

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN ARAB WORLD

by

COL Nasser Al-Sulaiti
Qatar Emiri Air Force

COL Christopher R. Paparone
Project Advisor

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

Report Documentation Page				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.					
1. REPORT DATE 07 APR 2003		2. REPORT TYPE		3. DATES COVERED -	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Causes of Terrorism in Arab World				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Nasser Al-Sulaiti;				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, PA, 17013-5050,				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT See attached file.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 29	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified			

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: COL Nasser Al-Sulaiti

TITLE: Causes of Terrorism in Arab World

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 07 April 2003

PAGES: 32

CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM:

In my paper, I aim to show that many Arab States have their peaceful development disrupted and their citizen terrorized by some groups of seduced or fanatic extremists who are prepared to use any means to achieve their goals regardless of the consequence to themselves or others.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THIS STUDY:

The study of terrorism shows what causes an individual or groups to resort to terrorism, how the terrorists operate and what they hope to achieve, may give governments good understanding of the terrorist. It is anticipated that this understanding may help governments and anti terrorist agencies to efficiently prepare their security and other related forces to prevent terrorists' acts or reduce its effects.

SCOPE:

In this paper firstly, I will try to give a brief historical background about the Arab States affected by terrorism. Secondly, I will highlight the possible and probable factors that may be responsible for the spurt of terrorism in this region. Thirdly the part played by propaganda campaign, and the effect of media coverage of the events. A critical analysis of the system and sequence of terrorists attack in the region will also be undertaken. Consequently a suggested system to counter the prospect of attacks or at least make it more difficult for them to operate will be recommended.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN ARAB WORLD.....	1
SECTION I.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION II.....	2
METHODOLOGY	2
STATEMENT OF PROBLEM.....	2
JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY.....	2
SCOPE	3
METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION.....	3
ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER.....	3
SECTION III.....	3
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	3
SECTION IV.....	5
MOTIVATION FOR TERRORISM	5
SECTION V	6
ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM.....	6
POLITICAL TERRORISM.....	8
SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR.....	10
SECTION VI.....	12
MILITANCY IN ARAB WORLD	12
ARABS - ISRAEL CONFLICT	13
ARAB - ARAB CONFLICT	15
SECTION VII.....	15
THE UNITED STATE AND MIDDLE EAST TERRORISM	15
SECTION VIII.....	16

MEDIA.....	16
SECTION IX	17
ARMAMENTS	17
SECTION X	18
CONCLUSION	18
ENDNOTES.....	21
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	23

CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN ARAB WORLD

SECTION I

“Whosoever killed a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind. Whosoever saved the life of one it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind”

—The Qur'an,5:32

INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary world, many intellectuals share the fear that the future looks both dark and grim. Times are so unpredictable, especially when one depends on political forces and aspirations and these cannot be realized. When judged by standards of yester-year, these strange forces appear hollow and have a ring of insincerity. One such evil force that seems to be raising its ugly head quite often is terrorism of all shades. Its barbarity, intolerance and callous acts render it to be the most despicable, vile and morally contemptible happening in the world.

Terrorism may have its roots firmly embedded in ethnicity, politics, religion, economics or social institutions. The methods employed indicate that the perpetrator or seducer believes that the end justifies the means. They are often ruthless, neither asking nor giving quarter in their quest to succeed in their nefarious designs. Sun Tzu, nearly 2,500 years ago aptly depicted terrorism as, “kill one frighten ten thousand.”¹ This type of intimidation has been successfully employed since the beginning of human civilization.

Tactics and techniques have changed and terrorism, definitely, has become more cruel and sanguine than ever. It has affected the lives of many innocent people who get caught up inadvertently in the crossfire of a holy or undeclared war, not of their making. To these it is difficult to understand such diabolic hatred and inhuman behavior. But to the terrorists, themselves, all is fair in love and war, and they will stop at nothing and bask in their glory. Being armed with modern and the most sophisticated of weapons, make their task simpler, which in turn is inclined to make them feel like heroes, while gloating over their killings and achievements. However, the encouraging thing is that considerable progress has been made in the security of technology e.g. enhanced x-ray and vapor detectors to help detect and locate especially explosives.² However, eradicating terrorism is going to be an uphill task, fraught with much toil and danger.

Some Islamic militant or fundamentalists are considered an immediate threat to both secular Muslim governments and Western ones. Their defamed records during the past decades were impressive. The aim of Islamic fundamentalism is to turn Muslim countries into Islamic states governed by the Sharia (The law of Quran and the traditions of Prophet Mohammed) by any means possible. In certain cases and certain places these means include utilizing armed struggle. There are two types of fundamentalists. The first one favors peaceful reforms and the other favors violent fanatical reforms. A fanatic is one who is filled with excessive enthusiasm especially in respect of religion. A fundamentalist is one who closely adheres to certain principles or doctrine of life. There is a subtle difference in the two but often the two are interchanged or used in common.

Some totalitarian governments and Western democratic countries are considered immediate threats to Arab Muslim aspirations. Their record over the past six decades has shown some persecution of the Arabs and imposition of some hardships in their standard of living. In some way the acts of terrorism are ways of showing the frustration that has been building up for years in the political, economic and social aspects of their lives.

SECTION II

METHODOLOGY

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

This paper aims to show that many Arab countries had their peaceful development disrupted and their innocent citizen terrorized by various groups which include some totalitarian, Western powers and fanatical extremists who are prepared to use any means possible to achieve their goals regardless of the consequence to themselves or others even if it mean death or destruction.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The study of terrorism shows what causes an individual, groups or states to resort to terrorism; how the terrorists operate and what they hope to achieve. These will give an honorable and responsible governments a good understanding of the terrorists. This understanding, provide some of the tools that may help governments to apply the most appropriate security measure to prevent the activities or operation of any terrorists, and make it ineffective.

