bin Laden, the mind behind Al Qaeda's the September 11th attacks, is believed to be living in Afghanistan or the neighboring areas of Pakistan. Bin Laden, a brilliant communicator and

¹⁰ Robert A. Liston, *Terrorism*, pp. 44.

undercover terrorist, has been able to unite much of the Arab world into hating the United States and western world and to reach out to millions of Muslims through religious motifs and doctrines of jihad and martyrdom. Bin Laden has framed his argument for destruction of the United States and corrupt governments in God's words, making it a religious obligation for worldwide Muslim to join his struggle. Bin Laden's main target of threats and violence is the United States, a country which he deems to be the enemy of Islam. Bin Laden contends that the democratic United States is two-faced in its support of freedom illustrated by the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan and the war in Iraq.

Through Osama bin Laden's writings and doctrines he refers to specific events which confirm that the United States and the Christian West are trying to root out Islam and take over the world. He contends that there is an alliance between the Jews and Christians which seek to destroy Islam worldwide. Bin Laden's reference to the "West" includes the following countries: the United States, Great Britain, a general "West" including Europe, including their allies with Israel, India, Russia, and non-religious Arab governments. He specifically targets the United States as the instigator of conflicts through its allies. To illustrate his argument he brings up Kosovo and Bosnia, Israel (which he refers to as Palestine), Lebanon, and the U.S. War in Iraq. As written by Reuel Marc Gerech in *The Atlantic Journal*, "Osama Bin Laden's initial calculation was simple: that the anti-Western (for 'Western' it is actually more meaningful to use the term he sometimes employs, 'Jude-Christian') baggage of 1,400 years would sufficiently neutralize the revulsion that Muslims might feel for terrorist tactics."¹¹ Bin Laden argues that the United States mercilessly overlooked Muslim atrocities by participating in the slaughtering of Muslim to further the U.S. interests in the region.

¹¹ Reuel Marc Gerech, <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200201/gerech>.

Bin Laden views the entire Muslim world as the target of the United States. In his writings he draws similarities between the Crusaders period in comparison with the United States. Bin Laden concentrates on the West's alleged atrocities in the Muslim world and also refers to secular Arab governments as conspirators with the West and United States. He states that since World War II, the United States has adopted a policy of installing its own Arab regimes and encouraging corrupt governments and preventing democracy from flourishing in the Middle East.

Jihad is a key concept in Bin Laden's descriptions of the Muslim fight against the West. A central theme in his writing is the attack of the Muslim world by the much stronger and more militarily powerful West which fights to destroy the Arab world. Devout Muslims are required by God to perform jihad as defense against the attacking Crusaders. Jihad recruits rational Muslims who are able to fight and that it is the obligation of every Muslim to fulfill his or her obligation of jihad which is a collective duty. As Raymond Ibrahim, author of *The Al Qaeda Reader* explains, "Al-Qaeda stresses Islam's compulsory demand for 'offensive jihad,' that is, not because Islam is 'under attack,' as they claim in messages to the West, but simply to offer the world three sacred choices: accept Islam, live in total submission to Islamic overloads as marginal citizens of an Islamic state, or die."¹² Women and children who feel compelled to participate in jihad are allowed to do so as well.

Osama Bin Laden refers to the famous Muslim soldiers Nura al-Din and Salah-Al-Din (also referred to as Saladin) as examples and inspiration to present-day defensive jihad. Salah-Al-Din, a 12-century Kurdish Sunni Muslim, is a prominent figure in many Arab cultures noted for his alleged chivalry. Salah-Al-Din's conquer of Jerusalem from Europeans has been used as an example for future conquests of alleged Muslim attacks against modern day Israel and serves as an example of every Muslim's individual obligation to fight jihad against foreign invasion and oppression.

¹² Raymond Ibrahim, http://www.raymondibrahim.com/the_al_qaeda_reader

Osama Bin Laden was born on March 10, 1957¹³ and grew up in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. His father, Muhammed Bin Laden was an extremely wealthy businessman and very close to the Saudi Royal Family. Bin Laden did not interact much with his busy business-minded father who fathered fifty-four children and was married to over twenty different wives. Furthermore, his father died when Osama was ten years old and was void of influencing his religious son during the most formative years. Nevertheless, his father's legacy followed him and bin Laden was inspired by his father's self-starter motivation to become an extremely religious Muslim. Osama was raised as a religious Sunni Muslim during a period in history of a massive religious revival in the Middle East.

Bin Laden became more religious as he grew up, and unlike many of his siblings who were sent overseas for schooling, he remained in the strictly Muslim Saudi Arabia. Yeslam Bin Laden, Osama's older half brother, speaks about him on Al Arabiya television in 2005.

“From a young age, many of us were sent overseas to study. I left for Lebanon at the age of six or seven, and returned only after graduating from university in America. Osama was one of those who did not leave Saudi Arabia... He did not like to listen to music or to watch TV, and he prevented his children from doing so.”¹⁴

Osama is described as commanding a presence yet being reserved. He was extremely religious even compared to other members of the Muslim Brotherhood.

“Osama was just like many of us who became part of the [Muslim Brotherhood] movement in Saudi Arabia. The only difference which set him apart from me and other, he was more religious. More religious, more literal, more fundamentalist. For example, he would not listen to music. He would not shake hands with a woman. He would not smoke. He would not watch television, unless it is news. He wouldn't play cards. He would not put a picture on his wall. But more than that, there was also a harsh or radical side in his life. I'm sure you have some people like that in your culture. For example, even though he comes from a rich

¹³ http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/profiles/osama_bin_laden.htm.

¹⁴ Peter L. Bergen, *The Osama Bin Laden I Know*, pp. 20.

family, he lives in a very simple house. He had no appreciation of art. He sees art as contrary to a Muslim.”¹⁵

It was in Afghanistan that Osama witnessed what he perceived as mistreatment of Muslim Afghans and the Soviets' determination to expel millions of Afghan citizens from their homeland.

Furthermore, Osama viewed the Soviet's role in Afghanistan and the use of “Defensive Jihad” as one piece of a larger puzzle in the struggle of Muslims against attempted domination by foreign powers.

This is Bin-Laden's view and is not necessarily the truth.

Abdullah Azzam was one of Osama Bin Laden's greatest inspirations for the foundations of Al Qaeda. Azzam, born in the British Mandate of Palestine in 1941, was a Sunni Muslim theologian who was a central Islamic figure fighting the Soviet regime in Afghanistan. He was a vocal supporter of the overthrow of secular regimes in countries such as Pakistan and Afghanistan. Azzam wrote *Defense of the Muslims Lands*¹⁶ which stated that it was a religious obligation by Muslims to participate in jihad to overthrow what he perceived as foreign powers in Muslim lands such as Afghanistan and Israel. Due to the domination of many Muslim countries by non-Muslim governments, Azzam ultimately foresaw a violent Islamic struggle against the “Western” secular world.

Azzam's book *Defense of Muslim Lands* made a large impact on Osama and Zawahiri, demonstrated by Al Qaeda's training of potential martyrs and the use of the tactic of “Defensive Jihad.” In *Defense of Muslim Lands*, Abdullah Azzam writes:

“Defensive Jihad: This is expelling the Kuffar [infidels] from our land, and it is Fard Ayn, a compulsory duty upon all. It is the most important of all the compulsory duties and arises in the following conditions: if the Kuffar enter a land of the Muslims... Pay close attention to

¹⁵ Peter L. Bergen, *The Osama bin Laden I Know*, pp. 21, quoted from Jamal Khashoggi – a Saudi journalist who knew bin Laden when he was living in Jeddah.

¹⁶ http://www.religioscope.com/info/doc/jihad/azzam_defence_1_table.htm.

the hadith: ‘To stand one hour in the battle line in the cause of Allah is better than sixty years of night prayer.’ ”¹⁷

Azzam changes the passive form of jihad to the active form, and in other words calls all Muslims to actually go out to war in the Islamic jihadist struggle. Osama bin Laden combines defensive jihad to mean the Islamic war against the potential threat of destruction by western powers, i.e. the United States.

Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups encourage all who are willing to fight the jihad war to join the battle, regardless of age or even gender. In August 1991, Jihad Magazine published the article “With a Young Cadet,” which is a regularly updated feature in the magazine. The following interview is with a five year old Muslim boy and illustrates how interlinked the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan was ultimately followed by the war against Jews.

Q: What is your name? A: Saleh.

Q: What is your family name? A: Sayf al Rahman.

Q: What is your country of origin? A: Palestine

Q: How old are you? A: Five years old

Q: Do you go to school? A: I go to Hadan al Ansaar School and the Center for memorizing the glorious Koran in Pesawar.

Q: Who do you like? A: I like God and Muhammad, the messenger of God, praise be upon him, and I like my mommy and daddy and the mujahideen.

Q: Trivia question—the Singer missile is used against what? A: Airplanes!

Q: And rocket-propelled grenades? A: Against guerillas!

Q: What is the name of the weapons held by the defender? A: Kalashnikov!

Q: And after you kill the Communist infidels in Afghanistan, what next? A: I want to go with daddy and the mujahideen to Palestine and fight the infidel Jews.¹⁸

¹⁷ Abdullah Azzam, *Defense of Muslim Lands, The Most Important Personal Duty*, published in booklet form by Modern Mission Library, Amman, 1984 (taken from *The Osama Bin Laden I Know*).

Osama Bin Laden and Zawahiri split from Azzam and adopted a more radical overtone. Peter Berger writes,

“The predominantly Egyptian militants who surrounded bin Laden at the end of the eighties advocated something more radical: the violent overthrow of governments across the Muslim world they deemed ‘apostate,’ a concept of jihad that Azzam and many of his followers rejected, as they wanted no part in conflicts between Muslims. Azzam was assassinated in his on November 24, 1989.¹⁹

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, an act which shocked the Muslim world and changed the future of Osama bin Laden’s life. Bin Laden transformed his quiet, pious life into devotion to Afghan-resistance from the spread of the western world. Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian cleric, influenced Bin Laden both ideologically and organizationally for Muslim recruitment to engage an Afghan war with the Soviets.²⁰

Al Qaeda is a military organization that dedicates itself to the spread of jihad and the overthrow of non-Muslim governments. Their goal is different from the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and even Hamas, which are generally directed at removing the Jewish presence in the Middle East, but not overthrowing the United States. Jamal Ismail, a Palestinian editor of Jihad magazine, explains:

“Al Qaeda is different than other organizations. Their target is to spread the soul and the idea of jihad among Muslims, to spread the understanding of the importance of jihad; their idea of jihad, which means fighting infidels and to establish a truly Islamic government all over the world. They were recruiting people from different countries, from Saudi, Yemen, Sudan, Iraq, Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, elsewhere, but they were very, very, very careful about choosing or recruiting anyone.”²¹

¹⁸ *Jihad Magazine*, Issue 81, August 1991, “With a Young Cadet.” (Taken from *The Osama Bin Laden I Know*, pp. 37).

