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The Origins of Terrorism:

A Comparison between the International Anti-terrorism Strategies of American and Muslim Leaders

Mémoire Submitted in Candidacy of the Degree of Magister in American Studies

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Dedicated to

all innocent people who lost their lives as a result

of any type of terrorism.

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Abstract

Terrorism is the greatest challenge nowadays but many people still do not understand what is the meaning of terrorism, because there are some obstacles in defining terrorism such us the difficulty of the distinction between the activities of freedom fighters and those of terrorists. People cannot distinguish between who is a terrorist and who is a freedom fighter. The present research intends to explain some concepts about terrorism. Also, it will be an exploration of the strategies of the Americans and the Muslims. By investigating documents and other forms of communication concerning strategies of the both, the finding are us follow: the jihadist 'leaders in their struggle to find the proper strategy against the growing rates of terror acts, they claim that the rise of modern terrorism can be closely associated with the west. Indeed, the main targets of these leaders are the so-called Israel and the U.S. led global system. The Israeli lobby has a significant influence on the U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. globalization, its hegemony and its support for Israel created the Muslims' hatred to the West. As results of the Muslims 'strategies, the U .S. and its allies put together a wide –spread response to terrorism, but the results will increase the international instability and long –term failure. The actual work aims, too, to investigate the origins of terrorism, and its data collected have been analyzed qualitatively. Thus, the research hypotheses have been confirmed and the following results have been achieved: The causes of terrorism are not the doing of God or religion but are results of regimes and policies that oppress, kill and corrupt. Furthermore, biological factors, and themes of injustice and humiliation have significant influence on the terrorists' ideologies.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

9/11: the Attacks on September 11, 2001

AIPAC: American Israel Public Affairs Committee

FIS: Front Islamique du Salut (Islamic Salvation Front)

FLN: Front de Libération Nationale (National Liberation Front)

FPMR: *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (Patriotic Front Manuel Rodriguez)

FSA: Financial Services Authority

GPI: Great Plains Industries

HDI: Human Development Index

I.M.F: International Monetary Fund

KSA: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Log of GDP per capita: log of Gross Domestic Product Per Capita

LTTE: The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NSS: National Security Strategy

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PH : Potential of Hydrogen

PLO: The Palestine Liberation Organization

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

USAID: U.S. Agency for International Development

WMD: A Weapon of Mass Destruction

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General Introduction

General Introduction

To contribute to the contemporary debate on terrorism, we will make a comparative research that focuses on the strategies of Americans and Muslims. This research is conducted as part of a magister degree in American Studies, at the University of Tlemcen.

Terrorism is the greatest challenge nowadays; however, many people still do not have an in-depth understanding of it. The present research intends to explain some concepts about it. Also, it acknowledges the importance of previous studies on this phenomenon that emphasize on the visible aspects that give rise to it. This mémoire will be an exploration of the strategies of the Americans and the Muslims. The reason for doing this study is that both of them approach terrorism differently. In that way, we will be able to conclude that both of them consider different factors to be the causes of terrorism. More specifically, we can distinguish the real causes of contemporary terrorism.

Thoughtful people realize that the barbarities were connected to a variety of underlying factors. Researchers can never agree upon an internationally accepted definition of terrorism, and they are far from understanding the real circumstances leading to such violent acts (Paul Ehrlich, 2000).This research will focus on the new terrorism, terrorism of today, terrorism with global reach, terrorism without borders or limitations. Through this work we can find out what the real causes of today's global terrorism are and which solutions will help us solve the problem. We are particularly interested in this new type of terrorism, because the contemporary forms of terrorism are more cultural in origin and nature than ever.

The main obstacles to define terrorism are relying on the acts of terror committed by states, and the distinction between the activities of freedom fighters and those of terrorists. It

is said that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." So, the question is 'who is a terrorist and who is a freedom fighter?' It is difficult to distinguish between terrorists and freedom fighters; however, by defining terrorism and investigating its roots and understanding its causes, the reader may make the distinction.

Two years after the events of 9/11, former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan delivered a speech to heads of states at a conference on "Fighting Terrorism for Humanity: A Conference on Roots of Evil". In it Annan stressed the need to address the root causes of terrorism in order to be able to fight it. He warned that "if we are to defeat terrorism, it is our duty, and indeed our interest, to try to understand this deadly phenomenon, and carefully to examine what works, and what does not, in fighting it." (Annan, 2003, para.4) (http://www.un.org/sg/STATEMENTS/index.asp?nid=511).These words aim to put concepts of terrorism by analyzing the root and causes of it. As Brian Jenkins notes, the term "terrorism" has no precise or widely accepted definition. If it is a matter of description: "Terrorism is violence or the threat of violence calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm-in a word, to terrorize-and thereby bring about some social or political change" (Sheehan, n.d, p.34).

The objective of this research is to investigate the origins of terrorism. By investigating this, we will use the following general question: What are the origins of terrorism?

The following sub questions can be derived from what is mentioned above:

- To what extent does Islam cause terrorism?
- What are the Muslims and Americans fighting and what analysis of the origins of terrorism do both of them propose?

- To what extent do the Americans legitimize their measures in fighting international terrorism?

The following hypotheses have been proposed to investigate the above research questions:

- Islamic groups are not necessarily regarded as Islamic in spirit.
- Islamic activists are using religious language (*jihad*) and are fighting a holy war, to overthrow the U.S. regimes in the Muslim world. And the USA's solicitude with 'evil' is considered an origin of terrorism and the central role of the USA for explaining terrorism.
- The U.S. strategy for fighting terrorism is often seen a military approach.

In this research we will investigate documents and other forms of communication concerning the strategies of the two men, George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden. This kind of methodology is called content analysis and it is about the study of recorded human communications. The purpose of the research can be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory. Explanatory studies look for explanations of the nature of certain relationships. This type of research is intended to explain rather than to describe the phenomena studied, and hypothesis testing provides an understanding of the relationships that exist between variables. So, the work we will conduct will have an explanatory character with a qualitative way of collecting data to test hypotheses by measuring relationships between variables.

In order to answer the research questions, we will divide this work in four parts. The first chapter deals with term definitions and terrorism concepts. It is called literature review that is considered as an introductory one. Then, we will search for factors that explain the root causes of terrorism in chapter two. The following two chapters deal with the strategies that are

proposed by the Muslims (in chapter three) and the Americans (in chapter four). These two chapters will present the root causes that give rise to contemporary terrorism, and identify which origins of terrorism the Muslims and the Americans distinguish in their struggle against this phenomenon. We will try to find out what are the exact motives that push them to deal with terrorism and in which way both legitimize their methods for dealing with it. In addition, these chapters will present a clear inventory of the effects of these strategies. It could be that the Americans and the Muslims deal with different kinds of terrorism, or have their focus on different kinds of terrorism. Thus, we will conclude by differences and similarities between the Muslims and the Americans' strategies and by examining the different analyses of the origins of terrorism underlying these strategies; we will be able to make distinction between who is the terrorist and who is the freedom fighter.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning here that, as many students who are in charge of doing any research, I faced some difficulties in my work. It is said that the learning which the students got from their class discussions and applied in the conduct of their research work is not an excuse for their academic difficulties and failures. In fact, the lack of a scientific training in the methodology of research can cause some emotional issues such as loss, depression and anxiety. Those personal problems are the direct cause of wasting time, increasing our stress and disturbing our concentration. Another problem is that of selecting a topic, and in which way I will narrow it. In selecting the appropriate topic I waste a great deal of time. Finding relevant data to support my arguments is a great problem; at first I could find nothing about my topic because there is no easy access to the sources of data, plus being away from my supervisor makes things worse.

It is a great challenge for us as students to be able to write in excellent vocabulary, good grammatical English, with appropriate punctuation. As a result, we will be in a dilemma how to put things together in our work. Of course, I select the topic but, in fact, most of the time I am unaware of suitability of the tools I should use.

These are the main challenges I faced in writing my mémoire, from choosing a topic, to finding relevant data, to being reasonable throughout the process and every step in between.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

This chapter has served as an introducing one. We elaborated the definition of terrorism, through three core concepts: What is terrorism (1) who is a terrorist (2) and what motivates people to use this type of violence (3). Firstly, we will talk about new-style terrorism. This kind of terrorism that shares three characterizing aspects: use of violence, targeting non-combatant civilians, and reaching certain political ends. This type of terrorism will be the one this research focuses on.

Furthermore, we identify what is considered terrorism and what is not considered terrorism. Important themes related to this topic are: elements that represent an act of terrorism, terrorism's relationship to crime and war, true meaning of *jihad*, the distinction between terrorism and other forms of violent political conflict, civil war or revolution and finally, the Israeli lobby and U.S. globalization and hegemony and its relation to terrorism definitions.

1.2 Definition of Terms

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (**AIPAC):** a pro-Israel lobby in the United States.