SCOPE

This paper gives firstly, a historical background of the formation of the concerned Arab countries. Secondly, it highlights the possible and probable factors that might be responsible for the case of terrorism in the Arab world. Thirdly the role of propaganda in the terrorism campaign, media and the satellite technology will also be covered.

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The materials used in this paper were retrieved through personal study, books from Army War College Library, articles from Internet, and other available reading materials.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

The paper is organized as follows:-

1. Section I - A general introduction to terrorism in The Arab world is undertaken.
2. Section II - in methodology, statement of the problem, justification for the study, the scope, method of data collection and organization of the paper is dealt with.
3. Section III -in this chapter the historical background is furnished.
4. Section IV - Motivation for Terrorism in Arab World is highlighted.
5. Section V -Type of terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, political, economical and social
6. Section VI -Description of the militancy in Arab world and Arabs-Israeli conflict.
7. Section VII -The United States and Middle East terrorism.
8. Section VIII -Influence of media.
9. Section IX -Type of terrorist's Armament.
10. Section X -Conclusion.
11. Endnotes.
12. Bibliography.

SECTION III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Arab countries are located in two continents of Asia and Africa and they consist of Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and occupied West bank and Gaza. The African Arab countries consist of Egypt, Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Mauritania, and Comoros. Settlements in this region have passed through the primitive nomadic and agriculture ages. Later these settlements became walled-city States and today, they have progressed into nation states. Some of these states have taken hard knocks from the unfavorable terrain and climatic

conditions being barely able to eke out an existence while other lands are flowing with milk and honey. For some, oil (also called liquid gold) is the source of their current wealth, power, and prosperity. Regardless of their economic status every state should have a government to defend its sovereignty, property, and community and to maintain internal law and order. Occasionally splinter or guerrilla groups, in collusion with their armies, would raid and harass neighboring state or opposing populations, using the familiar techniques of terrorism. Today terrorism continues to play a dominant role in the internal struggle for power in this region.

The multi-racial structure and combination of the population, at present time in the Arab region and especially in holy land of Palestine is volatile. It consists of Arab Palestinian, Jews, Gentiles, and Muslims each with their own ideologies, religious fervor, political culture and social structures. During the exodus of the Jews to the proclaimed Promised Land, the balance of the power tilted in favor of the Jews, much to the annoyance and disgust of the Palestinians and the Arab World. Over the year this migration has lessened, but the Jews still seek to settle in the holy land, with significant political, financial and military support from some Western countries; especially the United States of America (USA). They came from the Asia, Africa, Europe, the America and Australia in considerable numbers; thereby, jeopardizing the very existence of the other sectarian groups.

In 1908, the Arabs started to feel the proportional rate of immigrant Jews and their probable threat to their religious life and traditional culture. The “young Turks” among the Arabs therefore rebelled. During this time Palestine became a British mandated territory and the process of establishing social life among the Jews started. Especially after Lord Balfour, the British foreign Secretary, declared on November 1917, “Britain would use its best endeavors to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.” At that time the population of Palestine was 700,000 of which 574,000 were Muslims, 74,000 were Christian, and 56,000 were Jews”³. Being among the best business communities in the world, the Jews soon bought up land and dwellings from some wealthy Palestinians and took a strong-hold over the region. They also forcibly occupied and controlled some vital land of Palestine sites and town.

In 1933, with the Nazi ascendancy in Germany, the exodus of Jews into Palestine increased to an alarming proportion. The Arabs revolted against the Jews in 1936 and protested violently to the British demanding a complete halt to such immigration. Meanwhile, the Second World War erupted in 1939 and the dispute was conveniently shelved.

In 1947, the Jewish immigration issue came up for a discussion in the United Nations (UN) and Palestine was considered a case for partition. Despite the rejection of such proposals

by the Arabs and even a war between the Palestinians and Jews in 1948, the state of Israel was born. The Arab world continue to support Palestinians and to struggle against Israel and its supporters. They reverted to a nationalist, communist and Muslim movement, by forming splinter organizations like Fatha, People's Front, Muslim Brothers and Liberation Party to reoccupy their land and to harass and spread terror among the ranks of their enemies and their supporters. In 1960, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed. Its covenant contained the articles for the creation of an independent Arab state and the expulsion of Jews from Palestine. Thus, the die was cast and the core issue in the conflict between the Jews and Arabs was signed, sealed and consigned for years to come. This conflict developed into a holy, terrorist war of attrition, which could only result in disaster for both sides and the international community.

Although the UN has made strident efforts to conciliate, promote amicability and develop co-existence between the hostile factions, these efforts are to no avail. Due to the conflict of interest and involvement of some superpower, as quoted by the UAE permanent representative to UN, before the 57th session of the UN General Assembly, "In spite of the progress achieved in a number of procedural and substantive matters, it is regrettable that the Security Council has failed in solving some fundamental issues which are considered the core of its responsibility-ending aggression, foreign occupation, peacemaking and maintenance of peace and security—due to the policy of double standard and bias, exercised by some permanent members in the council."⁴ The gulf between them, as also with other Arab countries, has not in any way narrowed. Admittedly, there are also people on all sides who long for accord and the spirit of co-existence, but there are others who might be regarded as die-hards who will not compromise, retract or even consider discussions. To them "If God is on your side then who can prevail against you?" sort of attitude prevails. With these hard-liners, hope of a truce recedes into the dim distance. The future looks both dark and bleak.

SECTION IV

MOTIVATION FOR TERRORISM

The question of the spread of terrorism, it seems, was addressed without studying the nature of conflict in the contemporary world. The problem of analyzing the causes of terrorism in the Arab world /Middle East appears to be ineffective, in spite of the best efforts carried out by politicians, pundits and intellectuals. However, it is agreed that any rigid classification into fundamentalism or traditional orthodox groups, as it exists in religion, politics and societies, may simply complicate the situation. To be a terrorist, it not necessary that one is a religious fanatic

or fundamentalist. The world provides too many examples of terrorists who are, to all intents and purposes, atheists.