¹⁹ Peter L. Bergen, *The Osama Bin Laden I Know*, pp. 94.

²⁰ Peter L. Bergen, *The Osama bin Laden I Know*, pp. 25.

²¹ Jamal Ismail, interview by author Peter Bergen, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, September 6 and 9, 2005.

Even if this is a goal of the PLO, Al Qaeda's difference is the fight of worldwide jihad and the start of a global Islamic revolution.

Ayman Zawahiri is a prominent leader of Al Qaeda is the Egypt based Islamic Jihad and Osama bin Laden's right-hand apprentice. He is the chief ideologue of al-Qaeda. He is the mind behind the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Towers. Zawahiri is on the list of the FBI's most wanted terrorists.²² He has been indicted by the United States government for his role in the August 1998 bombings of the United States embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Zawahiri was born in Egypt on June 19, 1951, to a prominent middle class family of education doctors and intellectual scholars. Zawahiri's father was a pharmacologist and his mother a professor. His upbringing is similar to Osama bin Laden, being raised in a privileged environment to a religious but not extreme family. It was Zawahiri's uncle, Mahfouz Azzam, an extremely religious Muslim and follower of Sayyid Qutb, who guided his nephew's path to extremism. Azzam himself was a student and politically active devotee of Sayyid Qutb, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood.

SAYYID QUTB

Sayyid Qutb was one of the most influential writers on modern Islam and has provided the idealistic basis for many modern terrorist groups. Qutb was born in 1906 in the Qasyut district of the Egyptian village of Musha, eventually earning a degree in education and joined the Ministry of Education from 1933 – 1939.²³ He was heavily influenced by Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad who wrote against adopting westernization and western values. During the 1940s he became disillusioned with Egyptian politics and became the editor of the radically Muslim publications of *al-Alam al-Arabi* and *al-Fikr al-Jadid*. Qutb was sent by the Ministry of Education to the United States to study and earn his

²² <http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/terrorists/teralzawahiri.htm>.

²³ Ahmed S. Moussalli, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 132.

master's degree from the University of Northern Colorado. During this time period he embraced radical Islam fundamentalism and published his book *Al-Adala al-Ijtima'iyya fi al-Islam* (English Translation: *Social Justice in Islam*) which preached the adoption of radical Islam.

Upon Qutb's return to Egypt, he joined the Muslim Brotherhood and became an advisor to the Revolutionary Council. The Muslim Brotherhood was eventually outlawed in Egypt by Gamal Abdel-Nasser and Qutb was sentenced to fifteen years in prison where he experienced huge amounts of torture. He was eventually hanged August 1966 for his involvement in terrorist activities and a plot to kill Abdel-Nasser.

Qutb's writings endorse an all-encompassing way of life based around Islam, including life on earth and after death. As Ahmad S. Moussalli writes in *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*,

“it includes both religious and worldly affairs, the spiritual and the physical, the ordinary and the extraordinary. All of this, however, is linked to *al-mafhum al-kawni al-Islami* (the universal Islamic concept), which functions as the main constituent of Islam and engulfs all aspects of life. Furthermore, it provides the essentials for building his Islamic discourse on life, truth, knowledge, humans' role in the universe, values, and above all, an interpretation of the meaning of life... To Qutb, seven characters make this concept superior and substantive: the ones of God, divinity, constancy, comprehensiveness, balance, positiveness, and realism.”²⁴

The universal Islamic concept is based around *taw-hid*, or the oneness of God, which provides the foundation for Islam. Using Qutb's writings as a base, it is abundantly clear where terrorists such as Osama bin Laden of Al Qaeda and Khaled Mishal of Hamas get their ideas from and how they have come to promote such a radical version of Islam.

According to Qutb, *taw-hid*'s conceptual value is applied to Christianity and Judaism as well as Islam. Islam is a submission to *taw-hid* which mandates following God's path and religion at all times, from every day dealings to politics and business. The complete submission to God, or *taw-hid*,

²⁴ Ahmed S. Moussalli, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 133.

provides the groundwork for the religious Islamic way of life. Qutb's emphasis is that the submission to God incorporates Islam into all aspects of life and the fusion of this mentality into every detail of one's daily life.

One of Sayyid Qutb's most notorious manuscripts was *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq*, or "Milestones," which preached the overthrow of non-Muslim governments and rulers that had oppressed Muslim communities for centuries upon centuries. Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood presented a real threat to Abdel-Nasser's authoritarian regime by inspiring a revival of Islamic nationalism in millions of Muslims throughout the Arab world. Abdel Nasser's idea of the perfect Arab nation was based upon secular ideas, while underneath he attempted to wipe out any opposition that threatened his control over Egypt.

Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood were able to capitalize on Abdel Nasser's weaknesses by not only exposing his ruthless struggle for power, by emphasizing that the only proper form of rule was based on the Qur'an and Shari'a. Qutb emphasized the social and political role Islam needed to incorporate in the lives of Muslims. His writings have contributed and helped shape modern concepts of jihad and Islamic religious doctrine.

For Qutb, religion dictates and regulates every aspect of a person's life. His radical writings assert that a Muslim who does not strictly adhere to Islamic law is not really a Muslim. As Mousalli writes,

"The conclusion that Qutb wants his reader to arrive at is that those Muslims who do not make Islam their system of life are not truly Muslims. They may have partially followed Islam, but this is insufficient to make somebody a true Muslim, sincere mere belief without active adherence is worthless and is not conducive to good life. This relates to government, state, society, and political life as well as to the individual, the personal, and so forth."²⁵

²⁵ Ahmed S. Mousalli, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 134-135.

Qutb's beliefs are so radical that he has scrutinized any Muslims who do not follow the Qu'ran and Hadith to his strict guidelines and are shunned by religious Muslim society. Furthermore, Qutb writes that human knowledge changes throughout generations therefore Qu'ranic interpretations are subject to change throughout the history of the Muslim world since the prophet Muhammed's era.

The Shari'a is the most important aspect of Qutb's universal Islamic concept (tawhid) as it relates to Islam and politics. Shari'a is the basis for the establishment of just societies and harmonizes all aspects of life, including creating governments. Qutb formulates his writing based on descriptions of the prophet Muhammad's rule and the first two caliphs and uses his interpretations as the basis for the ideal Islamic government. According to Qutb, in the modern world the two main challenges of Islam are community and capitalism. Qutb argues that capitalism is monopolistic, exploitive, unjust, and usurious and therefore refuses to create a model for Muslims based on capitalism. He links capitalism with nationalism and uses countries such as England and France which have conquered Muslim lands as examples as to why capitalism is anti-Muslim. Qutb writes that Marxism is a precursor to materialism which leads to the breakdown of God in society. The only feasible alternative is a society based completely on Islam and the Shari'a which leads to true morality and social justice.

A modern example of social justice based on Qutb's writings is Hamas' vast social and humanitarian infrastructure which is said to be based on Islamic law. According to Qutb, "true social justice exists only when supported, first, by an internal feeling of the individual's worthiness and the community's need and, second, by a creed leading to obeying God and to realizing a sublime human society."²⁶ Qutb writes a lot about social justice and bases the establishment of helping the poor and Muslims care for one another on Islamic Shari'a. Governments and social justice become the means

²⁶ Ahmed S. Moussalli, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 145.

through which Islam can be expressed as dictated in the Qur'an and Shari'a. By linking this with the centuries old Qur'an, Qutb is able to bring Islam into modernity and tie it into the modern world.

Qutb has been able to link the ancient and modern worlds together and reconnect millions of Muslims to a past that formerly alienated them. Rather than the Qur'an referring only to religious practices, for Qutb and those who follow his writings, it applies to every aspect of a Muslim's life, and is not bound by time and hence applicable to any era in the future. Overall, Qutb emphasizes the importance and urgency of the creation of an Islamic state and rejects any compromise or mingling with the West which leads to corruption and the breakdown of Islamic values.

HASSAN AL-BANNA

The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, one of the most influential Islamic political organizations, was Hassan al-Banna. The Muslim Brotherhood ideology has been basis for many future terrorist organizations such as Hamas, Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Islamic Jihad, and many others. Al-Banna outlines a more conservative and less radical approach than Sayyid Qutb and writes differently about the ideal modern Islamic nation. Al-Banna's discourse is divided into three main principles: Islam and Politics, the Islamic State and the Shari'a, and Democracy and Shura.

Hassan al-Banna was born in 1906 in Egypt to a religious family. His father was a local imam and teacher. It is no surprise that Hassan al-Banna was participating in political demonstrations as early as age thirteen and fought towards the removal of the British from Egypt. Al-Banna eventually moved to Cairo to study at Dar al-Ulm college and was heavily moved by secularism and the detrimental effects of foreign modern rule on Egyptian society. He witnessed the secular Egyptian lifestyle and developed a distaste and negative image of the West. He immersed himself in Islamic studies at Dar al-Ulm and developed his ideals which would later be a part of the Muslim

Brotherhood. Al-Banna felt the greatest threat to the future of Islam was the threat of secularism as imposed by the Western and non-Islamic societies which lead to the breakdown of traditional Muslim values.

Similarly to Qutb, al-Banna emphasizes the perfection of God and Islam and its laying the groundwork for all walks of life - personal, private, social, politics, and education. Islam provides the proper divine tools to confront temptation and the pull towards sin and to elevate oneself in the modern world where one is confronted with temptations and is pulled towards sin. In March 1928, al-Banna established the Muslim Brotherhood, which became the largest organization of Muslim political and social organizations. The Muslim Brotherhood's largest achievement at the time was its ability to unite so many Muslims in Egypt and neighboring countries. During this period of European colonialism in the Middle East, especially with Egypt's Suez Canal under British control, al-Banna was able to provide the solution to the Muslim problem of suffering and potential greatness by the smothering of Muslim values by foreign rulers. Al-Banna brought together peasants, aristocrats, blue-collar workers and professionals. He also addressed issues of Arab nationalism and emphasized the need for Muslims not Arabs to join together and embrace the Islamic way of life set out by the Qura'n and religious leaders.

The Muslim Brotherhood's main focus is on religious politics and the spread of an Islamic revolution throughout the Middle East. The first step in implementing the Shari'a is through the establishment of Islamic regimes. Sayyid Qutb and Hassan al-Banna evince their differences in their view of the West and on the idea of compromise with non-Muslim values. The present Muslim regimes of Jordan and other North African Muslim countries follow al-Banna's description of the ideal Muslim government. It is the radical Sunni Muslim movements, such as Al Qaeda, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad which follow Sayyid Qutb's radicalism.