***Al-Qaeda*:** translation "the base" and alternatively spelled *Al-Qaeda*, is a global militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in Peshawar, Pakistan, at some point between August1988 and late 1989 with its origins being traceable to the soviet War in Afghanistan. It operates as a network comprising both a multinational, stateless army and a *sunni* Muslim movement calling for global *jihad* (The Free Dictionary).[1]

***Hadith*:** The collected reports of what the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) said and did during his lifetime (Arabic plural: *ahadith*). Also known as**:** traditions of the Prophet, sayings.of.the.Prophet.(Peace.Be.Upon.Him).

During the first few decades after the Prophet Muhammad's (Peace Be Upon Him) death, those who directly knew him (known as the Companions) shared and collected quotations and stories related to the Prophet's (Peace Be Upon Him) life. Within the first two centuries after the Prophet's (Peace Be Upon Him) death, scholars conducted a thorough review of the stories, tracing the origins of each quotation along with the chain of narrators through whom the.quotation.was.passed.

Those which were not verifiable were deemed "weak" or even "fabricated," while others were deemed "authentic" (*sahih*) and collected into volumes. The most authentic collections of *hadith* (according to Sunni Muslims) include *Sahih Bukhari*, *Sahih Muslim*, and *Sunan Abu Dawud.*

Each *hadith* consists of two parts: the text of the story, along with the chain of narrators which support.the.authenticity.of.the.report.

The *hadith* are considered by most Muslims to be an important source of Islamic guidance, and are often referred to in matters of Islamic law or history. [2]

***Hadithqudsi*:** is a term used which signifies that the meaning of the *hadith* is from Allah, and the words are related from the Messenger of Allah (Peace Be Upon Him), unlike the *Qur'an* where the meaning and the words are both from Allah. *Hadithqudsi* is not a separate book or Revelation of Allah like the *Qur'an*, and the exact same science and investigation that is needed to determine the authenticity of any *hadith* will be used to determine if the *hadithqudsi* narrated by the narrator from the Messenger of Allah (Peace Be Upon Him) is indeed authentic or not.[3]

***Hezbollah*:** "Party of Allah" or "Party of God" is a Shiite Islamic militant group and political party based in Lebanon. Its paramilitary wing is regarded as a resistance movement throughout much of the Arab and Muslim worlds, and is considered more powerful than the Lebanese army. It has taken the side of the government in the Syrian civil war and in May-June 2013 successfully assisted in the recapture of the strategic town of Qusayr (The Free Dictionary).[4]

***Imam*:** The *imam* leads Islamic prayer and services, but may also take on a larger role in providing.community.support.and.spiritual.advice.

An *imam* is selected at the community level. Members of the community choose someone who is considered knowledgeable and wise. The *imam* should know and understand the *Qur'an*, and be able to recite it correctly and nicely. The *imam* is a respected member of the community. In some communities, an *imam* may be specifically recruited and hired, and may have undergone some special training. In other (smaller) cities, *imams* are often chosen from among the existing members of the Muslim community. There is no universal governing body to supervise *imams*; this is done at the community level.[5]

Jihad: The word *Jihad* stems from the Arabic root word J-H-D, which means "strive." Other words derived from this root include "effort," "labor," and "fatigue." Essentially *Jihad* is an effort to practice religion in the face of oppression and persecution. The effort may come in fighting the evil in your own heart, or in standing up to a dictator. Military effort is included as an option, but as a last resort and not "to spread Islam by the sword" as the stereotype would.have.one.believe.

The *Qur'an* describes *Jihad* as a system of checks and balances, as a way that Allah set up to "check one people by means of another." When one person or group transgresses their limits and violates the rights of others, Muslims have the right and the duty to "check" them and

bring them back into line. There are several verses of the *Qur'an* that describe *jihad* in this manner. One example:"And did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief; but Allah is full of Bounty to all the worlds" (*Qur'an* 2:251)

Islam never tolerates unprovoked aggression from its own side; Muslims are commanded in the *Qur'an* not to begin hostilities, embark on any act of aggression, violate the rights of others, or harm the innocent. Even hurting or destroying animals or trees is forbidden. War is waged only to defend the religious community against oppression and persecution, because the *Qur'an* says that "persecution is worse than slaughter" and "let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression" (*Qur'an* 2:190-193). Therefore, if non-Muslims are peaceful or indifferent to Islam, there is no justified reason to declare war on them. The *Qur'an* describes those people who are permitted to (Ibid).

***Khawarij*:** *Kharijites* literally " those who went out", is a general term describing various Muslims who, while initially supporting the authority of the final Rashidun Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib, the son-in-law and cousin of the Islamic prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), then later rejected his leadership. They first emerged in the late 7th century, concentrated in today's southern Iraq, and are distinct from *Sunni* Muslims and *Shi'a* Muslims. With the passing of time the *Kharijite* groups fell greatly in their numbers and their beliefs did not continue to gain any traction in future generations. From their essentially political position, the *Kharijites* developed extreme doctrines that further set them apart from both mainstream *Sunni* and *Shi'a* Muslims. The *Kharijites* were particularly noted for adopting a radical approach to *takfir*, whereby they declared other Muslims to be unbeliever and, therefore, deemed them worthy of death. The *Kharijites* were also known historically as the *Shurah* literally meaning "the buyers" and understood within the context of Islamic

scripture and philosophy to mean "those who have traded the mortal life (*al Dunya*) for the other life with God (*al-Aakhirah*)", which, unlike the term *Kharijites*, was one that many *Kharijites* used to describe themselves (The Free Dictionary).[6]

LTTE : It is widely regarded as the world's deadliest and fiercest guerrilla/terrorist group and the most ferocious guerrilla organization in South Asia.

Oslo Accords: The Oslo I accord or Oslo I, officially called the declaration of principles on interim self-government arrangements or declaration of principles (DOP), was an attempt in 1993 to set up a framework that would lead to the resolution of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It was the first face-to-face agreement between the government of the so-called Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Negotiations concerning the agreement, an outgrowth of the Madrid conference of 1991, were conducted secretly in Oslo, Norway hosted by the Fafo institute, and completed on 20 August 1993; the accords were subsequently officially signed at a public ceremony in Washington, D.C., on 13 September 1993 in the presence of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, the then Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, and U.S President Bill Clinton. The documents themselves were signed by Mahmoud Abbas for the PLO, foreign minister Shimon Peres for Israel, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher for the United States and foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, for Russia. The accord provided for the creation of a Palestinian interim self-government, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The Palestinian authority would have responsibility for the administration of the territory under its control. The accords also called for the withdrawal of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) from parts of the Gaza Strip and West bank (Ibid).

Qur'an:

1- The sacred text of Islam, divided into 114 chapters, or *suras*: revered as the word of God,

dictated to Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) by the archangel *Gibril*, and accepted as the foundation of Islamic law, religion, culture, and politics (Ibid).
2-The holy book of Islam is called the *Qur'an*. It is organized into chapters called *surah*, and verses called *ayat*. In addition, the entire text is divided into 30 sections called *ajza'*, in order to facilitate its reading over a month-long period.[7]

Serotonin: is created by a biochemical conversion process which combines tryptophan, a component of proteins, with tryptophan hydroxylase, a chemical reactor. Together, they form 5-hydroxyltryptamine (5-HT), also referred to as serotonin (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus).[8]

Sheikh:

1-..A.man respected for his piety or religious learning
2-.A.male leader of an Arab family or village.
3-.A.man in an Arab society who is important or wealthy.
4- Used as a form of address of such a man (The Free Dictionary).[9]

Shia: (redirected from Shiite): The *Shia* represent the second largest denomination of Islam. Adherents of *Shia* Islam are called *Shias*. " *Shia*" is the short form of the historic phrase *Shi'atu* 'Ali, meaning " followers", "factions" or "party" of Muhammad's son-in-law and cousin Ali, whom the *Shia* believe to be Muhammad's successor in the Caliphate. *Shia* is based on the *Qur'an* and the message of Islamic Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) attested in *Shia hadith*, and certain books deemed sacred to *Shia* (*Nahj al-Balagha*). In contrast to other types, the *Shia* believe that only God has the right to choose a representative to safeguard Islam, the *Qur'an* and *sharia*. Thus, the *Shias* look to Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, whom they revere and consider divinely appointed, as the rightful successor to

Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), and the first *imam*. The *Shia* extended this belief to Muhammad's family, the Ahl al-Bayt "the People of the House", and certain individuals among his descendants, with known infallibility, and other traits. Although there were many *Shia* branches throughout history, modern *Shia* has been divided into three main branches, namely the *Ithna ashariyya* (twelvers), the *Ismailis* (Seveners) and the *Zaidis* (Fivers) (Ibid).

Sunnah:

1. the way of life prescribed as normative in Islam, based on the teachings and practices of Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) and on exegesis of the *Qur'an*.
2. Muhammad's, Peace Be Upon Him, way of life viewed as a model for Muslims (Ibid).