The adoption of terrorist method by state authorities is perhaps the most important new trend. Politically motivated violence against non-combatants has evolved, in the Middle East from being a tool used exclusively against the state into a tool being to be used by the state. In addition to help clandestine groups fight the central authority, terrorism now serves weak states to fight against more powerful ones. In this sense it constitutes a novel form of military conflicts. This development makes terrorism far more important than it would be if it remained confined to small organizations hiding from the law.

There are those who argue that the poor material base of some societies is the crucial factor in understanding the motivation of terrorism-that is, some terrorists are most likely to be poor and uneducated. In addition much conflict in the world appears to be linked to underdevelopment and old but unsettled regional struggles. It is most likely that these theorists are partly wrong. In reality, many terrorists represent middle and high income groups, holding university degrees, and generally have a wide variety of what is regard as social opportunities and advantages. So there must be something in addition to the socio-economic conditions that helps the understanding of modern terrorism.

Conflict and terrorism in Arab countries and the Middle East increased in proportion to the competition between commercial groups and the larger nations. Hence a closer view of ethnicity, race and other expressions of communal identity would help to recognize the correlation that often exists between ethnic community and society.

Terrorism emanates from frustrations caused by, social, economic and political inequalities. It is the logic response of its practitioners to the distribution of power and level of integration in current social, economical, political and communications systems. Hence it is quite possible that terrorism is the product of both injustice and the existing systems of international relations and will continue to prosper as long as the conditions remain unchanged.

SETION V

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

Violence, in Arab world and Middle East is often associated with Islamic doctrine of Jihad (struggle) or reforms related to implementation of Shari'ah (Islamic law) and Sinh (tradition and practices of Prophet Mohammed) (peace and blessings be upon him). It is the divinely enjoined responsibility of Muslims to struggle against those who would lead humankind astray from the path of God. They argue that contemporary Muslims should be reformed and return to the right

Islamic environment as it was followed by the companion and followers of Prophet Mohammed (peace and blessings be upon him). Those non-Muslims who live in Arab countries should be enlightened about Islam and given freedom to select their own religion with guaranteed protection and security of life as ordered by God. "Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for your faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them; for Allah loveth those who are just. Allah only forbids you, with regard to those who fight you for (your) faith, and drive you out of your homes, and support (others) in driving you out, from turning to them (for friendship and protection). It is such as turn to them (in these circumstances), that do wrong."⁵ According to Qur'an, Muslims are required to deal with all people kind and justly as long as they do not oppose or oppress Muslims or place obstacles in the way of spreading Islam. Of non-Muslims, Islam gives special consideration for the people of the book, that is, Jews and Christians, whether they reside in a Muslim society or not.⁶ In the reign of Omar Ibn Al-Kattab, the second Caliph of Muslim nation, "The religious freedom of the citizens of Ilya (Jerusalem) and the sanctity of their synagogues and places of worship were confirmed." This is the protection which the slave-servant of Allha, Umar, the commander of the Believers, extend to the people of Ilya. The safeguarding of their lives, properties, churches, crosses, and of their entire community. Their churches cannot be occupied, demolished, or damaged, nor are their crosses or any thing belonging to them to be touched. They will never be forced to abandon their religion, nor will they be oppressed. None of the Jews will live with them in Ilya..."⁷

From time immemorial, some fanatical Muslim groups have waged wars or terrorist activities against moderate Muslim rulers and public at the first era of formation of the Islamic state and they wage similar activities on contemporary era against some non-Muslims. Therefore, it will be useful to define fundamentalism in the context of the Islamic World in general and the Arab –Israel conflict in particular, as they believe in the unacceptability of compromise with one's adversary. From 1975 to 1990, Lebanon was virtually without a central government and this gave rise to regional warlords who exercised control in their respective Jurisdiction. There was continuous fighting especially in and around Beirut, which was split between various Christian and Muslim militia. Fighting also broke out between Lebanese Christians and Palestine Liberation Organization activities whose armed presence was an accepted by some Christian groups. The Syrians First intervened in 1975 and the Israelis in 1978 and 1982. A multinational peacekeeping force was called by Lebanese President in 1983 but was with drawn in 1984 after suicide bomb attacks on its bases.⁸ In Lebanon on 18 April 1983, a truck-bomb loaded with about 400 pounds of explosives, driven by a suicide-driver,

crushed into the forecourt of the American Embassy in Beirut, bumping against the side-wall of the building, where it exploded, killing 63 people, including the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director for the Middle East and six of his staff, while injuring 120 others. The driver was blown to pieces. Responsibility was claimed by Islamic Jihad.⁹ Eventually, stability in Lebanon was restored in 1990 by the Syrian army and Saudis political mediation. However, Israel still occupies a small portion of Lebanon land called Shaba farms.

Pundits and scholars of religion hold that ultimately mankind, as created by God, is a single community whose divinely intended unity had been seriously fractured by time. Islam came to the Middle East in the seventh century AD. Islam arose to restore humankind unity and to bring peace to the world according to its adherents. Later, because of ideological differences, Islam broke into two main sects names Sunni and Shia. Some of Shia sect of Islam look to Iran for political support while Sunni fundamentalists seek backing of Sunni countries. There is an alarming potential for conflict in this division if not influenced by wise leadership, pundits and the scholars of both groups.