Al-Banna believed that the corruption of politics is what led to the abuse of power and practices in previous Muslim governments. He witnessed the impact a government has on the entire workings and divisions of a society and emphasized a true Muslim government's responsibility to create a just and moral society based on the Qur'an. The reestablishment of the Muslim caliphate is an essential part of Islamic doctrine and is emphasized in al-Banna's writings. It is the biggest goal of Islamic movements towards the eventual unification of worldwide Muslims. The caliphate will have divine insights and will be the one responsible for the worldwide spread of Islam. Al-Banna's vision of the ideal modern Islamic government can take many forms with new military, economic, and political organizations.

Al-Banna bases the ideal Islamic government on the following verses from the Qur'an:

We have sent down to thee the Book in truth, that thou mightiest judge between men, as guided by God: So be not (used) as an advocate by those who betray their trust. (4:105). The answer of the believers, when summoned to God and His Apostle, in order that he may judge between them, is no other than this: They say, 'We hear and we obey.' (24:51) To thee We sent the Scripture in truth, confirming the scripture that came before it, and guarding it in safety: So judge between them by what God hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires, diverging from the Truth that hath come to thee. To each among you have We prescribed a Law and an Open Way. If God had so willed, He would have made you a single people. (5:48).

It was We who revealed the law (to Moses): Therein was guidance and light. By its standards have been judged the Jews, by the Prophets who bowed (as in Islam) to God's Will, by the Rabbis and the Doctors of law: For to them was entrusted the protection of God's Book, and they were witnessed thereto: Therefore fear not men, but fear Me, and sell not My signs for a miserable price. If any do fail to judge by (the light of) what God hath revealed, they are (no better than) unbelievers. We ordained therein for them: "Life for life, eye for eye, nose for nose, ear for ear, tooth for tooth, and wounds equal for equal." By if anyone remits the retaliation by way of charity, it is an act of atonement for himself. And if any fail to judge by (the light of) what god hath revealed, they are (no better than) wrongdoers. (5:44-45)

Let the people of the Gospel judge by what God hath revealed therein. If any do fail to judge by (the light of) what God hath revealed, they are (no better than) those who rebel. (5:47) Do they then seek after a judgment of (the days of) Ignorance? By who, for a people whose faith is assured, can give better judgment than God? (5:50)²⁷

²⁷ Ahmed S. Moussalli, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 117-118.

All of these phrases emphasize the relationship between religion and politics as dictated in the Qur'an. This relationship between the spiritual and political applies to Islamic communities worldwide and has provided the basis for Al Qaeda to gather worldwide Muslims to join in this political struggle against the West. According to al-Banna, the first step for achieving the proper Islamic society is through setting up an Islamic state. Without an Islamic state, it is not possible to fully integrate oneself into an Islamic society, and the true political goal of Islam cannot be met.

According to al-Banna and most Muslim fundamentalists, Islamic law's authority over society and people are based on the following Qur'anic verses:²⁸

And this (He commands): Judge thou between them by what God hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires, but beware of them lest they beguile thee from any of that (teaching) which God hath sent down to thee. And if they turn away, be assured that for some of their crimes it is God's purpose to punish them. And truly most men are rebellious. (5:49)
But no, by thy Lord, they can have no (real) Faith, until they make thee judge in all disputes between them, and find in their souls no resistance against thy decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction. (4:65)

These verses are referred to by radical Islamic groups to draw attention to how "un-Islamic" non-Muslim societies are. Al-Banna maintains that constitutional governments are the ideal form of any government and that the nature of Islamic politics is constitutional rule. The responsibility of the government is both religious and political with Islam as the source for all decisions and guidelines.

Al-Banna's Muslim Brotherhood substantially grew more powerful and acquired many members in Egypt during the pre-Gamal Abdel-Nasser nationalistic and revolutionary years. Al-Banna was a relentless social and political activist who provided the institutional framework for future Islamic groups to formulate model Islamic governments and societies, from education and social welfare to politics. He was the first Muslim scholar to detail the workings of a Muslim government based on the Shari'a and successfully mobilized Muslims to fight against foreign rulers. Al-Banna mobilized existing religious circles and networks to spread his writings among some of the most

²⁸ Ahmed S. Moussalli, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 122.

influential religious figures in Egypt during the years preceding the collapse of the British monarchy in Egypt.

There were other prominent modern thinkers who attempted to incorporate Islam into the modern world. One such person, Muhammad Abduh, an Egyptian religious reformer, believed that Muslims could not rely only on medieval interpretations of the Qur'an. Rather, Islam was a religion which needed to keep up with the changing times of each generation. Muslim clerics regarded him as a traitor for advocating against returning to a more primitive Islamic lifestyle. Jamal al-din al-Afghani, believed in the unity of the Arab world under a Pan-Islamic banner. Al-Afghani believed that Islam was a religion based on rationality and hence Muslims could become unified politically while keep their religious morals. He has been referred to as the founding father of Islamic modernism.²⁹ Al-Afghani attempted to unify all different branches of Islam against European colonialism through modern technology and tried to draw usage of modern science in Islam.

Al-Banna's success was the molding together of ancient, traditional values with modern day societies and lives. He was able to bring many Muslims back to their roots by portraying an Islam which, while traditional in nature, was a timeless religion which could enhance any person's soul. He was eventually assassinated in February 1949 during the revolution years preceding Gamal Abdel Nasser's come to power in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood has left an everlasting mark and at the present time is one of Egypt's most powerful and influential all-encompassing political organizations. At the same time, the death of al-Banna paved the way for the Muslim Brotherhood's evolution into Sayyid Qutb's ultra radical political organization which currently exists in modern-day Egypt.

²⁹ <http://www.cis-ca.org/voices/a/afghni.htm>.

IRAN & AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI, the Iranian Revolution and Exporting Terror

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is one of the most influential Shi'a religious and political leaders of the twentieth century. He successfully overthrew the Shah of Iran's pro-western regime and replaced it with one of the most radically religious Islamic regimes the world has seen. He was the leader of the 1979 Iranian Revolution and established himself as the face of the Islamic revolution which has come to sweep much of the Middle East and Muslim world. While the Ayatollah was never formally trained as a politician, he became the most notorious Islamic politician and blended the role of religious cleric and politician.

Ruhollah Mustavi Khomeini was born on September 24, 1902, in Khomein, a small town in the Iranian province of Isfahan.³⁰ Sayyid Mustafa, Khomeini's father, was a cleric and landowner who spent time studying in Najaf and was part of the religious elite. In 1903, he was killed in a local dispute with local khans. Khomeini was reared by his mother and aunt, who died by the time he was 16 years old. At the age of 19 he went to Arak to study religion and be mentored by Haj Shaikh 'Abd al Karim Ha'iri Yazdi, who was one of the most prominent clerics of the time. The town of Khomein was made up of many Shi'ite and twelve-Imam Muslims, who believed the future Islamic messiah would be the thirteenth imam following in the line of the Imams that began with the prophet Muhammad's first cousin, Ali. Khomeini's family claims to descend directly from Musa al-Kazim, the seventh of the twelve Imams.

Khomeini followed in the footsteps of his family and went on to study religion at a Shi'ite Islamic seminary. While his choice of studies was switched due to political turmoil and the eventual collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Khomeini eventually studied under the Ayatollah Abdul Karim Ha'eri Yazdi (known as Ha'eri) who religiously and politically shaped Khomeini's view towards Islam and

³⁰ Vanessa Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, pp. 29.

politics. Ha'eri was a Twelver Shi'a Muslim who founded the Shi'ite seminary in Qom, Iran, and successfully revived the city to become a major city of Islamic thought and study.

At Qom, Khomeini was known as a skillful scholar who embraced Shi'a Islam to the fullest extent. He rose before dawn, sometimes at three or four in the morning, to perform ritual ablutions followed by the morning prayer. Khomeini was drawn to Islamic mysticism and furthered his studies outside of the typical Shi'a curriculum. Upon his arrival in Qom, Khomeini founded scholars who would instruct him in *erfan* and *hekmat* – two of Islam's mystical and philosophical traditions. Efran literally means gnosis, the mystical knowledge of the inner world of man seeking intimacy with God. It is a spiritual tradition found predominantly in the Shi'a world which parallels and shares many doctrines with Sufism, but is different as well. While Erfan is also highly theoretical, it is more intellectual than Sufism and is connected to the study of philosophy.³¹ *Hekmat*, literally wisdom, is the intellectual component of *erfan*. Khomeini's mysticism was most influenced by writer Ibn Arabi, "who was influenced by the Neo-Platonic idea of logos (the Perfect Man), and the Shi'I doctrine of the pre-existence of the Prophet, a doctrine which made his views more acceptable to the Shi'I mystics."³² Khomeini became a well-written poet at Qom and wrote many inspiring poems during the pre-1979 revolution years which were able to gather many adopt his cause.

According to Vanessa Martin, author of *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, the impact of 'irfan on Khomeini's vision of Iranian statehood "functioned on three levels: the creation of a leader, the creation of a vanguard and through these two mobilizing the people, through in the latter case along with other perhaps more significant factors."³³ 'Irfan motivated the common person to elevate themselves spiritually to become the perfect man whose

³¹ All information regarding *erfan* is taken from Baqer Moin's *Khomeini, The Life of the Ayatollah*, pp. 39-40.

³² Baqer Moin, *Khomeini, Life of the Ayatollah*, pp. 46.

³³ Vanessa Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, pp. 45.

knowledge of the divine allowed him to provide guidance for his community as a function of God's messenger in the world.³⁴ Khomeini was able to become the supreme religious and mainstream leader through this concept of 'Irfan. This person or leader is the main figure who could start a revolution as Khomeini did and encourage the overthrow of the Iranian government through the Islamic concept of jihad.

Khomeini's immersion in Shi'a studies enabled him to become a religious scholar. He lectured both in Qom and Najaf, the site of the tomb of Ali, the first Shi'a caliph. Khomeini taught the importance of religion as an all-encompassing doctrine which regulated social and political life outside of the mosque. Graduates of Shi'a seminaries are trained to become future Shi'ite scholars and Ayatollahs. Eventually Khomeini grew tired of sitting in a classroom and listen to teachers lecture to him about Shi'a doctrine. Baqer Moin writes,

“by the age of twenty-seven Khomeini had begun to assemble his own circle of admiring students who visited his home regularly or met him at the shrine or *madrseh*. He had also developed his own method of teaching. In the best seminaries, dialectical argument between teacher and students was the norm; but Khomeini had no patience with discussion for its own sake. He would set out the issues, explain the various opinions on them and end with his own views, leaving little room for argumentation.”³⁵

Khomeini felt Iran and the entire Muslim world was battling against secularism which was destroying Islamic morals which was leading to the breakdown of traditional Muslim society.