Sunni: The word "Sunni" in Arabic comes from a word meaning "one who follows the traditions of the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him)." Sunni Muslims agree with the position taken by many of the Prophet's (Peace Be Upon Him) companions at the time, that the new leader should be elected from among those capable of the job. This is what was done, and the Prophet Muhammad's close friend and adviser, Abu Bakr, became the first *Caliph* of the Islamic nation.[10]

The differences between the *Sunni, shi'a* and the *kharijites* are the following:
-*Sunni* Muslims accept Ali as the fourth rightly guided Caliph, and also accept the three Caliphs before him, who were elected by their community.
-*Shi'a* Muslims believe that the *imamate* (leadership) was the right of Ali, and the rule of the first three Rashidun Caliphs (Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, Umar bin al-Khattab, and Uthman Ibn Affan).was.unlawful.
-*Kharijites* insist that any Muslim could be a leader of the Muslim community and had the

right to revolt against any ruler who deviated from their interpretation of *sharia* law (The Free Dictionary).[11]

Terrorism:

1. The use of violence and threats to intimidate or coerce, especially for political purposes.
2. The state of fear and submission produced by terrorism or terrorization.
3. A terroristic method of governing or of resisting a government (Ibid).

Think.tank:

1-A group of experts brought together, usually by a government, to develop ideas on a particular subject and to make suggestions for action
2- An organization that consists of a group of people who think of new ideas on a particular subject or who give advice about what should be done (Ibid).

War on terror: The ongoing campaign by the United States and some of its allies to counter international terrorism, also called war on terrorism (The Longman Online Dictionary of Contemporary English).[12]

1.3 Terrorism Concepts

This chapter seeks to explore terrorism concepts and the debates around important questions that have relation with terrorism definitions. There are three key questions that help in defining terrorism.

1. What is terrorism?
2. Who are terrorists?
3. What motivates them to use this type of violence?

Through answering these questions we will be able to frame the definition of terrorism.

In their work on political terrorism Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman analyzed hundreds of definitions of terrorism. "There is no agreement on the definition, no systematic analysis of fragmented data, no applicable game models … in fact, we cannot even say with any certainty whether the phenomenon is on the rise" (Pavel, K.,2003, p. 29).

The Encyclopedia Britannica online contains the following definition:

> Terrorism is the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective. Terrorism has been practiced by political organizations with both rightist and leftist objectives, by nationalistic and religious groups, by revolutionaries, and even by state institutions such as armies, intelligence services, and police.

It is said that although the distinct definitions of terrorism they share common characteristics. The first feature is the use of violence. For J. Angelo Corlett: "definition of 'terrorism' best captures what is essential to terrorism: it needs not be violent, but pose only a threat of violence." Not just criminal acts and violence characterize the acts of terror, but also political ends are distinctive features of terrorism as Gus Martin put it: "These groups or agents engage

in this behavior intending the purposeful intimidation of governments or people to affect policy or behavior with an underlying political objective" (J. Angelo, 2003, p. 118). In addition to violence and political aims, the final feature that is expressed within the definitions is the threats or the harms of terrorism toward innocent people. According to Brian Jenkins: "Terrorism is violence or the threat of violence calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm – in a word, to terrorize – and thereby bring about some social or political change" (Brian M., 2003, p. 16). In his definition, David Whittaker, summarized what we mentioned above as follows: "it ought to be possible to secure some fundamental definition that regards the work of terrorists as intentional use of violence against non-combatant civilians aimed at reaching certain political ends" (Whittaker, p. 6). So, a terrorist is the one who uses a means to terrify and kill civilians. He is the one who tortures and oppresses innocent people.

The first use of the term "terror" was in 1795. It used to refer to the French policy in protecting "the fledgling French republic government" against counterrevolutionaries (Kurth Cronin, 2002-2003, p. 30).

Modern terrorism goes back to the French Revolution, and the "Reign of Terror," Andrew Sinclair maintains that: "The object of these sacred acts of violence is to terrify. The Latin word *terrere* originally meant 'to make tremble,' both governments and whole peoples rather as a minor earthquake" (Andrew, 200, p. 327).

The distinguishing feature of modern terrorism is its connection with political or ideological concepts and increasing levels of terrorist activity internationally (Kurth Cronin, 2002-2003, p. 30). "The broad political aim has been against empires, colonial powers, and the U.S. led international system marked by globalization" (Ibid).

According to Kurth Cronin, it is important to understand the general history of modern terrorism and "where the current threat fits within an international context". Terrorists do not follow the laws of war. Instead, they target civilians and other non-combatants as a means of causing and spreading terror. Brian Jenkins notes that terrorism's relationship to war is closer to war crimes than legitimate military operations:

> Why should persons not explicitly granted soldiers' status be given greater leeway to commit violence than soldiers have? Under the laws-of-war approach, terrorism would comprise all acts committed in peacetime that, if committed during war, would constitute war crimes" (Jenkins in Kegley, 1990, p. 29).

Brian Jenkins makes the relationship of terrorism to ordinary crime as follows:

> Terrorism differs from ordinary crime in its political purpose and in its primary objective. … Likewise, not all politically motivated violence is terrorism. … Terrorism is not synonymous with guerilla war or any other kind of war and it is not reserved exclusively for those trying to overthrow governments (Ibid, p. 30).

So, the difference between terrorist acts and 'ordinary' crime is the political motivation of terrorists. May be criminals terrorize their victims. However, their purpose is not to terrorize but to take out property or money.

Terrorism is not the same as ordinary crime; it must have distinguishing features that define it as a distinct form of political violence (Cunningham, Jr.et al, 2003). Key distinctions include targeting policies and operational practices, as well as levels of legitimacy and popular support for both the terrorist group and their cause. One of the key factors in determining the legitimacy of political actors and actions is determining their level of popular support (Ibid).

Mass political movements like revolutions and civil wars have often been seen as a legitimate form of political expression if the rebelling party has popular support and a perceived legitimate cause and stake in the political system. However, they can be perceived as illegitimate if they represent minority viewpoints or are directed by external powers or agents (Ibid).

Fromkin discusses the issue of terrorism and says that it is not a mass political movement firmly grounded in the strength of numbers of supporters. "Revolution, like war, is the strategy of the strong; terrorism is the strategy of the weak. It is an uncertain and indirect strategy that employs the weapon of fear in a special sort of way in which to make governments react" (Fromkin in Kegley, 1990, p. 56). Fromkin means that the minority who call for rebellion often uses terrorism. Non-state's terrorism is a revolutionary strategy. Its purpose is to influence and destabilize political systems and to overthrow governments. It is usually employed by the weak to attack the strong (Cunningham, Jr.et al, 2003).

Regarding the tactics of terrorists, Brian Jenkins notes that: "Terrorists operate with a limited tactical repertoire. Six basic terrorist tactics comprise 95 percent of all terrorist incidents: bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, barricade and hostage situations and hijackings" (Jenkins in Kegley, 1990, p. 36).

To summarize our understanding of what is terrorism: it is a violent act or threat of violence against civilians or non-combatants in order to further a political aim. Most of the time, terrorists use means to make great pressure on political leadership in order to accede to the terrorists' demands. It is an illegitimate form of political violence that differs from both war and crime. The tactics employed are usually bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, hijackings and hostage taking.

With this understanding of what is terrorism, we now turn to the actors who commit terrorism.

The second question is: who is a terrorist? This question is the most debatable in the literature because there are many individuals, groups and states that engage in terrorism. As Gary G. Sick points out, "The cliché that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' is no less true for being trite" (Sick in Kegley, 1990, p.52).

Many analysts discuss the problem of who are 'terrorists' and who are 'freedom fighters'. However, few of them could be objective in their analyses. In another word, people who commit terrorist acts are viewed as criminals by some and as patriots by others.

> What this means for our understanding of terrorists is that we proscribe our enemies as terrorists and we excuse our own or our friends', terrorist behavior based on the situation. This is how we can define gross violations of human rights as either terrorists (our enemies–*Al- Qaeda*) or freedom fighters (our friends–anti-communist insurgents). However, before we dismiss this as mere psychological trickery, we must recognize that not only do we operate this way, but our enemies do as well (Cunningham, Jr.et all, 2003, p.7).

To reach objective definitions of terrorism, we should search for real meaning of terrorist acts and terrorist actors. In this context, Michael Stohl claimed:

> This cliché confuses what terrorism is with the terrorist actor. An actor is a terrorist when the actor employs terrorist methods. While one may wish to argue that the particular ends justify particular means that does not alter what those means are. … Until we are willing to treat one man's terrorist as everyman's terrorist, we will make

> very little progress in either our understanding of the problem of terrorism or begin to take steps to effectively reduce its occurrence (Stohl in Kegley, 1990, p. 89-90).