It is interesting to note that quite often some fanatical fundamentalists groups, under the influence of religion, carry out terrorism for self-aggrandizement. For instance in a determined effort to derail the PLO-Israeli agreement certain Palestinian militants, Islamic fanatic fundamentalist, Israeli reactionaries and extremists carried out a number of terrorist activities to derail peace agreement and settlement. Assassinations, kidnappings, ransom demand and other allied activities in the realms are engineered by those hard-line terrorists for monetary gain or unappreciated religious objectives. These terrorists or seducers are forever living on the edge and derive much profit and pleasure from armed struggle and violence. They also consider it a great moment or opportunity to come into the limelight, and become famous and renowned. Their prestige as terrorists thrive on fear, "kill one and frighten thousand".

POLITICAL TERRORISM

The adoption of terrorist methods by state authorities in some Arab and Middle East countries is perhaps the new trend. Due to lack of succession legitimacy, public support, corruption, intrigues, political rivalries and suspicion, an aspiration of unrest may prevail within or between states. Governments, in an effort to intimidate or discipline its people or neighbors, often utilize some of its agents or terrorists gangs to conduct unlawful acts or intimidation operations as a mean of exercising political pressure that may take various type and dimensions. As its lowest and in some ways most distasteful form, parents encourage their children to harass and bully the children of other ethnic or religious communities in order to

induce their families to move away.¹⁰ This is happening in Palestine, Lebanon, Iran and Algeria today. Early in Germany, the Nazi storm troopers harassed the Jews by arousing their neighbors against them, by smashing their homes and shops and later by personal violence. In recent years the world witnessed Serb intimidation and ethnic cleansing against Muslims in Bosnia- Herzegovina and Kosovo. Journalists, teachers, and other intellectuals were sometimes selected as targets for intimidation. In countries where there are liberal forms of law, witnesses, juries, lawyers, magistrates and judges are terrorized out of giving evidence or finding prisoners guilty with the express intention of making those liberal forms of law unworkable, because the terrorist knows that more arbitrary legal processes breed dissent in a democracy. Mafia style criminal gangs and organizations sponsored by authoritarian governments often referred to as “death squads” are employed to discreetly kill oppositions or unwanted personnel. Killing without the due process of the law in order to terrorize the population for the purpose of complying with the wishes of the killer or killers is never justifiable and is tantamount to murder.

A conflict of considerable dimension has been on going in Iraq among Arab Suni, Shi'ite and Kurds, where the government of Iraq claims that Kurds and Shi'ite are supported by foreign power to disrupt the security of the country, while the opposing party claim that the central government is oppressive and not legitimate. In Lebanon, there are serious conflicts among Shia, Suni and Christian, because of the struggle for ethnical presentation and power preferences. In Algeria, there are ruling elites, the Berber (Amazigh) minority, and opposing Islamic groups, where the latter consider the elite to be corrupted and serving their own interests and have lost their right when they lost the majority in the election in 1994. On other hand, Amazigh accused the government of persecuting the people and preventing them from practicing their culture and the freedom of expressing their opinion. In Sudan, the southern Sudanese have been fighting the northern central government for more than 17 years because they feel that the central government deprives them of the right to practice their religion and to govern themselves. In Bahrain the majority of Shi'ite Population is in conflict with the Suni Government because, their key political demand has been restoration of parliament, which was dissolved in 1975. In addition to that, the government has been unable to address the needs of the lower and middle classes by reducing unemployment, improving its provision of social services and developing the private sector. These issues, exacerbated by the inequitable distribution of opportunity, were central to Shi'ite discontent and contributed to the riots of 1994-98.¹¹ Meanwhile, in Egypt, the autocratic regime suppresses all national political movements, whether Islamic, Christian or secular that demand radical political reforms, or struggle against the corruption being committed by the government. This type of treatment generated a large

group of young people from different classes to adopt terrorist activities inside Egypt and then exported these activities to neighboring countries and Asia, Africa, Europe and America. In Palestine, the Israeli government terrorizes the unarmed Palestinians living in Gaza strip and West Bank by attacking them and their properties with offensive sophisticated American weapons to stop them from claiming their right in the occupied land and intimidate them to emigrate to the neighboring Arab countries. These events escalated the general situation in Palestine/Israel and in Arab world, and led to emanation of fighting spirits Jihad (struggle) of Palestinians and Muslims. This is directed toward Israeli and American peoples and their interests. They do this by conducting suicidal operations against civil-military targets. All of this occurred due to the failure of world community represented by the UN and other bodies and sponsors mediating in the peace process in the region.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR

The population structure in the Arab countries and especially in the Arabian Peninsula is very cosmopolitan. It comprises of Arabs, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Asian, Africans and minorities from Europe. Such a conglomeration can be further divided roughly according to class, creed and financial status, and that depended in the wealth of the concerned state. Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, Djibouti and Comoros are governed by presidential political system and most of them fall into the category of the poorest nations and low income economies (except Libya, Algeria, and Egypt). Though some of these countries have various type of mineral and agricultural resources, in addition to potential human skills, they failed to achieve acceptable fair income, due to corruption and mis-management. Their social structures consist of President, ruling party elites, senior bureaucrats, bourgeois, and proletarian. The monarchical states like Saudi, Kuwait, U.A.E, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, Morocco and Jordan fall into high income oil or Gas exporters (except Bahrain, Morocco and Jordan which are considered poor and low income economies). At the same time the Palestinian people are classified as a poor society. Though Saudi Arabia falls into the high income category, it has failed to provide decent life for some considerable middle and working class of it's people, as was revealed during crown prince Abdullah's inspection tour of some old quarters in Ryadh, when he said "The problem of poverty cannot be tackled with resolutions, which are not supported by proper planning, and cannot be solved by dreams or ambitions. What required is a comprehensive national strategy, based on mutual support."¹² Based on the financial outcome concerning the mentioned countries. The following classification of society may be made. First there are the King, Sultan and the Emir; then royal ruling families. The

second group is made up of the senior bureaucrats gaining advantage after the oil era: the upper business classes; and religious scholars; and, after this group comes the middle and working class.