During the 1930s, Khomeini began teaching ethics as a means of combating this moral breakdown. Khomeini believed Islam's only chance at success was to win the battle against secularism. As such, when Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, or the Shah of Iran, came to power, Khomeini became one of his fiercest opponents of his secular and pro-western regime. As Baqer Moin writes,

³⁴ Vanessa Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, pp. 45.

³⁵ Baqer Moin, *KHOMEINI: Life of the Ayatollah*, pp. 53.

“By the late 1950s he (Khomeini) had, with the clergy’s help, regained his confidence in his struggle with the democratic nationalists and the Left...in every meeting he attended with fellow clerics, and every statement he made, he reminded his listeners of bleak days ahead unless they united to resist the Shah’s ‘sinister plans.’”³⁶

Khomeini’s political campaign against the Shah began shortly after the resignation of the former premiere Ali Amini and the arrival of the Shah as the leader of Iran and the beginning of reform politics in Iran. Khomeini used women’s suffrage as the jumping off point to start a full-blown resistance to the newly secular government and his public career.

Khomeini became a charismatic speaker who preached an all-out Islamic war against the West and secularism which he claimed was attempting to destroy traditional Islamic values. Khomeini encouraged the use of force and predicted a battle of Islam against its oppressors. Khomeini called for public demonstrations against the Shah’s regime and even called to halt the celebration of national holidays in protest against the secular government.

Reza Shah entered Iranian politics without adhering to any specific political ideology. His main goal was to strengthen Iran economically and to make Iran a world power. His initial attempt to satisfy socialist and conservative parties as well as religious clerics won him much support but eventually Iran’s Shi’a Muslims wanted the state to be completely under the auspices of Shari’a. Vanessa Martin writes, “He had, nevertheless, his own utopia, which comprised a strong, unified state, free from internal and particularly ethnic and tribal divisions; free also from foreign interference and the manipulation of Iran’s diversity. His dream was of a secular state, and like his contemporary Ataturk, he perceived religion as retrogressive and the ‘ulama as backward-looking

³⁶ Baqer Moin, *KHOMEINI: Life of the Ayatollah*, pp. 74.

obstacles to progress.”³⁷ Reza Shah was a modern thinker who desired the modernization of Iran as a means to future world progress and success as a forward thinking Middle Eastern nation.

The Shah’s plans for Iran were modeled after European conquests in the region following World War I. He was able to capitalize on Iran’s devastation and humiliation under foreign rule as the main obstacle that held Iran’s potential as a modern nation. He appealed to all groups by encouraging the exiting of foreign powers from Iran as the key to its success as a modern nation. Both the religious clerics and all groups of intelligentsia agreed and initially supported the Shah’s plans. The religious and intelligentsia groups disputed over how much state control the government would have in the new socialist country. For the most part, the clerics remained silent in their protest against the Shah’s new regime until Khomeini became the one to mobilize them all in Iranian’s Islamic revolution.

Iran is arguably the largest sponsor of state-terror in the modern Middle East. While there are many terrorist groups all over the world, Iran has notable conducted terror activities on its own people and via Hezbollah in Lebanon, Africa, and South America. In the spring of 2009, in an uproar over rigged elections in Iran which kept Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in power, tens of thousands of Iranians flooded the streets of the country in protests and mass demonstrations. The Iranians were fed up. The government's reaction was to quickly silence the protesters publicly and violently, even murdering Iranian citizens in streets and public areas. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is a known sponsor of terror, constantly preaches about the Muslim world's war with the West, and consistently threatens destruction of the State of Israel and attacks against the United States.

³⁷ Vanessa Martin, *Creating an Islamic State*, pp. 9.

Michael A. Ledeen is a scholar at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, and an expert on Iran. In his book, *Accomplice to Evil: Iran and the War Against the West*, Ledeen argues that the fail of the United States to comprehend the challenges made by Iran is a moral failure. Similarly to overlooking and ignoring threats made by Adolf Hitler to annihilate the Jews, as well those made by communists to commit mass genocide, so are the threats made by radical Islamists against Jews and the free world underestimated and underscored. Ledeen suggests that the United States, rather than attempting to engage Iran in a dialogue, should offer strong and consistent moral support to the Iranian people. He also notes the huge following that Islamic terrorist organizations have on the internet, and thus states:

"the defeat of the principal sponsor [Iran] sends shock waves through the movement and discredits the ideology...The world is simmering in the familiar rhetoric and actions of movements and regimes - from Hezbollah and al Qaeda to the Iranian Khomeinists and Saudi Wahhabis - who swear to destroy us and others like us, and we are repeating the errors of the recent past. Like their 20th-century predecessors, they only proclaim their intentions, and carry them out whenever and wherever they can. Like our 20th-century predecessors, we rarely take them seriously or act accordingly."³⁸

This can only be accomplished, according to Ledeen, if we [the United States and the West] can shatter our self-delusions about how to combat the Islamic terrorist enemy first.

Hezbollah and Hamas are essentially Iranian proxies. Both terrorist organization's military commanders have been trained in Iran and Syria and receive their missiles directly from Iran or through Iranian monetary funds. In essence, the battle between Israel and Hezbollah in July and August of 2006 and between Israel and Hamas in December 2008 and January 2009 were essentially battles between Israel and Iran. Furthermore, Hezbollah has terrorist cells all over the world, including South America, which claimed responsibility for the attack in Argentina against a Jewish Community Center in 1994. It is no secret the strong ties between the Shiite Hezbollah to Shiite Iran.

³⁸ Michael A. Ledeen, *Accomplice to Evil*, Introduction.

Hezbollah has bases all over South America, including Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil. These South American Hezbollah members develop a deep hatred for America and are willing to martyr themselves to prove it.

Hezbollah also has cells and a notable influence in Africa, specifically in Nigeria. There is a large Lebanese population in Nigeria which are in the diamond mining industry, many of whom are supporters of Hezbollah. Furthermore, with regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, since there are hundreds of millions of Muslims on the African continent, and many North African countries, such as Libya, are home to many terrorist organizations, it is easy for Hezbollah to gather support and followers in its war against Israel.

"Under Iran's strategy of mobilisation in Africa, local religious leaders who have a track-record of confronting the establishment are co-opted by Iran's Revolutionary Guards and given assistance in the form of ideological guidance and military training to grow their movements. Zakzaky [he is the head of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria or IMN] is a highly-educated firebrand Shia cleric operating in Nigeria's northern Muslim states such as Kano, Kaduna, and Zaria."³⁹

Zakzaky is a Muslim cleric who has been influenced by the writings of Sayyid Qutb as well as Hezbollah cells in Nigeria. He emphasizes that Nigeria must abandon its secular ways and become an Islamic state based on Iran.

SYRIA

Syria is a prominent sponsor of state terror. Its capital city of Damascus not only holds offices of Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad, but is the base for Hamas's exiled leader Khaled Mish'al, who remains in hiding. The leader who brought Syria from under the shadows of its neighbors to a major power in the Middle East was Hafez Assad, whose Bathism inspired a ideological revolution among millions of Arabs. After 20-plus coups in over 19 years, Hafez Assad was relatively stable president of

³⁹ <http://www.mesi.org.uk/ViewBlog.aspx?ArticleId=49>

the country for over thirty years, and turned the previously dictatorial regimes into an authoritarian/totalitarian government.

Hafez Assad is Alawite which is a Shi'ite Muslim sect that is very prominent in Syria. The Alawites trace their origins back to Ali, who was the prophet Muhammed's cousin. The Alawites were first granted autonomy under French rule following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century. Syria gained its independence in April 1946. Following its independence the new country suffered many military coups which coincided with the rise of Ba'ath politics. The Ba'ath movement, which literally means renaissance, was founded in Syria in the 1940s. It was a secular Arab nationalist movement, similar to Egypt's Pan-Arabism movement led by Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Ba'ath party's prime motive was to combat Western rule in Syria. Ba'ath politics were strong in Iraq at the time, but split off from Syria in the 1960s, when the Ba'ath party officially came to power in another military coup with Hafez al-Assad as its leader. The Ba'ath Party's goal was to unite the entire Arab world under one Pan-Arab banner, regardless of being Christian or Muslim. In reality, the Ba'ath Party was led by the Alawite Hafez al-Assad, so nonetheless there were Muslim tones in the

Presently, Syria's population is a diverse group of Muslims and Christians, with the majority of Sunni Muslim making up two-third of the country's populace.⁴⁰ The ironic fact that a Shi'a Alawite minority controls the government is a phenomenon which is not only distinct to Syria; in Lebanon and Egypt as well as other Arab countries, minorities have ruled. In Syria, the Alawis are the largest community of non-Sunni Muslims, comprising an estimated 11 – 12 percent of the total population.⁴¹ Tension existed for centuries between Syria's various ethnic and religious groups, particularly among

⁴⁰ Flynt Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, pp. 2.

⁴¹ Flynt Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, pp. 2.

Sunni and non-Sunni Muslims. While many countries in the region blame the State of Israel for their suffering and problems, prior to the arrival of Israel in the Middle East, Muslims were going to battle against each other over religious differences. In the twentieth century, hatred was reinforced due to the Sunni Muslim's control over the large cities as well as the heretic view of Shi'a Muslims and the elevation of the status of the Caliph Ali to the same or even higher level than the prophet Muhammad. The fact that Syrians view the division of the country's borders by foreign powers with resentment, the frustration multiplied upon the creation of the State of Israel in 1947. The creation was viewed as another example of non-Muslim and foreign powers dividing the Middle East to suit their own motives. This is an important point because the root of modern-day terrorism in Syria is related to the State of Israel dating back to 1947.

Syria desires to control Lebanon and spread its power across the entire Middle East, which is the main root of its terrorist activities, and the State of Israel and the Jews is only a factor since 1948.