In the West, terror acts are seen to be done by groups like *Al-Qaeda*, *Hezbollah* in Southern Lebanon and *Hamas* in the occupied territories or by states ,"rogue states", such as Iran or Syria that supported terrorist groups. Indeed, not just organizations or state's sponsorship are considered terrorists. But states themselves have the capability to use violence and force in the history of the modern international system (White, 2002 , p. 9). State terrorism refers to acts of terrorism conducted by a state against a foreign state or people, or against its own people. The concrete example of such terrorist actions, both domestically and in an international level, are totalitarian states, such as the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, Nazi Germany under Adolph Hitler, Israel and the United States of America. In this context, Wilkinson states:

> If we are to gain an adequate understanding of the broader historical and international trends in use of terror violence, we need to recognize that throughout history it is regimes and states, with their overwhelming preponderance of coercive power, which have shown the greatest propensity for terror on a mass scale, both as an instrument of internal repression and as a weapon of external aggression and subjugation (Wilkinson in Kegley, Jr. 2002,p. 107).

The concept of "terrorism" originally applied to the Jacobin state in France. Richard Falk claimed:

> The confusion arises because the essence of terrorism, going back to its origins in the French Revolution, is the calculated use of violence for political ends against civil

> society to induce widespread and intense fear. Governments are as likely as their adversaries to rely on such tactics (Falk, A. , in Kegley, Jr. 2002, p.53).

In addition to the three aspects of terrorism, there is another feature which characterizes modern terrorism in a systematic approach of the dominant state in the international relations of the world. These states use violence to cause fear for political objectives. In another word, is to impose military policy. The dominant states are responsible of such types of actions. Falk refers to this point in terms of the current U.S. hegemonic power within the international system:

> Such a one-eyed definition [of terrorism] is also politically incoherent. It overlooks the degree to which the United States itself has backed anti-state political violence, as in relation to contra opposition to the established government in Nicaragua during the 1980s and with respect to Cuban exiles operating with thinly disguised official support from their base in Miami (Ibid).

The contemporary sense of terrorism is summarized in the recent American policy in Afghanistan and Iraq that harvest a great number of innocent people, and the Israeli actions in the occupied territories, especially violent attacks in Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Such actions have claimed many "innocent" lives (Kegley, Jr., 2002, p. 1).

Antonio Gramsci suggested that the term "hegemony" is strongly related to the international system. In this way, individuals will be able to establish a more accurate definition of "terrorism." In one definition of international terrorism it is terror acts practiced in a foreign country by terrorists who are not native to that country.

In the name of War on terror or under the theory of "Just War", the USA is practicing violence without distinction between combatants and non-combatants, between legitimate and illegitimate targets. The War on Terror, also known as the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) is a term which has been applied to an international military campaign that started after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States. The phrase "War on Terror" was first used by U.S. President George W. Bush on 20 September 2001. The Bush administration has used the term to argue a global military and political struggle against both terrorist organizations and regimes that are supposed to support terrorist organizations. It was originally used with a particular focus on Muslim countries associated with such organizations. During the presidency of Barack Obama, the term is replaced by "Overseas Contingency Operation."

Terrorism that is committed by groups or agents to achieve their political ends in the name of religion is often called "Religious terrorism". In the west, religious terrorism often means Islamic terrorism. In fact this term does not exist in Islam. The latter is called for peace and harmony and forbids violence and aggression, and those who do such acts of terror are not regarded as Islamic in spirit. They are misunderstanding the Islamic laws; they are extremists. The actual example is the contemporary Arab terrorism; the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant "ISIL". It is also known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or Islamic State of Iraq and *Ash-Sham* (ISIS). It is an Islamic extremist rebel group controlling Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Nigeria, with operations in Lebanon, Egypt, and other areas of the Middle East, North Africa, West Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. The group is known in Arabic as *Da'ish or Daesh*. It was established on 29 June 2014. The group proclaimed itself to be a caliphate and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is its caliph. In April 2013, al-Baghdadi announced the merger of his ISIS with the *Nusra* front that had been established in Sunni-majority areas of Syria and the name of the joined group became "the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

(ISIL)."[13] However, both Abu Muhammad al-Julani and Ayman al-Zawahiri, the leaders of *al-Nusra* and *Al-Qaeda* rejected the merger. After an eight-month struggle, *Al-Qaeda* cut all its ties with ISIL on 3 February 2014 (Ibid). ISIL is a group that follows an extreme interpretation of Islam, advocates violence, and regards those who do not agree with its interpretations as infidels. The major goal of the group is the foundation of an Islamic state. ISIL sought to establish itself as a Caliphate, an Islamic state, under a supreme leader-the Caliph-who is believed to be the successor to Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) (Ibid). In June 2014, ISIL published a document in which it claimed that its leader is al-Baghdadi as a successor to the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). So, on 29 June, the group appointed al-Baghdadi as its caliph (Ibid).

In October 2014, Noam Chomsky criticized Saudi Arabia because of its "major source of funding for ISIS as well as providing its ideological roots" (Noam Chomsky, 2014, p.1).

The idea of a caliphate has been criticized and condemned by the UN, various governments and Muslim groups refused to acknowledge it. ISIL claims itself as religious, political and military authority over all the Muslim worldwide. Many Islamic and non-Islamic communities judge the group unrepresentative of Islam. Furthermore, the United Nations considered ISIL responsible for human rights abuses and war crimes. The group has been listed as a terrorist organization by the United Nations, the European Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Syria, Egypt, India, and Russia. Also, over 60 countries are directly or indirectly waging war against ISIL. Although ISIL claims itself an Islamic group which fights in the name of Allah, its claim is far from the reality. The group failed to interpret the sacred laws of Islam or give the real meaning of *jihad*.

In the West, the term '*jihad*' has come to be known as something wholly negative. However, in Islam, *jihad* is something positive. It Consists of two dimensions: the inner *jihad* that seeks to control negative and self destructive forces within; and the external *jihad* which is a struggle against violence and tyranny by means of words and actions.

The former type of *jihad* which is the most important is that of the inner self. Prophet Muhammad, may (God bless him and grant him peace) said: "The best *jihad* one performs is that of helping oneself gain more knowledge of Almighty God." On another occasion, the Messenger of God addressed his companions, saying: "We are now returning from the minor *jihad* to the major *jihad* (that of the struggle of the inner self)." And the term *jihad* in the *Qur'an* is: "Making all the ability in defending and increasing its belligerent in all fields of advocacy and increased its belligerent in all fields of life not just in the battlefield." Making efforts in the fields of science, learning and teaching is *jihad.* Honestly, divine succession of man is *Jihad* as well as the charity to parents is *Jihad*. The sincere word is *jihad* and the fear of God is the top of *jihad*.

Sunnah also made the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of Allah as release from the world and living in peaceful coexistence with all living species and plants. This pilgrimage is a part of Islamic.*Jihad*.

That is the reality of the Islamic *Jihad*. The effort in any field is *jihad,* not only the fighting (the religious holy war). The latter is obligatory and necessary for every Muslim, man and woman according to the capabilities possessed and owned by those in charge. However, *jihad* has specific fields and conditions and the *Qur'an* verses talked about that. In The Holy *Qur'an* Allah says:

> 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" (*Qur'an,* 60:8-9).

Even with Unbelievers, unless they are rampant and out to destroy us and our Faith, we should deal kindly and equitably, as is shown by the Prophet's own example. However, moving away people from their homes and homelands and turning them into refugees and terrorizing the innocents is violence and terrorism. It is necessary to pay attention that Islam has legitimated *jihad* only under certain circumstances and reasons. One of those reasons is self-defense. As for the latter, it has strict rules of engagement which prohibit destroying civilian life, harming animals and even chopping down trees. Allah says:

> Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into [the hearts of] the enemies, of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom Allah doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly" (Ibid, 8:60).

In response, we say that this verse contained the command before going to battle. The aim is to frighten the enemy. So, fear prevents to raid the peaceful Muslims. The matter here is protection and prevention not motivation and desire to fight.

It is a call to frighten the enemies of Muslims without assaulting them and the purpose is to deter them from daring violation toward Muslim countries, properties, their money and honor. Here the definition of terrorism is to deter traitors from betraying the Muslims. It requires not

aggression and violence or fighting. It is as deterrent punishment that prevents crime like what happened in the mid-twentieth century, during the Cold War, when the Soviet Union possessed the nuclear and PH weapon as a way to terrorize and deter America from the atomic attack on the Soviets. As a result, the world will be secure from the nuclear catastrophe.

"But if the enemy inclines towards peace, do thou [also] incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth [all things]" (Ibid, 8:61). The end is peace, not war and this is clear to all in the context of this verse.

Defensive *jihad* is to push for aggression and avoid violence, "Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors" (Ibid, 2:190).

Islamic Scholars have stated several conditions for defensive *jihad* in their books such as getting ready, and the necessity of sparing women, elderly, children, and places of worship, plants and animals. This gives an overview of the purposes of *jihad* and methods. And it is completely different from terrorism, which has become the synonym of the killing of innocents and terrorizing them for political motives. This terrorism is strictly prohibited in Islam. It is a major sin and aggression that reserves to the perpetrator painful punishment in the afterlife and severe punishment in this world. Furthermore, this act was considered as a war against Allah and His Messenger and reward what came in the Holy *Qur'an*:

> The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Apostle, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is: Execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land: That is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment is theirs in the Hereafter" (Ibid, 5:33).