Economic deprivations in some of the Arab countries take the form of unemployment, low income and wealth disparities, administrative corruption, lack of other basic amenities of life and discrimination resulting into inaccessibility to suitable economic avenues has given birth to several terrorist movements. The West (and the former Soviet Union) have for generations helped repressive and often incompetent regimes hang on to power. In this way, instead of controlling the resolution of problems they have helped to aggravate and perpetuate them. Internal stagnation, the failure of ruling elites and prolonged economic misery are therefore, for people in the Middle East, closely connected with the West's predominance in the region. This perception at times, and may also be dressed up as conspiracy theory, but it is essentially appropriate. It is hardly surprising then that in the long term a considerable potential for resistance would build up in the Middle East, which would be directed not only against the dictators there but also against the men behind them – the West.¹³ Failure of some governments to carry out the programmes and politics of economic reforms has resulted into widening of income inequalities causing tremendous frustration among educated, poor and persecuted peoples to make them willing to participate in terrorists activities. True, many Middle Eastern regimes are vulnerable. Their corrupt, repressive and largely unsuccessful rulers have given the masses little hope of a better life. And the despots who run most of these countries have cultivated many of the terrorist groups in the hopes of deflecting their rage elsewhere—at Israel and United States in particular.¹⁴

Regional disparities are considered as part of the main factors contributing to the resurgence and increase of terrorism in Arab's contemporary world. This some time takes the form of separatist movement, concentration at selected places, ignoring the economic benefits of a region and lopsided appropriation of resources results into economic disparities among the various regions compelling the occupants to seek regional autonomies. Failure to react promptly to these demands leads to regional terrorism. Such are the prevailing situations relating to Iraqi Kurds, Berbers in Algeria, southern Sudanese, peoples of Ogaden in Somalia, people of Anjouan Island in Comoros and the rural people in Yemen and Egypt against the central governments. The indication of these acts of terrorism is open revolt against external entrepreneurs followed by violence against soft targets, which might include the locals not following the directives of the terrorists. Misusing men and material and stocks placed regions at different levels of economic and political advantage and failure of the central government to

reform or correct these natural distortions give rise to ill feeling which in an extreme form takes the shape of terrorism. This situation exist in Algeria, Syria, Bahrain, Somalia and Libya.

Unjustified interfering of some government in people's social and personal freedom, always flare up people's emotion and may lead to terrorist violence. This emerges in most of Arab's republics and some monarchy countries. The human beings by instinct are freedom-loving and possessive. Therefore enforcing any negative changes to this natural tendency may lead to terrorism. Quite often unimaginative persons and mischief merchants may give wrong signals or interpretations to things and mislead innocent masses and provoke them to acts of violence. This type of cases happened many time in last decade in Egypt, Jordan, Yemen and Sudan when the government decided from one side to stop subsidizing some vital commodities to the public to meet some of international financing agencies recommendation with out discussing or consulting the parliament. At times the poor and underprivileged see no chance of improving their plight through socially accepted and realizable means and where the apparatus or the state, especially the judiciary, fails to ensure open-handed justice then seeds of discontent are sown and terrorism raises its ugly face. This situation is some time witnessed in Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain and Palestine (Israel).

Ethnic terrorism morally evolve fear among political victims, which serves two purposes. Firstly, it silences talk of compromise and accommodation by discrediting the political system and mediation process. Secondly, it stimulates emigration and population transfer.¹⁵ There are several well-documented cases of mass expulsions during and after the military operations of 1948-49 and massacres and atrocities that led to large-scale Arab flight. The best known instance of mass expulsion is that of the 50,000 Arab of the town of Lydda and Ramle. The most infamous atrocity occurred at Deir Yasin, a village near Jerusalem, where estimates of the number of Arab residents killed in cold blood by Israeli fighter range from about 125 to over 250.¹⁶ This type of state terrorism is aimed to create big demographic change which enable Israeli to fill the places with new immigrant Jews and give the Israeli government a stronger position than Palestinians in their claims to holy land. This approach is applied in Iran, Turkey and Iraq against Kurds.

SECTION VI

MILITANCY IN ARAB WORLD

After the War World II, and especially in the last two decades, political terrorism has become one of the main challenges to the international community, especially in volatile region like Middle East, not only for conventional warfare, but also for all forms of terrorism. Among

these conflicts, the most prominent is Arab-Israeli conflict that is responsible for generating more terrorism in the area and other parts of the world, due to the direct and indirect players' involvement. Therefore, it used to be easier for the Middle East terrorist or freedom fighters to operate with active sponsorship and assistance of soviet dominated Eastern Block security service. Now with a single dominant superpower, especially after 11 September 2001 and War in terrorism, the Middle East terrorist or freedom fighter is denied such assistance and are forced to depend only in Iran or non state actors. Israeli forces and its Jewish supporters in the meantime receive active support for the USA and its allies.

ARABS - ISRAEL CONFLICT

The prominent characters of Middle East terrorism activities are driven from the Arab – Jewish conflict over the Palestine/Israel. The Palestinian problem started when European Zionists held their first conference in Basil, Switzerland, in 1897. At that conference, they decided to establish their own nation-state in the Middle East, influenced by the wave of nationalism that swept the European continent by then. They tried to get an approval for their project from the Ottoman Sultan, who was the ruler of that part of the world, but he refused to cooperate with them.¹⁷ Then they turned to British government, who agreed to help them in achieving their project. In 1917 the British foreign Minister, Balfourd, declared the British government's promised to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. During the British ruling period in Palestine from 1917-1948 the British enabled hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrant Jewish to settle in Palestine and allowed them to establish their armed forces before withdrawal from the country in 14 May 1948. This was the same day the Jewish settlers declared the creation of Israeli state in Palestine as homeland for the Jews.