As Daniel Pipes explain,

"Pan-Syrianism -- the intention to piece together a Greater Syrian nation -- is not a new phenomenon but has strongly influenced politics in the Middle East since 1918. The division of Greater Syria after World War I proved one of the worst of many political traumas experienced in the Middle East at that time. Pan-Syrianism explains many of the conflicting aspirations among Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Israelis, and Jordanians; it lies behind much of the volatility of public life in Jordan and Syria; and it partially accounts for the Lebanese civil war and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The goal of piecing Syria's parts together drove Jordanian foreign policy for over two decades, and it had nearly as great a role in Iraq."⁴²

In Syria, politics and economics are intertwined, with the country's economy is less than its neighboring Arab countries, and competition is ingrained among Syria towards their more successful counterparts. United States foreign policy has focused on peace between Israel and Syria as the jumping off point to an eventual peace in the Middle East, even though negotiating with Syria will

⁴² <http://www.danielpipes.org/books/greaterchap.php>

hardly bring any peace in the region. Syria houses a huge amount of terrorist headquarters and networks, including bases for Hamas and Hezbollah. Syrian officials claim they will not even speak to Israel unless the highly disputed Golan Heights is fully returned to Syrian control. [In reality this is nonsense, since they talked to Israel at armistice talks in 1949, disengagement talks in 1974-75, and especially in Madrid and Washington in 1991-92.] This is a crucially strategic geographic region for Israel as it strongly influences the country's main water supply from the Jordan River headwaters in the Golan and in the catch basin of the Sea of Galilee. Syria has chosen to reject any peace settlements with Israel without the return of the Golan Heights has been combined with the country's own fears of the Palestinian threat as demonstrated by uprisings in Jordan in 1970 which led to war.

Syria is on the United States' list of state sponsors of terrorism, and has held that status since 1979. As Flynt Leverett explains in *Inheriting Syria*,

“Historically, the Assad regime has provided various levels of support to any array of terrorist organizations, including the Kurdistan Workers Party and the Japanese Red Army in addition to a range of secular and Islamist Palestinians rejectionists and Lebanese Hizballah. The regime has consistently viewed its connections to these groups as sources of leverage and pressure for pursuing a range of strategic and tactical goals, most in the Arab-Israeli arena.”⁴³

In other words, Assad, unlike Saddam Hussein, hires thugs to do his dirty work, and has a somewhat better public image. Syria has invaded Jordan and attempted to assassinate King Hussein and Yasser Arafat, while successfully assassinating Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemaley and former Lebanese prime minister. Syria has successfully used enemies of the United States to threaten the global power and achieve its own goals.

Syria became involved in international terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s. Assad began to support anti-Yasir Arafat Palestinians groups that opposed the Palestinian Liberation Organization

⁴³ Flynt Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, pp. 10

(PLO) and any peace agreement with Israel. Leverett writes, “Syria used these groups as proxies to carry out terrorist attacks, in the region and abroad, not only against Israeli targets but also against Jordanian and PLO targets.”⁴⁴ Syria attempted to bring itself to the bargaining table between Israel and the Palestinians and to thwart any peace agreements moving forward without the return of the Golan Heights to Syria. During this time, Assad created ties to Hezbollah and terrorist organizations in Lebanon.

Syria’s support of terrorism was brought to the world’s attention in 1986. The Hindawi Affair was an attempt by Syria to blow up two Israeli planes, one in London and the other in Madrid. Following this incident, Syria was isolated by the international community, with England severing ties with Syria. Since these incidents, Syria has shifted its terrorism strategies to hidden support of terrorism in its own country as well as throughout the world. Nevertheless, Syria has provided shelter to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine which is headquartered in Damascus.⁴⁵ It also supports Hamas and Islamic Jihad which has allowed it to maintain influence in both Palestinian terror organizations.

Hafez al-Assad has exploited the motives of Palestinians and Shi’a Muslims to further its own interests and control in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Syria has encouraged the growth and success of Hezbollah in Lebanon thus successfully inserting itself into Lebanese politics. Syria has fears of Iran’s nuclear capability and attempts to bridge the two countries through the support of Hezbollah, which Iran directly provides state sponsorship. Most importantly, the relationship with Hezbollah is a means for Syria to exert its control in Lebanon and maintain an influence in the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks.

⁴⁴ Flynt Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, pp. 10.

⁴⁵ <http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/pflp-gc.cfm>

Bashar Assad, the successor to Hafez al-Assad, has allowed Hezbollah to infiltrate the West Bank and Gaza in the context of the Intifada al-Aqsa, or second intifada. Syria has also supervised the growth of Hezbollah's Al-Manar media network and its humanitarian and social infrastructures. Syria has its own interests in exploiting Hezbollah's by using it as a way to maintain an influence in Lebanese politics. Since many Syrians consider Lebanon to be a part of Syria, the country often unites with Hezbollah in order to gain more control in Lebanon. Avi Jorisch writes in *The Middle East Quarterly*,

"It is all-Manar's message, especially against Israel, that assures its continued freedom to broadcast. What would happen were it to turn against Syria?...Syrian and Lebanese authorities do not hesitate to practice censorship when they deem necessary. The fact that al-Manar continues to operate freely is proof that the station's message enjoys the approval of governments in Damascus and Beirut."⁴⁶

Al-Manar began broadcasting from the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley region of southeastern Lebanon which is another demonstration of Syria's influence over Al-Manar.

Fatah, Hamas, and Hezbollah are three political organizations which sponsor terrorism against the State of Israel, compete for power in the Middle East, and appeal to different groups of Palestinians and Arabs. Yasser Arafat, a pioneer in methods of political communication, put the Palestinian issue on the world's agenda by entering into global politics as the representative of the Palestinian people and essentially the entire third-world. Yasser Arafat's communication techniques have been used as models by Hamas and Hezbollah, terrorist groups that separate themselves from Arafat's Fatah party but share a common goal of eliminating the State of Israel. Fatah, a Pan-Arab movement, is unique by its evolution from a terrorist organization to a pro-Western political party that holds negotiations with the State of Israel. Hamas distinguishes itself as a purely Sunni Muslim

⁴⁶ <http://www.meforum.org/583/al-manar-hizbullah-tv-24-7>

organization, refuses to recognize the State of Israel, and has remained virtually unchanged since its establishment in 1987. While Hamas makes it a point to not align with any Arab country and dedicates all its activities toward the establishment of a Palestinian state, Hezbollah is a radical political Shi'a organization that models itself after Iran's government and attempts to gain control of Lebanese politics while being violently anti-Israel and anti-United States. Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's leader as Secretary-General, has taken Arafat's communication techniques to a new level through the Hezbollah-run Al-Manar television station, a 24-hour per day media network that broadcasts a vast array of propaganda filled programming. While each group differentiates itself from the others it was undeniably Yasser Arafat's dramatic displays of terror across the world in the 1970s that opened the door for terrorists to emerge from nothing and rise to become the most talked about figures in the Middle East and the world.

THE PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT'S RESURGENCE AND ITS USE OF TERROR

The 1967 Six Day War, known in Arabic as "Al Naksa" or "the Setback," has had the greatest effect of shaping modern Middle East terrorist policy towards Israel and set the stage for the emergence of modern terrorist activity around Israel. After the Six Day War, in both the media and among the Arab world, the conflict went from an Arab-Israeli conflict to a Palestinian-Israeli conflict, led partly by Yasser Arafat. This was Yasser Arafat's prime method of drawing the world's attention to the Palestinians and thrusting his cause into the spotlight of the third world.

In 1967, Israel gained control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, along with over one million Palestinians previously under Egyptian and Jordanian rule. Israel's accumulation of new territories unified two previously divided groups of Palestinians: those previously under Jordanian rule and Israeli rule. Prior to 1967, Jerusalem was divided between Jordanian-controlled East Jerusalem and Israeli controlled West-Jerusalem and Palestinians under each country's authority were raised with

different identities. When Jerusalem was united in 1967 under Israeli rule, this combined diverse groups of Palestinians who adopted a single, unified identity which led to the radicalization of both populations. The unification and radicalization of Palestinians created the ideal atmosphere for which Yasser Arafat could emerge and easily gather support for the Palestinian cause.

Israel has been a permanent presence in the Middle East since 1948, yet many neighboring countries continue to deny its existence, actively terrorizing and threatening the country. The emergence of dramatic, public displays of terrorist acts were started by Yasser Arafat who successfully organized the hijacking of planes and the attacks on Israeli athletes at the 1973 Olympic Games, events the world had never witnessed on television. The shock factor drove network ratings through the roof and put the spotlight directly on Arafat, who wanted to draw the world's attention to himself through the Palestinian cause.

Fatah began in the 1950s in Cairo, Egypt, with members of the General Union of Palestinian Students, including Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) and Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), and Yasser Arafat as the organization's president. The word Fatah is a reverse acronym for Harakat al-Tahir al-Watani al-Filastini, which in Arabic means the "Palestinian National Liberation movement." While Fatah is not considered a terrorist organization by the United States and in fact the U.S. thinks a "real peace" between Israel and Mahmoud Abbas is possible, Fatah is not as liberal as many think. The American government think peace is possible with Fatah, but its leader Mahmoud Abbas, is politically weak and is not able to exert control over the majority of Palestinians. Furthermore, it was also shown by his failure to do anything to the people who attempted to assassinate him and killed one of his bodyguards in 1995. The weakness of Abbas was publicly displayed by Fatah's loss in the 2006 Palestinian elections to rival Hamas which has gained control of the Gaza Strip, with Fatah remaining in the West Bank. It was further displayed by Abbas's total loss of Gaza. Fatah adheres to the

“Strategy of Stages” doctrine which states the Palestinians will take what they can get through diplomatic means and the rest through blood and war. Fatah’s corrupt roots began with Yasser Arafat, a public relations genius, who overlooked Palestinian rights in his struggle to increase his power and wealth.

Yasser Arafat, who called himself a true Palestinian and claimed to be born in Jerusalem, was in fact born in Egypt to Palestinian parents. In fact, Arafat hated to be questioned about his birthplace which he covered up to bolster his image as a Palestinian. Kiernan Thomas, author of *Arafat: The Man and the Myth*, cites evidence of Arafat’s true origins. “One of Arafat’s cousins, who subscribes to the Cairo theory, told me that Arafat once boasted of having all official records of his birth in Cairo destroyed in order to underscore his born-in-Jerusalem image.”⁴⁷ Although he was born in Egypt, due to his parents’ place of birth, Arafat was categorized as a Palestinian, a small minority of only forty-five hundred in Egypt.⁴⁸ The lie about where he was born is one part of the bigger picture of Arafat lying constantly throughout his life, from his birthplace to being a great warrior – none of which were true. Throughout Arafat’s political career he said one thing to the Israelis and Americans and another to the Arab world and successfully played both sides into meeting his demands for money and power. On American television screens, Arafat would shake the hand of Bill Clinton and Yitzhak Rabin and broadcast himself as the terrorist who reformed his ways in the name of peace, while to the Arab world, he would condemn Israel and support suicide bombings and violence against the same country he supposedly wanted to live side by side with in peace.