Terrorism in Islam is "just Terrifying" the enemies as we mentioned. Protectiveness of Islam and the determination to the teachings of religion is legitimate, but the exaggeration and committing violence and terror against others is totally rejected in Islam. Indeed, not just the Arab and Islamic communities have suffered from extremism: all communities are suffering from various forms of religious and political extremism, both in thought and belief, in practice and behavior. The assassination of former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is a form of Israeli religious extremism. In fact, the religious extremist is a branch of ideological extremism. This extremism may appear in left-wing and right-wing groups. Perhaps the Italian Red Brigades Marxism, which in the seventies committed many terrorist incidents, is an example of left-wing extremism. The ku klux klan racist group in America, that was formed to pursuit the blacks, is an example of right-wing extremism.

Omar Idriss mentioned in his article, *the relationship between religious extremism and terrorism (العلاقة بين التطرف الديني/الأيديولوجي والإرهاب)*, some examples of terrorist groups that have emerged in the various countries of the world as follow:

1.3.1Terrorism in Germany

The German terrorism was during the reign of Hitler. When the Nazis at first eliminated the Communists and the Social Democrats and trade unions by doing Reichstag's fire "Reichstagabrand" on February 27, 1933. The Nazi government considered a man with Dutch nationality as guilty, and describing him as a member of the Communist Party. In that way they could put an end to the Communist German Party. On the following day, February 28, the act of personal freedoms malfunction and freedom of the press with the excuse of

protecting the state and the people was announced. The Nazis pointed terrorism against the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and other parties. As a result, the government shut down the offices of these parties. In addition, they closed newspapers and filled prisons; whereas, the next day 5,000 people were seized. The Nazi terror provoked a migration when people were searching for security, freedom and democracy. The Jews suffered a lot from Nazi terror, starting with the attacks on their shops and the manifestations against them reaching the tragic "genocide" incidents that were committed against them. The extremist terrorist groups (right-wing and left-wing) appeared in Germany after World War II. They committed acts against U.S. interests in Germany and against the government which had intervened to block out these movements. One of these groups was the movement of RAF (League of the Red Army), which is known as the" Baader Meinhof ". It started its activities in 1968 (bomb attacks and the kidnapping of people and planes. It had many terrorist activities in Germany and abroad).

Some members of the organization participated in the terrorist act against the OPEC headquarters in 1975 and kidnapped a French airliner in 1976 after taking off from Tel Aviv and were carrying 250 passengers. Further, they kidnapped a German aircraft in 1977 and flew to Mogadishu. The special forces of Germany could end the kidnapping but after killing the kidnappers. Also, the Revolutionary Cells Organization (RZ) was formed in 1973 and has been focusing its activities on riots and attack operations.

Right terrorism has appeared in the Federal Republic of Germany as a result of the emergence of left-terrorism, but it differs in its objectives and style. Right terrorism does not aim to change society or establish a communist regime to stay free, but seeks to establish a dictatorial regime and its targets are not politicians, but civilians are their real victims. In fact, the right terrorism in former West Germany was less dangerous than left terrorism. Its roots

are derived from the National Democratic Party NPD which represents the extreme right. It is actually suffering from severe weakness as well as neo-Nazi groups including Hepp Hexel group. The latter is hostile to the United States and has carried out several operations against its forces in Germany. Right terrorist operations increased after German reunification due to the increasing unemployment rates and the hatred of foreigners .This hostility was translated into violent operations toward them (Translated from,Omar,2011,p.6).

1.3.2 Terrorism in Italy

Terrorism in Italy is closely associated with fascism since 1945 when World War II ended. With the end of the European experience (Nazism and Fascism), Italy started to rebuild and reconstruct the war-ravaged country; and the parties prepared themselves for the establishment of a democratic system.

In 1946 a fascist group established a party known as "the Italian Social Movement". This party has been working for extreme right-wing groups, because the authorities did not achieve any success in purifying the Italian state agencies of fascists. In October 1946, there were about forty thousand fascist prisoners. After a few months, they became only about four thousand. Some Italian writers argue that the American and English intelligence were helping some of the old fascists in penetrating the state's institutions and the armed forces. They see that the starting point of the right terrorism began immediately after the end of World War II where the United States and Britain needed to configure the network of customers and providers of information about what is in the Italian General Staff of the armed forces. With the protection of the social movement, right terrorism found the appropriate growth conditions.

From 1945 to 1968, the fascists committed a series of attacks on their political opponents. They held several manifestations. These manifestations were illegal and violent in the public squares. Besides, they made attacks on the headquarters of the democratic political parties. In that period, these criminal actions by the right terrorism were clearly influenced by the fascist way. In its early stages, the fascist movement followed the same method by committing numerous acts of armed violence against newspapers and the headquarters of the leftist parties. We can say that the period from 1945 to 1968 was a period of producing rightist terrorism, because it was the period when these movements took their first steps toward going out for legitimacy. These movements organized themselves and tried to give ideological justification for their activities. But until that period, the right terrorism did not have the appropriate tools: financing and men who are ready to start the fight against the democratic state. But after the year 1968, everything changed when the student movement rose and a year later the labor movements rose as well. The latter was responsible for the spread of horror among industrialists and political leaders and military men. So, right terrorism knew a remarkable shift .The twelfth month of 1969 was the starting point of the dark history of terrorism and the strategy of the right terrorism where the massacre of "Piazza Fontana" took place in Milano. The bomb was exploded in the National Agricultural Bank. Sixteen people were killed and ninety were injured.

Right terrorism started to develop its criminal style of massacres that provoked a great deal of panic. Huge numbers of people died and the victims could not be identified. The wave of right terrorism in Italy continued with massacres during the seventies with the last massacres that occurred in the twelfth of August, 1980, in the railway station of Bologna city (Translated from,Omar,2011,p.7-8).

1.3.3 Terrorism in Spain

In the fifties, “ETA” organization appeared in Spain. Its meaning is “Basque Country and Freedom” which was founded in 1959 and began the armed actions in 1961. In 1975, especially after the death of General Franco, the organization increased its activities. The emergence of ETA was a reaction to the authoritarian regime of Franco. In its establishment, ETA movement looks close to the Basque Nationalist Party, but it moved away in the sixties pursuing a Marxist-Leninist way. It aimed to achieve the independence of the Basque region and unite the seven counties in one state with popular socialist tendency, and its official language is the Basque language. Despite the split of the "ETA", its objectives and basic principles have not changed. Its firm belief was that the goals can be achieved only through the use of violence. "ETA" has two wings: the military wing, and civil wing. It is a revolutionary organization with socialist roots. Also, it has good relationships at the international level.

The first operations and the terrorist attacks carried out by "ETA" was in 1968, when it assassinated the Director of Spanish Intelligence office, Milton Mancanas, in San Sebastian (Basque region). Furthermore, in 1973 the movement assassinated the Spanish Prime Minister, Luis Carrero Blanco, in the center of Madrid. These operations increased after the end of Franco reign, particularly in the period from 1978 to 1980 when Spain established a democratic government. The attacks were against the police men, the Civil Guards and the assassinations of the army commanders to push the armed forces to change their position toward the unity of Spain. The organization's name is in the report of the U.S. State Department about terrorism on 27 April 2005 (Ibid, p.8).

1.3.4 Terrorism in the United Kingdom

The problem between Protestants and Catholics is one of the major problems in Ireland. The Irish succeeded -after a long struggle- to reach an agreement with the government of England in 1920. Thus, the state of "Ireland" was formed, but the six northern regions remained outside the scope of this State. Then, in 1949 the Republic of Ireland was proclaimed, but the problem of Northern Ireland remained and the National Irish insisted on continuing the fight until the six counties of Northern Ireland unify with the state. The Irish Republican Army which was formed in 1922 continued the armed actions even after the declaration of the Republic of Ireland in 1949. The recent wave of terrorism in Northern Ireland increased since the Catholic minority demanded their complete civil rights. Then the campaign went forward to violence which led to the intervention of the British forces in 1969. These developments have significant changes in the "Republican army organization." The "Irish Republican Army" had focused its attacks on economic targets such as large chain stores, and had damaged several factories and kidnapped some industrialists. These strategies met with a great success at first, but this success quickly faded when the police developed and improved security procedures. Also, it would be clear that such operations harm Catholics and Protestants.as.well.

In the last twenty years, the criminal methods of the "Irish Republican Army" organization and the Irish terrorism in general have been characterized by random attacks without any regard to the victims. Bars, shops and public transport were the preferred targets for the terrorists and that led to the political damage of the organization (Ibid, p.9).

1.3.5 Zionist Terrorist Organizations in the so-called Israel

Israel was founded on terrorism and the practice of it has become normal. In the whole world no one is similar to Israel in practicing terrorism; they raped the land and argued that this rape would not succeed without terror. Israel and the Nazis were using a variety of tools, including terrorist state authority. Yet, Israeli terrorism is superior to the Nazi terror.