Thus, there was a growing tendency to rely on violence and both parties created among the youth an urgency for activism, radicalism and violence. This saw the birth of many freedom fighters, militant and terrorist groups. The period following the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 saw the continuation of terror and counter-terror in the region on an enlarged scale. There was no let up. The situation worsened and since the Palestinian militants groups were now actually organized by the neighboring Arab countries and the western block country led by USSR, their effectiveness spread not only in the Middle East but abroad toward the countries who support Israel in Europe and United States or wherever their interest was located. The development of terrorism or violence from a local to a regional and from a regional to a global level is unique to the Middle East. Since the 1973 War, most Palestinian militant groups used military struggle along with diplomacy to promote its main political goal in efforts to secure possession of the

West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli responses to these activities were always very harsh and negative. The Palestinians, frustrated by their failure to make any impact on Israel and by the loss of in 1968 of every adjacent frontier other than that with Lebanon, sought publicity for their cause by attacks on aircraft in Europe, including hijacking, a form of urban terrorism which killed relatively few people but certainly did gain enormous publicity.¹⁸

The leader of Palestinian Liberation Organization and the head of Palestine Authority (Yassir Arafat) initially tried to indoctrinate his followers on the necessity for a military solution to the problem of acquiring a state. However Israel and its western alliances prevented his plans and caused him to resort to diplomacy. In 1991, the United States and Russia managed to bring the two warring factions to the negotiation table and to reduce the tension of Arab-Israeli conflict. After years of fruitless negotiations and intermittent warfare, diplomatic success were achieved and both Israeli and Palestinian recognize each other officially and agreed for declaration of principle to return Gaza Strip and west bank to Palestine Authority and to resolve remaining borders establishing Palestinian state and Jerusalem issues in different stages. With insistence of extremists in both parties and bias of American foreign policy the peace process retreated and the violence broke again more than before especially between the civilians.

Of all forms of terrorism, political terrorism takes pride of place. An unstable government, anarchy, a faulty state structure or policy can become the root cause of political unrest and violence. An effort will be made to highlight some of the terrorist activities sponsored and perpetrated by some Lebanese parties during the civil war, Iraq and Iran instigation.

Unfortunately, Lebanon has been the victim of unstable governments with intervention by regional powers, superpowers and their satellite states. Syrian and Israeli hegemonies played big role in the unstable the Lebanese governments. Firstly, Syria and it's followers of different splinters groups utilized Lebanon soil to export their internal problems outside of Syria and to pursue their main enemy (Israel) and it's alliances from Lebanese marionette government and other factions. They do not accept Syrian presence and authority in Lebanon, they did not like Iraqi, Turkish, U.S and other powers, who use Lebanon as a buffer zone. Secondly, the Israelis, in pursuit of their objective of defeating all militant Palestinian and Islamic radical groups and their supporters from Islamic countries like Iran and Iraq, want to secure the water from Litani river and establishing security buffer zone north of Israel border. This type of interference from Israeli and Syrian and other players aggravated the terrorist activities allowed it to spread beyond the area and the Middle East area; hence emerge two new strong Islamic militant groups, the Hizb allha and Hamas.

ARAB - ARAB CONFLICT

The Iraqi regime, led by Saddam Hussein, has exterminated thousands of Iraqi Kurds in 1988 and is also responsible for providing bases for some international terrorist movements in the region. The repression is a black spot on this regime. An estimated half million people who occupied the area around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers were affected by drying the marsh at the early period of 1993, by the end of 1994, the entire population in that area were forced to leave their homes and agrarian land. It will never be known how many people have perished from malnutrition or disease resulting from this destruction, or how many have been executed after arbitrary arrest or killed in the genocide. The immediate result of brutal attacks in this area that "marsh" Arabs homeland since 1993 has been ruined and they face extinction, while over ten thousand refugees have fled towards the Iranian border to seek survival and shelters.

Kuwait had an unbroken history as a self governing entity since its creation at mid of eighteenth century. But in August 1990, Iraqi forcibly annexed Kuwait under their misleading strategy of hegemony. In addition to oil issues, Iraq demanded that Kuwait write off considerable loans extended to it during the Iran-Iraq war. When Kuwait refused to oblige, Iraq occupied Kuwait and committed extreme human rights violations against Kuwaiti people. The consequence of this action created unrecorded prodigious differences among Arab states in Arabs' brotherly relation in contemporary history.

SECTION VII

THE UNITED STATE AND MIDDLE EAST TERRORISM

As matter of fact there are multiple reasons for the Muslim grievance toward the United States. A major among them, is the unconditional support that the U.S. provides to Israel and the Bush Administration has now aligned with it in its geopolitical designs (with Israel as an American proxy and superpower in the Middle East) and a very right wing government led by Ariel Sharon (who was responsible for the mass slaughter of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Lebanon).¹⁹ As the United States ties its security directly to the security of the newly developing world, the U.S. has entered into numerous military alliances and concluded many defense agreements with countries in every part of the world. Among them are many of the Arab countries. The reasons for signing such agreements are:

- To secure military bases in strategic locations.
- To ensure an uninterrupted supply of oil (to not only to them, but to its trading partners).
- To guarantee Israel security as an American's vital Strategic ally.

- To protect its global economic ruling system and to prevent Islamic fundamentalists or radical from emergence as political powers especially in Arab or Islamic world.

If Muslims see their community humiliated by a foreign power or corrupted by a tyrannical regime, they can feel as religiously distressed as Christian who sees the Bible traduced.²⁰ Creating this type of unfavorable environment in Arab and Muslim world generate anti-American sentiment which led to big losses of innocent Americans lives, like that had been lost on attack of American Embassy in 1983 in Lebanon and on 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington D.C. by the hands of small seduced or extremist Muslim groups affected by American unfair foreign policy.