⁴⁷ Thomas Kiernan, *Arafat, The Man and the Myth*, pp. 23.

⁴⁸ Barry M. Rubin, *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*, pp. 11.

The 1950s were nationalistic years in Egypt inspired by Gamal Abdel Nasser's revolution that drove out European colonialists and established a Pan-Arab government whose goal was to unite the entire Arab world under one identity. Abdel Nasser inspired and encouraged many other foreign-ruled Arab countries to start their own revolutions. Palestinians in Egypt were inspired to by Abdel Nasser's message to start their own separate national groups, and many future terrorists such as Yasser Arafat and George Habash emerged during this period. Arafat had an ideal Palestinian audience to work with to stage his arrival into politics and to gain political power. Since the withdrawal of the British from Palestine and Israel's independence in 1948, the Palestinians had been overlooked by Middle East countries and left homeless. Israel's neighbors were too occupied with their own internal problems and with gaining revenge against the failure of the 1948 war with Israel that the influx of Palestinian immigrants was low on their list of priorities. Yasser Arafat was one of the only politicians who cared about the Palestinians and as a public relations genius, successfully brought the issue to the attention of the world.

When Fatah was officially created on October 10, 1959 it contained a group of Palestinian nationalist radicals who were dedicated to liberating Palestine through violent struggle.⁴⁹ Fatah's initial purpose was to prepare for a violent uprising against Israel and to publicize internationally the Palestinian humanitarian struggle against the allegedly oppressive Israelis. Arafat's goal was not to defeat the Israeli army, which it could obviously not conquer, but rather to terrorize civilians, strike fear into the minds of Israelis, and damage the country's public image. None of Israel's neighboring countries wanted to deal with the Palestinians and Jordan did not grant them their own country following Israel's 1948 War of Independence, which it easily could have done. Due to discrimination

⁴⁹ Anat N. Kurz, *Fatah and the Politics of Violence*, pp. 23

and exclusion from naturalization in Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, the Palestinians were forced into maintaining a Palestinian identity as a people without a homeland.

After the Six Day War 1967 and the reunification of Jerusalem, Arafat saw the Arab world's loss as the perfect opportunity to mobilize the Palestinians, capitalizing on their feelings of hopelessness at the hands of their host Arab countries and those within Israel. As Anat Kurz points out in *Fatah and the Politics of Violence*,

“Mobilizing for violent struggle was a goal in its own right, intended to afford members of the consolidating organization a sense of unity and cause. It was also meant to underscore Fatah's uniqueness in the sphere of Palestinian-related politics: by popularizing the goal of a direct Palestinian struggle against Israel, the organization was creating a support base for itself.”⁵⁰

Fatah began sporadic attacks against Israel along the border with Jordan in order to gain legitimacy as a real organization and to draw attention to the Palestinian cause and unite against Israel.

The Battle of Karama in March 1968 secured Arafat's leadership of Fatah and framed the Palestinian struggle as being a humanitarian crisis against the “oppressive” Israelis. The PLO's original headquarters were in Karama, Jordan. The Israelis, responding to the wounding of Israeli children by Palestinian terrorists, attacked Karama on March 8, 1968 with the goal of destroying Fatah. Israel warned Jordan, hoping for non-interference, but, instead, Jordan informed the PLO and helped attack the Israeli force, aiding the PLO forces to achieve a relative victory for propaganda purposes. Israel inflicted heavy losses on the PLO, but it also suffered high casualties, and Israel withdrew to avoid a full-scale war.

The battle caught the world's attention and Arafat's manipulation of the story resulted in the Palestinians being portrayed as the helpless victims who miraculously defeated the formerly invincible Israelis. Kiernan explains how the world's perception of the Palestinians changed after the

⁵⁰ Anat N. Kurz, *Fatah and the Politics of Violence*, pp. 17.

battle at Karama, “Suddenly Israel, viewed only a few months earlier as the David to the Arab Goliath, became itself the Goliath, while the pale Palestinians assumed the role of David... In many quarters the Israeli setback was cheered and sympathy for the Palestinians mushroomed.”⁵¹ The fact that Arafat had actually abandoned Karama to leave the fighting for others did not matter and was covered up. Arafat’s masterful manipulation of a huge loss against the Israelis clearly demonstrates his impeccable media and public relations skills, and “soon the myth of the Fatah ‘victory’ over the Israelis became fact.”⁵² Arafat used this battle to develop his own media manipulation strategies as well as to gain manpower and fundraising for Fatah.

Beginning in 1970 and through 1973, Arafat achieved great success in hijacking planes and taking over the 1973 Munich Olympics. Arafat denied any association with the events at the 1973 Olympics, and as was typical with his behavior, he covered up facts that were later proven to be true. In a conversation in May 1973 with Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania’s dictator, Arafat bragged about killing the United States ambassador to Sudan, and quickly denied he ever did it. Author Barry Rubin illustrates this conversation in his book, *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*: “ ‘Who me?’ Arafat said, winking mischievously. ‘I never had anything to do with that operation.’ Indeed, he was so adept at concealing his links with terrorism and avoiding any penalty for such behavior that Western intelligence officials were beginning to call him the ‘Teflon terrorist.’ Arafat successfully demonstrated that terrorism garnered both Palestinian and Arab support for the PLO and pushed the Palestinian issue into the agendas of countries in the Middle East to become an international priority. Arafat’s terrorist attacks also halted potential talks between Arab countries and the State of Israel. As Rubin continues,

⁵¹ Kiernan Thomas, *Arafat, The Man and the Myth*, pp. 262.

⁵² Kiernan Thomas, *Arafat, The Man and the Myth*, pp. 262.

“(Arafat) prevented other Palestinians and Arab states from negotiating peace with Israel; and made many Western leaders eager to appease him. The more audacious and horrifying the act was to the outside world, the more admiration it generally received from Arab people and countries.”⁵³

Arafat’s terror attacks achieved their full success: the entry of the Palestinian Question into the top agenda of world politics, elevating Arafat's status as their sole leader while halting other efforts towards their own diplomatic dealings with Israel.

Between the years 1971 and 1974, Fatah not only planned and executed plane hijackings, but also letter bombs, assassinations, thirteen attacks on Western and Arab embassies,⁵⁴ and proved that international terrorism was the best and most successful tactic to achieve attention and political influence. Fatah’s beginnings were rooted in hidden lies which led to the loss of its legitimacy as a political party and the demise of its political power after Arafat failed to deliver on many promises. Fatah nonetheless proved that terrorism could prove a powerful strategy against a superior military power and Arafat opened the gates for other terrorist organizations Hamas and Hezbollah to emerge and become a more dynamic and improved version of Fatah by establishing social welfare infrastructures.

Hamas and Hezbollah are radical political organizations that try to fill the void left by Fatah’s corruption by establishing desperately needed social infrastructures and appealing to Palestinians who want to overthrow the State of Israel in an Islamic revolution. Both parties promote anti-Semitic hatred of Jews and recruit suicide bombers by enticing them with the promise of entry into an Islamic Paradise attainable through jihad, or martyring oneself. Hamas established political legitimacy through its surprising victory in the 2006 elections with the defeat of Fatah. Hezbollah refined Fatah communication techniques to become the technical pioneers and superior

⁵³ Barry Rubin, *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*, pp. 61.

⁵⁴ Barry Rubin, *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*, pp. 61.

communicators of multiple messages of psychological warfare. Using communication strategies and an existing nationalized audience established by Yasser Arafat, Hamas and Hezbollah have successfully appealed to Muslims who feel betrayed by Fatah's failure as a corrupt political party to drive Israel out of the Middle East.

Hamas was established in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin as the Palestinian branch of the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood. Since its inception the basic goals of Hamas have been to destroy the State of Israel and establish a Palestinian Islamic state based on the pre-1948 borders set forth by the former British colonizers. Hamas, an acronym meaning "Islamic Resistance Movement" and Arabic for the word "zeal," is a Sunni political party that combines Islamic fundamentalism with Palestinian nationalism. The corrupt Palestinian Authority created a humanitarian vacuum which Hamas has filled and exploited as demonstrated by its January 2006 victory over Fatah in the Palestinian elections. Since the withdrawal of Israel from the Gaza Strip and West Bank and Hamas' triumph in the 2006 elections, hundreds of ketusha rockets have been sent into Israel and numerous suicide bombings have taken place. Hamas is consistently adhering to the guidelines set by its Charter, published in 1993, which calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. Hence, Hamas concludes that nothing less than the entire territory of the pre-1948 borders is acceptable and this policy leads to its denial of the State of Israel, viewed as the occupier of an existing Palestine. Hamas refuses to negotiate with Israel and sends rockets and suicide bombers into Israel despite the return of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Palestinian Authority.

Hamas' evolution from a group of Palestinian nationals into a bona fide organization came during the 1980s when it had to decide to assert itself among the other Palestinian national groups Fatah and Islamic Jihad in order to gain a solid reputation and gather support. As Fatah became more corrupt, Hamas was able to spread its influence throughout the entire Muslim and Western

worlds by establishing a network of charitable organizations which were able to garner funds for terrorist activities under the banner of humanitarian aid groups. The origins of Hamas began even before the entry of Fatah into Middle East politics. Sheikh Yassin's inspiration for Hamas came from a combination of a devastating, life-changing accident and childhood spent under Israeli rule in a Palestinian refugee camp.

Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Hassan Yassin was born in 1938 in Al Jourah, Palestine, very close to present day Ashkelon, Israel. When the State of Israel was founded in 1948, Yassin and his family moved to a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip where he became associated with life under Israeli "occupation." In 1952, Yassin was in a wrestling accident which caused permanent damage to his spinal chord leaving him as a quadriplegic and bound to a wheelchair for the rest of his life. Following this incident, Yassin was home schooled and immersed himself in reading all sorts of subjects, including philosophy and religion, and overcame the damage left by the devastating wrestling accident. Yassin became a very religious teenager and spent much of his childhood years in a mosque in Gaza associated with the Muslim Brotherhood devoting his time to Islamic studies. He eventually moved to Cairo to study at Al-Azhar University where he became involved in the Muslim Brotherhood which wanted to establish an Islamic government in Egypt and end the Jewish presence in the State of Israel. During the First Intifada, Yassin became disenchanted with any peace with Israel and adopted the idea that the only solution was removing Israel and establishing Palestine in its borders. As Yasser Arafat demonstrated, acts of terrorism provided the best tactic against the militarily stronger Israel.