Israeli literature, Zionist thought and the scientific curriculum which were taught to the students in Israeli schools indicate the intellectual works that express the terror doctrine. Their curriculum and educational programs aimed at raising terror in the minds of the students in schools. In these programs, they sought to remind the Jewish of what happened to their parents and grandparents in the past to protect the state by all means including terrorist means. Thus, the Zionists were able to transform large numbers of Israeli young people to violent terrorists.

The State of Israel has committed violence and terrorism in the Middle East since it led the activities of the Zionist organizations by killing, destroying and using all means of terrorism to eradicate the Palestinian people from their homeland, and establish a state with the Zionist entity. The most prominent examples of these Zionist terrorist organizations are: *Alhajnah, Irgun, Lehi* and *Stern*. Terrorism, violence and bloodshed were the way of these terrorist organizations to achieve the Zionist dream "the establishment of the Zionist entity". Indeed, many massacres, murders and torture were committed by these organizations against the Palestinian people in their homeland: Palestine. After the establishment of the State of Israel on May 15, 1948, other Zionist terrorist organizations were founded such as *Gush Emunim* movement and "*Imana*"organization. *Maats* organization, movement to seize *Al-Aqsa* Mosque, the Honest to the Temple Mount, the Mount Fund Society House, *Tehiya*

movement, *Tsumt* movement, the new Israeli right movement, terror organization against terrorism and *Kach* movement (Ibid, p.9-10).

The cultist groups such as Aum Shinrikyo (also known as Aleph) was more dangerous than religious terrorists. It is important to distinguish religious terrorists from those terrorists with religious components but whose goals are political. Aum Shinrikyo, the Japanese religious cult, carried out the first major terrorist attack using chemical weapons on a Tokyo subway in 1995. The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma revealed similar extremism by American right-wing militants.

Religiously motivated terrorist groups grew from 1980 to 1992 and continued to increase in the 1990s. Hoffman stated that "the religious imperative for terrorism is the most important characteristic of terrorist activity today." This may not be a new phenomenon if we return to earlier motivations for terror. Until the emergence of political motives such as nationalism, anarchism and Marxism, "religion provided the only acceptable justifications for terror."
As D.W. Brackett wrote, "A horrible bell had tolled in the Tokyo subway. . . .Terrorists do not follow rules of engagement in their operations but they do absorb the lessons to be learned from successful acts of violence."

In summary, cults are a particularly dangerous form of religious terrorism because they can appear quickly without warning; others such as right-wing Christian extremists also reveal many characteristics of the new terrorism. Mark Juergensmeyer, in his book *Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence*, identified three elements that Islamists, radical Christians, and other religious terrorists share: "They perceive their objective as a defense of basic identity and dignity; losing the struggle would be unthinkable; and the struggle is in deadlock and cannot be won in real time or in real terms."

Back to the question who is a "terrorist" and who is a "freedom fighter" the sense that it is very difficult to define who exactly is "innocent" and who is not. In this context, Walzer Corlett argues: "It is unsurprising, then, that such thinkers do not even consider the possible (positive) role of terrorism. For on their accounts, terrorism essentially involves harming innocent persons" (Corlett, 2003, p. 115). Consequently, there is a positive side of terrorism "….as an attack upon the innocent… It aims at general vulnerability: Kill these people in order to terrify those" (Walzer, 2008, p. 51).This is especially true when certain individuals contribute to policies that oppressed others. Corlett makes an interesting point concerning the American citizens in the actions leading up to 9/11:

> If this is true [i.e., implicit responsibility for a state's policies], then U.S. citizens who are significantly morally liable (for whatever reason) for harms caused to others by their own government are in no moral position to complain to terrorists or others who harm them for what turns out to be a morally justified terrorist response to such harms that generate such terrorism (Corlett, 2003, p. 157).

The American Conservatives are trying to impose the idea that all acts of violence that are resistant to their plans to dominate the Arab region and control its oil resources as well as businesses that offer their own interests all considered terrorism. Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation and the Iraqi resistance to the U.S. occupation are considered from this perspective terrorism. The repressive actions by the Israeli and U.S. forces committed against the Palestinians, Iraqis, and Afghans considered in their vision legitimate acts, not terrorism. Not far from this context, the neo-conservatives in Washington are insisting to link the concepts of *'jihad'* and 'resistance to occupation' with violence and terrorism and they are attempting to falsify the Islamic concept with these term- violence and terrorism- in order to

convince the American people in particular that Islam, Arabs and Muslims are responsible for terrorism in all over the world, and preparing for the elimination of Western civilization. This is what provoke Muslim youth and push them to take extreme positions against Western culture in general and the Americans in particular.

The Israeli lobby or the Zionist lobby is a coalition of individuals and groups who seek to influence the foreign policy of the United States in support of Zionism, Israel or the specific policies of its government. The lobby consists of Jewish-American religious groups. The most famous and visible group within the Israeli lobby is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). This one and other groups within the Israel lobby influence American public policy in many ways such as the support of Israel and education (They are still teaching the values of the Christian Zionists, and have a historical hostile tendency towards Islam, Arabs and Muslims and reject everything concerning Islamic culture). The AIPAC website describes that the purpose of the organization is to develop a close relationship with the people who indirectly and directly make U.S. policy towards Israel.

> Activists work closely with AIPAC's professional staff, people drawn from the top echelons of government, diplomacy, academia and politics. AIPAC lobbyists meet every member of Congress and cover every hearing on Capitol Hill that touches on the U.S.-Israel relationship. AIPAC policy experts each day review hundreds of periodicals, journals, speeches and reports and meet regularly with the most innovative foreign policy thinkers in order to track and analyze events and trends (Gil-White, 2005, P.3).

AIPAC also says that it works to develop a "grass roots effort that supplies rank-and-file activists with the best information". In this way, it can use pressure to affect U.S. policy towards Israel.

> […] AIPAC activists receive the most up-to-date analyses of Middle East issues and American politics. For more than two decades, AIPAC's Political Leadership Development Program has educated and trained young leaders in pro-Israel advocacy, and encouraged them to become politically active. Students involved with AIPAC learn how to effectively advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship, bring their Members of Congress to campus, promote voter registration, work on political campaigns, and build relationships with other student leaders (Ibid).

Through its effect on U.S. foreign policy, AIPAC is a pro-Israel lobby. The idea of the return of the Jews to the Holy Land was created in the United States. As a result of this Christian belief was the establishment of both the Zionist movement and Israel. Zionist lobbying in the United States aided the creation of the State of Israel in 1947-48. The preparation of and voting for the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine which preceded the Israeli Declaration of Independence, was met with great support by the Jewish Americans in Washington:

> The facts were that not only were there pressure movements around the United Nations unlike anything that had been seen there before, but that the White House, too, was subjected to a constant barrage. I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders-actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats-disturbed and annoyed me (Marmura, M., E., 2010, p.25).

This new world order is placing the moment, making it impossible to develop the inclusive definition of the term "terrorism" which is agreed by the international community, as long as

states like Israel and the United States remained unchanged from the anti-Islamic culture, and make the target teleological of the war being waged on what it is called "terrorism".

It is necessary to draw attention that Islam legitimizes *jihad* only under certain circumstances and reasons. One of these reasons is self-defense. "It is unreasonable to draw your weapon at me and want me to keep quiet, or to occupy my home and shed the blood of children and women, then asking me to allow you do crimes more and more." (البحراني, 2002, p.1). The Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) says: "who strove them by his hand is a believer, and strove them by his tongue is a believer, and who strove them in his heart is a believer." So, guarding the home is *jihad* and who does that will be the first to enter the paradise of Allah.

Till now, the Iraqi resistance to the U.S. occupation and Palestinians' resistance to the Israeli occupation are considered - in the eyes of Washington and Tel Aviv - terrorist acts; whereas, all religions and UN resolutions recognize the right of peoples to resist occupation and use all available means to drive out the enemy.

The third question is why people, groups or governments choose terrorism as a strategy? This is a very complex question and it is addressed in this work in more details. However, we will offer a few ideas from the literature in order to understand the phenomenon. There are many factors that motivate terrorists to do what they do.

In general, non-state actors are motivated to change the system and state actors are motivated to maintain the political system. It is chosen as a strategy of fear and weakness. Political leaders and governments that choose to terrorize do so out of a fear of losing or never obtaining complete control (Cunningham, Jr.et al, 2003).They lack legitimacy and popular support and they rule by intimidation and fear (Ibid).Non-state actors choose terrorism as a

strategy out of weakness and a lack of legitimacy (Ibid). If they operated from a powerful base with popular support and perceived legitimacy they would not need to spread fear but could choose more legitimate forms of political expression, such as elections or possibly revolutions, if the system did not adapt to the changes that they desired and could reasonably achieve (Ibid).

The radical school of thought argues that the root causes of terrorism are Western colonialism, capitalism and imperialist hegemony. Thus, the West must change in order to remove the underlying causes of terrorism. With the end of the Cold War and the changing dynamics of the international system, we should add globalization to the list of causes and sources of radical discontentment (Ibid). Also, globalization is one of the terrorism concepts that help us in developing our analysis of terrorism definition.