SECTION VIII

MEDIA

The communication and information technology revolution has made the world a global village. Television and Internet news today has the ability to broadcast live virtually any major developments any where in the world and the tendency to then discuss the situation threadbare. It enables the audience to see things happen in the cool and that is what newspapers, magazines and radio cannot duplicate, while all use basically the same words. Live news coverage of terrorist events give the viewers a sense of being there with the additional interesting and vital information provided by the experts and commentators with instant more vivid pictures and analyses on the issue and background.

Since the public receives the bulk of their information on current affairs from television, radio, Internet and newspapers the way that information is presented greatly affects public and policy makers attitudes and knowledge. News reporters should strive to be impartial, precise, and refrain from being melodramatic or sensational in their profession especially when reporting terrorist activities. Every effort should be made to present an event in a realistic manner from an unbiased point of view. Taking sides or being partial will undoubtedly affect public interest and opinion, as media are influential players in terrorist tragedy. A terrorist could be presented as an aggressor, traitor, blood-thirsty and one who would adopt any form of atrocity to achieve his goal while at the same time he could be a national hero for being revivalist, a revolutionary or freedom fighter. Such is the influence of the media; Quite often the media have tended to be unfairly blamed for being too cooperative with the terrorists and projecting only their point of dispute from the views of official authority or opponents or vice versa.

The questions of imposing guidelines for media coverage of terrorism has often been discussed but no concrete suggestions have emerged. Washington (CNN) –A day before Al-Jazeera network interviewed Osama bin Laden, U.S. Vice president Dick Cheney urged the network to act “in a more responsible and representative way” when reporting on the suspected terrorist mastermind, a senior administration source told CNN Friday.²¹ The message was tough for Al-Jazeera, but the language was not tough . It was all very professional. Al-Jazeera never aired the interview, tape October 21, but CNN obtained a copy of it and began broadcasting portions of it Thursday night . The Bush administration did not criticize CNN for airing the videotape, and said the interview underscored the importance of winning the war on terrorism.²² The media and government have common interests in seeing that the media are not manipulated into the cause of terrorism or its methods. But policy makers do not want to see terrorism, or anti-terrorism, eroding freedom of the press-a key pillar of democratic societies.²³ In addition the potential for media interference in the course of a terrorist episode could trouble policy makers and confuse law enforcement officials. The Internet can be utilized by both terrorists and state authorities for passing on vital information despite the fact that one could sabotage the other. The fact remains however, that media coverage of terrorism will continue to be a hotly debated issue and will depend on the sense and professionalism that characterizes good journalists correspondents and news executives.

SECTION IX

ARMAMENTS

Terrorism by activities differs from area to area but by nature and intents remain the same. Therefore, the terrorist are convinced that to carry out their tasks and to become a more believable and effective adversary they must acquire sophisticated armaments whether it is to procure conventional weapons or weapon of mass destruction. But this requires a lot of money and supply of which must be guaranteed and regular. Political survival as envisaged by some Arab and Middle East countries causes them to employ the services of terrorists and militants and ensure that these groups are not only heavily armed but suitably too. Jewish settlers in occupied west bank, Gaza strip and Golan Heights and Palestinian Authority's have common interests that result in affiliated militant groups and Arabic Islamic freedom fighters.

The richest community in the world today is seemingly the Jewish community. With Western collaboration, money pours in not only to equip Israel with modern and sophisticated weapons and planes, but to also arm Jewish extremists and hardliners that may be inclined to

prevent Arab infiltration and repel their attacks. In addition Jewish and Arab hardliners may even consider derailing any Palestine–Israel peace agreement or any other Israel-Arab agreement.

While some Arabic countries located close to unstable countries trade in Narcotics trafficking like Afghanistan and Iran, some terrorist organizations pursue narcotic trafficking that brings in considerable revenue to enable them to finance their terrorist activities with the latest type of arms and ammunition. Developments in personal weapons are likely to help the terrorist rather than the counter-terrorists. They are easier to conceal, capable of higher rate of fire, and possess latest laser technology for night vision and higher rate of fatality like material for weapons of mass destruction, which make these weapons highly effective and give the terrorists element of surprise and the strength.

SECTION X

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to trace the root cause of terrorism in the Arab world and Middle East from the Arabic perspective. The West sees Islamic revival as a threat to Western civilization. Most of Westerners lack an appreciation for Islamic values and cultures nature. For that some Arab react with fanatic zeal and violence and both sides become dehumanized. The Arab image of the West is depicted by a mix feeling of suspicion, fear, envy and admiration. Western technological, economic and political achievements strongly attract the Arabs and the people of Middle East. At the same time the formidable assertion of Western and especially American military, political and economic power and their unwavering support to Israeli is annoying while some of Western culture conflict with Muslim values and Muslims consider Western culture as decadent. That leads to ongoing exchange of recrimination and preventing any mutual bridge of compromising dialogue.

Terrorism in Arab and Middle East is not random acts of violence. The emergence of terrorist groups is in response to the vulnerability of the existing international system. Any major or minor deficiency in this system can set off a chain reaction which in turn can produce widespread damage and fear outside the region (like what happened to United States on 11 September). The Palestinian demands self determination and the Lebanese struggle against internal political oppression and interference of external exploitation by Israel, Syrian, Iran, Palestinian groups and any existing superpower. Terrorism has highlighted the fact that people have always found Ideas and excuses worth killing and dying for, revolutions, civil wars and terrorist movement will continue to increase the death toll in countries like those in the Middle East unless a reasonable approach is adopted.