Hamas was eventually forced out of the closet by the Intifada in December 1987. Hamas has been able to appeal to the masses by setting up an extensive infrastructure for Palestinian society, which includes hospitals, charities, schools, libraries, and other social services. Vital for Hamas'

livelihood has been the use of this infrastructure to channel money and financial support to its terrorist networks and operations. In *Hamas; Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, author Matthew Levitt analyzes Hamas' outlines the its social infrastructure to funding terrorism: "Muddying the waters between its political activism, good works, and terrorist attacks, Hamas is able to use its overt political and charitable organizations as a financial and logistical support network for its terrorist operations."⁵⁵ In addition, Hamas is able to provide the families of suicide bombers with financial rewards paid through their *dawa* humanitarian aid organizations which advertise to provide relief to Palestinian families from Israeli attacks. Hamas's *dawa* is the movement's infrastructure. It includes the range of organizations which provide a variety of services.

The Hamas *dawa* network is made up of three branches: political, social welfare, and military. The political and social welfare branches run the infrastructure Hamas has set up in the Palestinian territories such as schools and hospitals, as well as the political and propaganda campaigns.

"Hamas relies on its political and social activists and organizations to build grassroots support for the movement, to spot and recruit future operatives, to provide day jobs and cover to current operatives, and to serve as the logistical and financial support network for the group's terror cells."⁵⁶

The military wing carries out terrorist attacks, maintains the army and guerrilla soldiers, and handles the accumulation of weapons.

Majlis al-Shura, known as the Shura council, is the decision-making and legislative body which oversees Hamas from Damascus, Syria. All West Bank and Gaza government offices report to the Shura, which "includes representatives from the movement's four centers – the Gaza Strip, the West

⁵⁵ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, pp. 2.

⁵⁶ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, pp. 2.

Bank, abroad and representatives of the 300 Hamas members in Israeli jails.”⁵⁷ The first leader of the Hamas political bureau was Mousa Abu Marzook, whose initial headquarters were his home in the United States, and he is the head of the Gazan external leadership division. Marzook was shortly arrested at JFK airport in 1995 eventually being deported to Jordan, and is now allegedly hiding in Syria. The other division is actual members of Hamas from the West Bank and is led by Khaled Mish'al who lives in exile in Damascus. This group is known as the Kuwaidia, or the Kuwaiti group, because many of its members have either studied or worked in Kuwait at some point.

Upon Sheikh Yassin's assassination in 2004, Abdel Aziz Al-Rantissi took over the leadership of Hamas and became its spokesman. Al-Rantissi was born in 1947 near what is today Jaffa, Israel and in 1948 moved to a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. He eventually went to Egypt's Alexandria University where, while studying medicine, he became actively involved in Palestinian politics and joined the Muslim Brotherhood. Rantissi was one of Yasser Arafat's most vocal opponents and was jailed many times for speaking out against Arafat's corruptness and willingness to negotiate with Israel. Upon the creation of Hamas in 1987, Rantissi became Sheikh Yassin's second-in-command and the eventual leader of Hamas in Gaza following Sheikh Yassin's assassination in 2004. He led Hamas for a short time until his own assassination that same year.

Hamas' main defense against the militarily stronger Israel is to terrorize the country by planning attention-grabbing terrorist acts, which it has sponsored since its inception. The Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, also known as the Qassam Brigades, is the military wing of Hamas. The Qassam Brigades main form of warfare against is through suicide terrorism and launching kassam rockets into northern Israel. Its first terrorist attack was in December 1991 in the Israeli Kfar Darom settlement in the Gaza strip in which one person was killed. This specific attack “marked a turning point in the modus operandi of Hamas and set the group on the road toward the spectacular and

⁵⁷ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, pp. 10.

indiscriminate suicide bombings and other attacks for which is it now well known.”⁵⁸ The attack in Kfar Darom gave Hamas the legitimacy and confidence it needed to continue attacking Israel and carry out its policy of suicide terrorism. Hamas has been able to fund its acts of terror through the establishment of its social infrastructure as well as state financing.

Hamas receives its funding from many places, some state funded and others more indirect. Iran provides direct state funding which reveals the financing of a Sunni Muslim organization by a Shi’a country. While Hamas does not align itself with any country and maintains that its purpose is to establish a Sunni Muslim Palestinian state, it receives the largest amount of direct-state funding from Shi’a Iran. Centuries’ old rivalry has existed between Sunnis and Shi’ites but the support of Hamas by Iran demonstrates the notion that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend.” It also demonstrates that there can be cross-Islamic terror with hybrid Sunni-Shiite groups. Hamas and Iran both despise the State of Israel and have been able to put aside Sunni-Shi’ite differences to work together towards threatening the State of Israel.

Charities exist all over the world, including the United States, which directly fund Hamas terrorist activity. Based in Los Angeles, California, the Holy Land Foundation was founded in 1987 by Shukri Abu Baker and was considered the largest Islamic charity in the US. Due to accusations of funding Hamas terrorist activity, the Holy Land Foundation was closed in 2001 and its assets were frozen by the United States and the European Union. Other U.S.-based Hamas charities existed such as KinderUSA which suspended its activities in 2005 due to suspicions of FBI surveillance.

Hamas receives indirect funding from other countries in the form of military assistance or the sheltering of Hamas fugitives within a nation’s borders. These countries include Iran, Syria, Libya, Sudan, and Iraq under Saddam Hussein, while Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Lebanon and Qatar support

⁵⁸ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas; Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, pp. 11

Hamas in one way or another.⁵⁹ Besides Iran, Hamas receives the largest support from Saudi Arabia where many donations are received from private organizations and individuals. As Levitt explains,

“Beyond the money raised in the Gulf state, much of the money raised by Hamas institutions elsewhere is funneled to the group’s institutions in the West Bank and Gaza via charities based in the Gulf. This accounts for the tremendous number of financial transfers to Hamas from Gulf charities...”⁶⁰

Hamas also receives funding from its dawa network organizations worldwide. Aside from Hamas’ dawa network, Iran’s role in funding terror and Hamas is the most important in its acquisition of power. It directly aids Hamas with money training camps, and logistical support. Despite Hamas’ reliance on support from Iran, Hamas downplays its links to Iran and not align itself with any Arab country. Hezbollah on the other hand is openly connected to Iran through common Shi’a ties, receiving the highest amount of funding and support and modeling its government aspirations after Iran. Similarly to Hamas, Hezbollah has taken communication techniques established by Yasser Arafat and has technologically advanced its organization to become the leader in spreading anti-Israel propaganda through its political campaign.

Established in 1982 and based in Lebanon, Hezbollah formed as a response to the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon. Literally meaning the “Party of God,” Hezbollah is a radical Islamic Shi’a political organization which aims to create a Muslim fundamentalist government in Lebanon modeled after Iran and based on the Islamic Shari’a. Hezbollah’s main sources of funding are Iran and Syria and it vehemently opposes any non-Muslim presence in the Middle East. Its leader, Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah, broadcasts anti-Israel and anti-West messages through the Hezbollah television station, Al-Manar, which he uses to simultaneously direct messages of psychological warfare at various audiences. While Yasser Arafat may have been the communicating

⁵⁹ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hamas-funds.htm>

⁶⁰ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, pp. 171.

mastermind of the media, Nasrallah has taken Arafat's tactics to new level and has become the superior leader in technological communications.

Among Israel's neighbors, Lebanon was not originally the most violently anti-Zionist. Historically, Lebanon has been more open to western ideas and did not attack Israel in the 1948 War of Independence and the border was relatively peaceful until 1967 and the arrival of the PLO. The Palestinian presence in Lebanon dramatically increased after 1970 when the PLO was kicked out of Jordan. On September 17, 1970, following several attacks on his life as well as the hijacking of Amman airport, King Hussein of Jordan declared war against the PLO and in ten days kicked the terrorist organization out of Jordan in what is referred to as "Black September." The PLO relocated to southern Lebanon and Beirut where its presence played a huge role in the Lebanese Civil War which led to Israeli involvement in Lebanon and the establishment of Hezbollah. The official Israeli invasion of Lebanon took place in June 1982 and attempted to destroy the PLO and establish a new government in Lebanon.⁶¹ Despite Lebanese protest, Israel sustained a security in southern Lebanon for twenty-two years during which time Hezbollah became the major political influence among Shi'ites in southern Lebanon.

The southern region of Lebanon is largely populated by Shi'ite Muslims, and Israel did not take into account how these groups would react to their presence in the country. As Augustus Richard Norton explains in *Hezbollah: A Short History*,

"Within the Israeli government at the time—as within the American foreign policy establishment—there was little understanding of the developments under way among the Shi'a Muslims of Lebanon and no analysis was made of the impact of this invasion on them."⁶²

⁶¹ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, pp. 71.

⁶² Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, pp. 33.

Israel's decision to occupy Lebanon, not the initial invasion, was the key factor which Shi'ite Muslim revolted against. Quoting Ehud Barak from a Newsweek article written on July 18, 2006, "When we entered Lebanon... there was no Hezbollah. We were accepted with perfumed rice and flowers by the Shi'a in the south. It was our presence there that created Hezbollah."⁶³ Despite Barak's comments, Hezbollah actually began before Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, but the war accelerated the process. Initially southern Lebanon's Shi'a and Christian residents welcomed the Israelis as a means of removing the domination by the PLO. While Israel was welcomed by their initial invasion, it realized its decision not to immediately withdraw was a failure that caused Shi'ite resentment and fueled the birth of Hezbollah.

Hezbollah's links to martyrdom operations are based in centuries-old Shi'a Islamic principles dating back to 680 C.E. at the Battle of Karbala. Following the Islamic prophet Muhammad's death, one group of Muslims thought the caliphate, or religious leadership, should go through the bloodline of Muhammad to his cousin Ali; this group is Shi'a Islam. One of the most pivotal moments in Shi'a Islamic history was the martyrdom of Ali's son Husayn at the Battle of Karbala. The annual event commemorating this event is called "Ashura," and demonstrates the idea of martyring oneself as a means of attack. A ritual mourning process takes place which features self-flagellation and bleeding to recall the martyrdom of Hussein in Karbala. The Shi'ite ideology is to embrace the suffering through rising above it by martyring oneself and giving meaning to one's own blood.

Hassan Abdelkarim Nasrallah was born on August 31, 1960, in the al-Sharshabouk Quarter of East Beirut. At the age of 15, Nasrallah joined the Amal political movement, which was the main Shi'a party in Lebanon prior to the arrival of Hezbollah. That same year, Nasrallah, a very religious teenager, went on to study at the main religious seminary in Najaf, Iraq. Nasrallah returned to

⁶³ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, pp. 33.

Lebanon in the late 1970s during a time when Hussein expelled many of Iraq's religious scholars and students. He joined Hezbollah after the Israeli invasion in 1982 and spent a brief period in the late 1980s studying religion at Qum, Iran, where he gained insight into the Iranian Shi'a government, which Hezbollah models itself after.