Globalization is including westernization, democratization, consumerism and the growth of market capitalism. People in conservative cultures are against the changes that these forces are bringing. The U.S. approach to this growth is colored by a kind of cultural naïveté. It is unwillingness to recognize or take responsibility for the influence of U.S. power except in its military dimension. This is especially true of the Arab world; both the means and ends of terrorism are being reformulated in the current environment.

The U.S. global hegemony is linked to the "world" oil reserves in the Arab Gulf (Bromley, 1991). The main resistance to U.S. hegemony is found in the Muslim Middle East for two reasons: U.S. support for Israel and returning Western intervention in the Middle East to control oil supplies. In order to secure U.S. hegemony in the Middle East, the U.S. support for Israel balanced by alliances with Arabs. Specifically, when balancing requires U.S. leadership in the Arab-Israeli peace process aimed to find peace solutions to the conflict. But

in fact, this balancing act has been funding Israel's colonization of Palestine. As Raymond Hinnebusch claimed, all U.S. presidents sustained this balancing policy until Bush, Jr. as he abandoned (deviation) historic balancing for an overtly pro-Israeli policy. The invasion of Iraq was seen as an alternative to balancing and a key to a military version of hegemony in the Middle East that would dispense with one based on accommodation of Arab interests (R. Schwenninger, 2003). Hinnebusch added that to understand the real motives behind the war and why Bush saw an attack on Iraq as the solution to U.S. problems, we need to shift the focus from security threats to the U.S, toward threats to its strategic situation in the Middle East and its hegemony over the oil market.

At that time, the U.S. was facing crucial threats in the capitalist world and oil market. Iraq was a solution to these threats because it is the world's second largest oil reserves country and very low production costs. Yet, if Saddam was in power, his oil could not be used for U.S. benefit.

The second point is that the U.S. tries to use Iraq's oil for political advantage by seeking to make access to oil dependent of the U.S. policy in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition to the peace process, the U.S. tries to protect its hegemony over the Middle East by the 'dual containment' of Iran and Iraq, and the Saudi alliance. But all of these failed and its oil was under threat by the breakdown of the Pax-Americana after the Gulf war of 1991.U.S. hegemony in the Middle East rested on its ability to balance special relationships with both Israel and Saudi Arabia, but this Balance was being de-stabilized. Iraq's conquest would also allow the U.S. to achieve advantaged access to Iraqi oil at the expense of its economic competitors in Europe and Asia and its emerging global rival, China.

On the other hand, the war on Iraq takes the shape of military dimension of hegemony. Removing Saddam Hussein from power, which is considered as threat to U.S. As Bill Clinton declared, "The hard fact is that so long as Saddam remains in power, he threatens the well-being of his people, the peace of his region, and the security of the world." In that way, the United States establishes the right to attack countries and Iraq in particular to establish bases in the Gulf (Cirincione, 2003). From this Iraqi base, the U.S. could threaten resistance of the neighbor states like Syria and Iran and impose a pro-Israeli Pax-Americana in the region. Invading Iraq would allow the imposition of liberalism there and spread to the rest of the Middle East.

In sum, the basic expectation that can be collected from the civilizing globalization perspective is that terrorism decreases when globalization decreases.

The recent period of anti U.S. terror is a direct result of the ravages caused by the neo-liberal program of globalization of trade and the trans-nationalization of capital (Barber, 1995). In other words, terrorism is a reaction against the American-led globalization power, which destroys local cultures, traditions, and ways of life and replaces them with the alien homogeneity of American mass culture (Barber,1995) , while at the same time removing the basis for political and economic sovereignty in the most disaffected areas of the globe (Joxe, 2001). Thus, modern anti U.S. terror is the battle of "*Jihad*" against the forces of American globalized popular culture, or "McWorld" (Barber, 1992/ 1995).

The emergence of transnational terrorist activity is a problem that originates from the globalization process across different regions of the world (Friedman, 1999). Some add that the bureaucratization of state structures that result from globalizing processes benefit only a

small number of local elites of the marginalized poorer populations (Samiuddin, 1997). This interpreted in political violence directed at U.S. hegemony, and caused anger among the poor and the margin people. Thus, anti U.S. terrorist attacks can be understood as part of anti-systemic movement against the most dominant global power in the globe; the United States (Chomsky, 2001). In this sense, transnational terrorism is a reaction against the American globalization and its imperial domination (Hess, 2003). As a result of the U.S. globalization, several international terrorist organizations have chosen targets associated with the U.S. in order to express their grievances (Campbell, 2001). As the U.S. support non-democratic regimes in favor of "stability", oppositional groups that directed their efforts at local governments may shift their attention to the U.S. in an attempt to modify U.S. international policies (Bergesen &Lizardo, 2002). As Lizardo noted:

> There is nothing distinctive about the causes of the recent wave of Arab-Islamic religious terrorism: the very same grievances produced by inequality-generating globalizing processes that encouraged terrorist activity by Marxist-inspired groups in Latin America and other parts of the world during the 1960s and 1970s are sufficient to explain this "new" type of backlash against the West and the U.S" (Lizardo,n,d, p.10).

Fox added:

> Religious terrorism is at least in part a product of the world system…Fundamentalism is a reaction against the modernization process that has dominated the world system for over a century…those who have been hurt or left behind by this process are those more likely to become fundamentalists and, consequently, more likely to become religious terrorists (Fox 2002, p. 114).

The Origins of Terrorism:

A Comparison between the International Anti-terrorism Strategies of American and Muslim Leaders

Many said that there are two ways to conquer and enslave a nation: one is by sword, the other is by debt. As John Perkins claimed: "we were doing countries a favor by helping them incur debts they would never be able to pay off." In this perspective, many experts argue that economic globalization is contributing to the rise of terrorism (anti U.S. terrorism) in the last 30 years.

According to the political scientist Chalmers Johnson, terrorist activity is in a large part motivated by U.S. military operations around the world, which serve to support reactionary and sometimes oppressive domestic governments. Then, Terrorist groups direct their activity toward U.S. targets as an attempt to avenge what they see as unlawful and illegitimate interference and support of foreign U.S. economic and political interests in their central region. Johnson considers the contemporary terrorism as the "unintended side-effect" of U.S. imperial military adventures across the globe (Johnson, 2003). Furthermore, theorists considered the most important impact of globalization turns around what are generally beneficial effects on local economic growth and development. Martin Wolf for instance, argues that instead of leading to continued economic despair, globalization is associated with increasing levels of economic development, "a wider variety of material opportunities and increasing chances of social and economic mobility and the attainment of wealth for residents of less economically advanced nations" (Wolf , 2004). For Wolf, "Evidence suggests that 1980s and 1990s were decades of declining global inequality and reductions in the proportion of the world's population in extreme poverty" (Wolf , 2002).Thus, terrorism is expressed by political dissatisfaction through directing attacks at the most powerful actors on the global scene. The United States of America.

1.4 Conclusion

The present study reveals one of the major problems faced by the Arab and international communities, terrorism. What is terrorism, who is a terrorist, and what motivates people to use this type of violence are the three core concepts and the key questions of terrorism definition.

To understand what is considered terrorism and what is not considered terrorism. The latter shares common characteristics. The first feature is the use of violence; the second one is reaching political ends, and finally the harms of it toward innocent people. Terrorists do not follow the laws of war. They target civilians to spread terror. In this regard, some scholars go in their analysis to make a distinction between terrorist acts and "ordinary "crime. They conclude that the political motivation of terrorists is the main distinctive feature. So, terrorism is a violent act or a threat of violence against civilians in order to further political aim.

Since the events of September 2001, the United States of America took steps toward combating terrorism and extremism. The latter became one of the priorities of its foreign policy, where the issue of security has became essential in its relations with the rest of the world, especially the Middle East. In the name of war on terror, the USA is practicing violence without distinction between combatants and non- combatants, between legitimate and illegitimate targets.

The actions of the Israelis and the U.S. forces committed against the Palestinians, Iraqis and Afghans considered in their vision legitimate acts, not terrorism. Whereas, the Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation and the Iraqi resistance to the U.S. occupation are considered in their perspective terrorism. This is what provoke Muslim youth and push them to take

extreme positions against western culture in general and the Americans in particular. Therefore, terrorism in this context is a reaction against the American- led globalization power, which destroys local cultures traditions and ways of life and replaces them with the alien hegemoneity of American mass culture.

The radical school of thought argues that the root causes of terrorism are western colonialism and imperialist hegemony. In addition to these factors and by identifying new-style terrorism. We shall now turn to the identification of causes that explain the emergence of this kind of terrorism. Also, we will open up prospects for ideological, political, psychological and social interest in this issue to address the effects of this problem in the global community.