The world is deeply concerned with eradicating terrorism hence many conferences have been convened with the express purpose of achieving this aim, but have met with little success. Because terrorism emerged from frustrations caused by social, economic and political inequalities and failure of past and present policies, it is logical that there in lies the crux of the problem. In addition terrorists enlist the support of hard core criminals, revolutionaries and those disenchanted with the functioning of the government to enlarge their ranks. If social justice can be imposed, appropriate economic reforms applied, superpower's interests limited and religious tolerance preached the chances of bringing harmony to trouble spots in the area may be in the offing and terrorism reduced to minimum. All the governments or wealthy individuals that ensure that their agents are well equipped with modern and sophisticated weapons to carry their dangerous missions usually sponsor terrorists. To counter these countries who indulge in gun-running should first be encouraged to refrain from such activities, then warned, boycotted and if necessary even sanctions be imposed on them even if they superpowers. Prevention and an unbiased global cooperation and coordination form the best method of fighting all type of appeared present terrorism is absolutely crucial.

It is in the interest of all people that the sacred inhibition in shedding human blood is preserved and strengthened. We shall be safe and unsafe together. Selective security is a myth. Protecting oneself and defending others are two sides of the same coin. Concerted action, unanimity of purpose and determination to succeed will go a long way in the fight against terrorism.

WORD COUNT = 8,068

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Clutterbuck Richard, Terrorism in an unstable world. London: Routledge. 1994, p 3.
- ² Ibid. Preface. p xii .
- ³ AbdulMunem Baker, "A Brief History of Palestine" ;available from<<http://www.cyberus.ca/~baker/palhis.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 November 2003.
- ⁴ "UN failure disappointing:UAE" Khaleej Times online 20 October 2002; available from <<http://www.khaleejtimes.co.ae/ktarchive/201002/lead.htm>>; Internet; accessed 21 October 2002.
- ⁵ The Qur'an,(Al-Mumtahina: 8 – 9)
- ⁶ Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, "Islam and the protection of Non-Muslim' Places of Worship" <<http://www.islamonline.net/fatwa/english/fatwaDisplay.asp?hFatwaID=63995>>;Internet;access ed 10 January 2003.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Clutterbuck Richard, Terrorism in an Unstable World. London:Routledge,1994,p156.
- ⁹ Balance Edgar O, Terrorism in 1980 (The Rise of Militant Islam) London,Arms&Arour, 1989,Pp39.
- ¹⁰ Cutterbuck Richard, Terrorism in an Unstable World: London:Routledge,1995,p 5.
- ¹¹ Nadeya Sayed Ali Mohammed , "Political Reform in Bahrain:The Price of Stability" September 2002.available from<http://www.meib.org/articles/0209_mel.htm>;Internet; accessed 9 April 2002.
- ¹² "The Problem of Poverty";22 November 2002. available from<<http://www.ain-al-yageen.com/issues/20021122/featen.htm>>;Internet; accessed 23 November 2002.
- ¹³ Abduls Satter Ghazali, "Islam in the Post-Cold War Era".16 July 1999; available from <http://www.ghazali.net/book2/Table_of_Contents/table_of_contents.html>;Internet;accsed 12 November 2002,Pp7.
- ¹⁴ Thomas Bray," Root of terror crisis is Arab civil war" 3 October 2001;available from <<http://www.detnews.com/2001/editorial/0110/04/a09-308910.htm>>;Internet;accesed 26 October 2002.
- ¹⁵ Byman D,The logic of Ethnic Terrorism, Studies inConflect&Terrorism, Washington DC:Ran,1998,Volume 21,Pp.158.
- ¹⁶ Primer A,"Palestine, Israel and Arab-Israeli Conflict"; available from<http://www.merip.org/Palestine-Israel_primer/pal-refugee-citizen-pal-is.html>;Internet;accessed 24 February 2003

¹⁷Hassan A. El-Najjar, "American Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Design to Create Enemies, Not friends"; available from<http://www.aliazeerah.info/Hassan%20El-Najjar/american_foreign_policy_in_the_...>;Internet; accessed 13 March 2003.

¹⁸Cultterbuck Richard, Terrorism in an unstable world. London:Routledge,1994,Pp153.

¹⁹Siraj Islam Mufti,"The Future of Islamic Democratic Parties"14 January 2003; available from<<http://ivews.com/Articles/asp?ref=IV0301-1829>>;Internet; accessed 17 January 2003.

²⁰Ibid, p1.

²¹"Network Risked Being 'Osama's outlet to the World'" 1 February 2002;available from<<http://www.cnn.com/2002/US/02/01/cheney.al.jazeera/index.html>>;Internet;accessed 31 March 2003.

²²Ibid.,p1.

²³Raphael F. Perl, "Terrorism, The media, and, the government: perspectives, trends, and options for policymakers";22 October 1997 available from<<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/state/crs-terror-media.htm>>;Inter; accessed 2 February 2003, p2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abduls Sattar Ghazali, Islam in cold war era, Kuwait,1999.

Abdel munem Baker, A brief of Palestine.

A Primer, Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Ain-Al-Yaqeen, Problem of Poverty,22 November 2002.

Balance Edgar O, terrorism in The 1980s, London,Arms&Arour,1989.

Clutterbuck Richard, terrorism in an unstable world, London:routledge,1994.

CNN.com, Network Risked Being 'Osama's outlet to the World' , 1 February 2002.

Hassan A. El-Najjar, American Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Designed to Create Enemies,Not Friends.

Khaleej Times,20 October 2002,p2.

Nadeya Sayed Ali Mohammed, Political Reform in Bahrain: The Price of September 2002.

Raphael F. Perl, Terrorism, The media, and the government:Perspectives,terends,and options for policymakers,22 October 1997.

Sheik Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, Islam and protection of non-Muslim'Places of Worship, 26 December 2002.

Siraj Islam Mufti, The future of Islam democratic Parties,14 January 2003.

Pipes Daniel, Why asad's terror work Qadhafi's dose't, Orbis,Fall1989.

The Qur'an, verses 5:32.

Tomas Bray, Root of terror crisis is Arab civil war.