One of Nasrallah's biggest religious and political inspirations for Hezbollah and Shi'a doctrine has been Sheikh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, who is the one of the main Shi'a spiritual leaders. Many of Nasrallah's teachings have been based on those of Fadlallah and consequently the Ayatollah Khomeini who overthrew the Shah of Iran in the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Fadlallah's teachings appeal to the existential needs of the Shi'a population in Lebanon who have been economically poor and militarily weak due to dominance by the majority Sunni and Christian groups. Fadlallah is extremely anti-Fatah and peace with Israel and witnessed the demise of Yasser Arafat due to corruption from the drive for money and power. As Fadlallah stated in an interview,

“All those who seek peace with Israel are traitors to our cause, including the treasonous Yasir Arafat. We reject the accords signed between Israel and the PLO, just as we have rejected Camp David, the Fahd, Fez, Reagan, Brezhnev, and French-Egyptian plans, and any other plan that offers even tacit recognition of the Zionist entity.”⁶⁴

Fadlallah's doctrine teaches of a twofold jihad against the domination of money and corruption and against foreign powers. The Sheikh's teachings appeal to a diverse group of Shi'a Muslim by providing a religious solution to heal that will expel foreign, non-Muslim domination as well as physical corruptness.

Iran and Syria both sponsored the rise of the young revolutionary Hassan Nasrallah who was twenty-two at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Iran had its own Shi'a Islamic revolution in 1979 which established the country as an Islamic state. Norton illustrates the

⁶⁴ <http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/320/324/324.2/hizballah/Fadlallah-Muhammad.html>.

connection between Iran and establishment of Hezbollah; “For Iran, the creation of Hezbollah was a realization of the revolutionary state’s zealous campaign to spread the message of the self-styled ‘Islamic revolution.’”⁶⁵ The Ayatollah Khomeini urged Muslims to start their own Islamic revolutions around the world which sparked the relationship between Nasrallah and Iran which is the model country for Hezbollah. Syria’s support of the rise of Hezbollah was to maintain relations with its ally Iran and to unite against Israel and the United States.

The Voice of Hezbollah is a series of speeches and interviews with Hassan Nasrallah, which reveals much about the fundamental principles of the organization and its political tone towards its overall goal as an all-encompassing political movement in Lebanon. As Nasrallah states in an interview with the Lebanese newspaper Nida al-Watan, “... when we said from the very beginning that we are an Islamic jihadist movement, it meant that we also have a civilized social program that goes beyond the mere carrying a gun.”⁶⁶ Similarly to Hamas, Hezbollah has set up a social infrastructure in Lebanon, through which it has garnered a large amount of support for its followers. While the main source of funding comes from Iran, Hezbollah also relies heavily on worldwide donations.

Hassan Nasrallah successfully refined Yasser Arafat’s techniques into becoming one of the most transforming and convincing public speakers in the Arab world. Hezbollah’s main method of communication is its official television station Al-Manar, which Nasrallah uses to direct messages of psychological warfare simultaneously at various audiences. Located in Beirut, Lebanon, Al-Manar broadcasts a wide variety of different programs, including news shows, interviews with politicians, entertainment shows, and commentaries. Launched in 1991, Al-Manar, literally “The Lighthouse,” is

⁶⁵ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, pp. 34.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Noe, *Voice of Hezbollah*, pp. 138.

viewed by approximately 10 – 15 million viewers every day,⁶⁷ and spreads anti-Israel and anti-United States messages to the entire world. Israel is aware of Al-Manar's importance to Hezbollah and in the 2006 Lebanon-Israeli War it failed to destroy Al Manar transmitters in Lebanon which resulted in Nasrallah's media victory which portrayed Hezbollah as the winner that successfully ran Israel out of Lebanon.

One of Israel's biggest challenges is mastering the media and communications techniques which have been perfected by the Arabs. The first to cause a shift in the public image of Israel was Yasser Arafat who twisted the truth to emerge as a victim against Israeli oppressing rule. Even if Israel wins a military battle against Hezbollah, Hezbollah's skillful framing of the actual events for the media leverages its power and turns Israeli victories into losses. In *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, author Hala Jaber outlines of the Hezbollah's brilliant tactics when conducting attacks:

“When launching...raids and attacks, a hidden cameraman films them from a distance. The video-tapes are then show by ‘Al-Manar,’ which is broadcast to most areas of Lebanon. Hezbollah was determined to prove the effectiveness of its Resistance against the Israeli occupation and with each broadcast the Party of God gained new momentum and a new influx of recruits.”⁶⁸

Nasrallah capitalized on Al Manar's media success and increased its airtime from its original five hours per day to its current twenty-four hours per day programming.

Hezbollah's manifesto, “Al-Muqawanah al-Islamiyah,” [Islamic Resistance] was published in 1985 which called for the destruction of the State of Israel and Western involvement in Lebanon. Its three main principles are:

1. Expel U.S. and French allies to end colonialism in Lebanon and destroy Israel

⁶⁷ <http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/jorisch200412220812.asp>.

⁶⁸ Hala Jaber, *Hezbollah; Born with a Vengeance*, pp. 43.

2. The end of the Christian Phalange in Lebanon
3. Self-determination for Islam

Hezbollah under Nasrallah has been able to maintain legitimacy among his followers by establishing a reputation for telling it like it is. Nasrallah, a constant observer of media and technology, saw the Shi'a martyr ideology as an opportunity to send Shi'ites to become suicide bombers and support the Hezbollah movement. Hezbollah tries to separate itself from other Arab media groups by filming their attacks against Israel and in general, the levels of its reports are better and more accurate than other Arab countries.

Israel officially withdrew from Lebanon in 2000 after Hezbollah's military guerrilla attacks. Hezbollah's main enemies are Israel and the United States, partly due to its support of Israel. Its anti-Israel propaganda is extremely anti-Semitic and preaches death to Jews worldwide, making no distinction between Zionism and Judaism. Hassan Nasrallah was quoted as saying, "If Jews all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide."⁶⁹ Hezbollah also targets westerners in Lebanon and any western presence in the country which it deems unsuitable to Islamic society. Hezbollah's strong attacks have been successful at terrorizing Israel and contributed to the departure of American marines in Lebanon and forced an Israeli withdrawal from the majority of Lebanese territory in 2000.⁷⁰

Hezbollah, Hamas, and Fatah successfully defeated Israel in the communications aspect of the Qana incidents of 1996 and 2006. The Qana Airstrike was successfully painted by the Arab world as the 2006 Qana Massacre and the Second Qana Massacres, even though they were no such thing.

⁶⁹http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0CEEDB1F3CF930A15756C0A9629C8B63&sec=&spon=&page_wanted=2.

⁷⁰ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah; A Short History*, pp. 41.

While the initial reports stated that over 56 people were injured and killed. In reality the number of bodies was 24, and many of them appeared to have been killed elsewhere and at different times -- their discolored bodies taken out of the ground or from morgue freezers.⁷¹ Once again, the Arab world was successful in creating Israel as the oppressor and the Palestinians as the victims.

According to Israeli Defense Forces, the response attack was to stop the heavy infiltration of katusha rockets sent by Hamas into Israel, and set off the 2006 Lebanon war with Israel. The reality was that Israel was reacting to years of katusha attacks sent into Israel by Hamas

As technologically and militarily advanced as Israel is, Fatah, Hamas, and Hezbollah have been the winners in the communications battle and the manipulation of the media. Beyond a doubt Yasser Arafat was the pioneer in transforming losses into victories and using lies to successfully bolster his image to secure the lead position in Palestinian politics. Yasser Arafat provided the path and communication techniques for other terrorist groups to emerge and build upon, which Hamas and Hezbollah successfully accomplished in Fatah's mistreatment of Palestinians and mismanagement of government funds. Arafat is the master at changing the truth to frame the agenda and Hezbollah is the media maven who initially started putting cameras on its soldiers to film attacks against Israelis. The sad truth for the corrupt Fatah, "humanitarian" Hamas, and psychologically convincing Nasrallah, is that the elimination of the State of Israel will not solve their internal struggles or equate any of them with total domination of the Palestinian people, who are ultimately more politically divided than Israelis are.

In June 2007, a civil war broke out between Hamas and Fatah, the two political organizations which compete for power among Palestinians. While both sides have a strong dislike for Israel, they

⁷¹ Richard Landes Augean Stables, <http://www.theaugeanstable.com/2009/01/15/just-what-is-genetically-coded-in-the-history-of-judaism-bill-moyers-wretched-failure/>.

cannot live together in the same region, with Gaza being controlled by Hamas and the West Bank controlled by Fatah. The fact remains that without Israel surveillance and support for Fatah, it would be ousted by Hamas, which has already conducted mass executions of various Fatah members. The conflict dates back to Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin during the first intifada of 1987 and Fatah's Yasser Arafat. This conflict escalated into a war on the streets of Gaza between Arafat's successor Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas leader Ismael Haniyeh, and has continued to this very day. This makes it impossible to negotiate with the Palestinians because it is not clear who represents whom and whether they will survive or even want to honor their agreements.

The fact remains that the Muslim world has never been united under one banner, whether it was before or after the establishment of the State of Israel. Israel to this day continues to be the only free democracy in the Middle East which and is the only country which has sought to make lasting peace with any of its neighbors. While many in the world continue to blame the State of Israel for a failure to make enough gestures towards peace, the reality is that the complete opposite is true. Since 1948, Israel has constantly made concessions to its Arab neighbors in the hopes of a lasting peace, but time after time, the Arabs and Palestinians have completely rejected any statehood that Israel has offered to its neighbors. Only the future can tell what will be with "peace in the Middle East," and whether or not Israel's neighbors will be able to finally accept a Jewish presence in the Middle East, or continue to violently oppose any peace or recognition with its democratic counterpart.

Al Qaeda remains one of the most widespread and difficult terrorist organizations to stop, and continues to fuel the United States battle in Afghanistan and the region. While Osama bin Laden is the primary figure behind Al Qaeda, he does not run it single-handedly, and Al Qaeda remains a vast global network which is not connected by any one figure. Unlike many of the other terrorist

groups like Hezbollah and Hamas which receive huge amounts of money and supplies from Iran, Al Qaeda does not depend on the sponsorship of a political state. The West may have no choice but to continue defeating terror groups militarily in the hope that more moderate Arab and Islamic leaders will arise with whom the West can negotiate on the basis of mutual respect.

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***I definitely don't agree with everything Whittaker says but I used a few various pieces of information from his book in my paper.**

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