Chapter Notes

[1] http://www.thefreedictionary.com

[2] http://islam.about.com**.** November 25, 2014

[3] islamhelpline.net/answer/2939

[4] http://www.thefreedictionary.com

[5] http://islam.about.com**.** December 16, 2014

[6] http://www.thefreedictionary.com

[7] http://islam.about.com . November 24, 2015

[8] http:// dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/English

[9] http://www.thefreedictionary.com

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[12] http://www.ldoceonline.com

[13] http://rvtruth.com/timeline-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-the-levant-a-k-a-isil-isis-is-daesh-islamic-state/#sthash.RoGr4JoT.dpuf

CHAPTER TWO

The Origins of Terrorism

2.1 Introduction

Terrorism is a coercive tactic or strategy of actual violence and threat with the aim of causing fear or political pressure on the part of the general public or governmental authorities. While some agreements claimed that terrorism is much about the threat of violence, it is the violence itself for the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear in pursuit of social, political or ideological aims. "Too many debates about terrorism are at cross-purposes because of radical confusions about exactly what is being discussed. Mathematical exactitude is not indeed to be expected in the clarification of political concepts" (Coady, 2001, p.3).

There are several myths associated with the concept of terrorism and seem to portray it as a new global phenomenon while it is not; in fact, it is an old problem taking a new dimension. "Many terrorisms exist, and their character has changed over time and from country to country. The endeavor to find a 'general theory' of terrorism, one overall explanation of its roots, is a futile and misguided enterprise. ..Terrorism has changed over time and so have the terrorists, their motives, and the causes of terrorism" (Borum, 2004, p.5). In short, to understand terrorism as a global issue, these lines aim to provide a discussion of the origins of terrorism.

2.2 Exploration of the Origins of Terrorism

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon. It has many causes, and all contribute to its production. Some of these reasons are ideological, others are political and some of them are social and economic, and the rest are psychological or biological.

2.2.1 Ideological Factors

Ideology is a set of rules which help to regulate and control the individual's behavior. Yet, some ideologies are supporting terrorism.

2.2.1.1 Darwinism and Materialism

Darwinism is a theory by Charles Darwin. The theory suggested that human beings are struggling to survive. This everlasting conflict is ruthless; the strong often wins the struggle. The strong overcomes the weak and deserves to survive. According to Darwin, the fittest is the victorious in the human nature (Harun Yahya, 2002). So, the weak is just a victim who has to pay heavy prices because of that ruthless claim. Or perhaps because he was born black or has Asian race. The theory refers to a crucial point: the White European is the favored race and is superior to the African and the Asian races. Darwin declared that the African and the Asian races often lost the struggle and they will disappear with time (Ibid). His book, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*, concluded his vision:

> At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilized races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace the savage races throughout the world. At the same time the anthropomorphous apes … will no doubt be exterminated. The break between man and his nearest allies will then be wider, for it will intervene between man in a more civilized state, as we may hope, even than the Caucasian, and some ape as low as a baboon, instead of as now between the Negro or Australian and the gorilla (Ibid, p.126).

The Indian anthropologist Lalita Vidyarthi explains how Darwin's theory of evolution imposed racism on the social sciences:

> His (Darwin's) theory of the survival of the fittest was warmly welcomed by the social scientists of the day, and they believed mankind had achieved various levels of evolution culminating in the white man's civilization. By the second half of the nineteenth century racism was accepted as fact by the vast majority of Western scientists (Ibid, p.127).

Darwin's view "fight for survival" was widely spread in the nineteenth century, and his theory was accepted and adapted by many. Among them is the British economist Thomas Malthus (Ibid). In his book, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Malthus stated that in the recent years, human populations are increasing quickly and the only way to control the population growth is by disasters like famine and wars. So, "some people have to die for others to live."

In the first half of the nineteenth century, many European Aristocratic thinkers supported Malthus cruel ideas that resulted in millions of children dying during the British Industrial Revolution when the child of eight and nine years was obliged to work sixteen hours a day in the coal mines. Hundreds of thousands died due to the miserable conditions (Ibid).

While Darwinism dominated the European culture, the fight for survival's impact started to arise when the imperialist countries began to justify their colonization relying on Darwinism.

One of the Darwinism effects in the political scene was the bloodiest war in the world history: World War I in 1914.

British professor of history James Joll explains in his work, *Europe Since 1870*, that one of the factors that prepared the ground for World War I was the belief in Darwinism of European rulers at the time. The Austro- Hungarian chief of staff for example, Franz Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorff, wrote in his memoirs after the war:

> Philanthropic religions, moral teachings and philosophical doctrines may certainly sometimes serve to weaken mankind's struggle for existence in its crudest form, but they will never succeed in removing it as a driving motive of the world… It is in accordance with this great principle that the catastrophe of the world war came about as the result of the motive forces in the lives of states and peoples, like a thunderstorm which must by its nature discharge itself (Harun Yahya, 2002,p.100).

Harun Yahya sums up in his book, *Islam Denounces Terrorism*, the ideologies of the European politicians at that time as follows:

> World War I broke out because of European thinkers, generals and administrators who saw warfare, bloodshed and suffering as a kind of development, and thought they were an unchanging law of nature. The ideological root that dragged all of that generation to destruction was nothing else than Darwin's concepts of the "struggle for survival" and "favored races." World War I left behind it eight million dead, hundreds of ruined cities, and millions of wounded, crippled, homeless and unemployed (Ibid, p.132).

By the twentieth century the racism of the Nazis was considered as a fundamental ideology that develops and overflows the world with a bloody war during the twentieth century. The power of Darwinism can be seen in the Nazi ideologies. If someone studies the theory that is formed by Adolf Hitler Alfred Rosenberg, one will find notions such as “the

struggle for Survival between the races," The historian Hickman describes Darwinism's influence on Hitler when he says:

> (Hitler) was a firm believer and preacher of evolution. Whatever the deeper, profound, complexities of his psychosis, it is certain that [the concept of struggle was important because] … his book, *Mein Kampf*, clearly set forth a number of evolutionary ideas, particularly those emphasizing struggle, survival of the fittest and the extermination of the weak to produce a better society (Ibid, p.134).

Hitler's vision pushed the world into violence. Many political and ethnic groups especially the Jews faced severe punishment and terrible slaughter in the Nazis' captors during the World War II. Interestingly enough, fifty five millions died during the war because of Darwin's vision "fight for survival" (Ibid).

Thus, many ideologies of violence derived their power from this theory such as racism and communism. And many international visions of barbarities were based on "the fight for survival". Darwinism brings disasters to the world, and shows its relationship with terrorism that creates the biggest troubles nowadays.

2.2.1.2 Religion Misunderstanding

If we speak about religion, we find that many people are confused. Muslims misinterpret the Islamic scriptures and the west considers religion as a cause of war and terror to suit their political agendas.

The individuals have failed to give the correct meanings of *jihad* and acts of terror. In another word, there is a large confusion about the implications of the two terms: *Jihad* and fighting terrorism not only since the events of 11/9 that took place in America, but before this. The

Islamic *Jihad* is not a religious holy war, because Islam denies and condemns any religious war. The confusion between Islamic *Jihad* and the holy war is one of the results of misunderstanding Islam (Harun Yahya, 2002). There is another mistake concerning those who conclude Islamic *Jihad* in the fighting that the *Qur'an* talked about. The Islamic *Jihad* is an Islamic duty. It is more general than the fighting. Every fight is *jihad* and not necessary all fighting is *jihad*. Fighting is a violent side of *jihad* and *jihad* is not (Ibid).

In the Muslims' holly book - the *Qur'an* - we find that every chapter begins with:
In the Name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful (Ibid).
The Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) says: "The merciful are shown mercy by the Merciful one. Show mercy to those on earth and you will be shown mercy by the One in Heaven" (At-Tabarani and al-Hakim with a *sahih* (authentic) chain).Furthermore, The *Qur'an* declares that the Prophet was sent as a Mercy to the worlds. When the Prophet had his tooth broken and his face cut on the day of the Battle of Uhud, it was practically unbearable for his Companions. They said "If only you would invoke a curse against them." He replied "I was not sent to curse, but I was sent as a summoner and as a mercy. O Allah, guide my people for they do not know." (Taken from Ash-Shifa by Qadi Iyad). Mercy and compassion in Islam are clearly shown in *Qur'an* and *hadith*. Compassion in Islam is not restricted just to Muslims, but it also requires sympathy to the suffering of others (whether they are Muslims or not).

In a tradition, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, declared that "people are Allah's children and those dearest to Allah are the ones who treat His children kindly." So, Muslims should be just, merciful and wise in each problem. If one of these principles is missed it would be impossible to be derived from Sacred Law.

Many Muslims claimed that *jihad* is one of Islam's main pillars. However, this is far from the truth. Islam is not addicted to war and *jihad* is not one of the five pillars of faith. On the contrary, the *Qur'an* stresses compassion, justice and wisdom. That compassion and mercy are central themes in Islam (Harun Yahya, 2002).

Indeed Islam mentioned that other religions cannot call for terrorism or violence. The aim of Moses (Peace Be Upon Him) for calling to Judaism is "to say good word," not violence, war, fighting or terrorism: "Go, thou and thy brother, with My Signs, and slacken not, either of you, in keeping Me in remembrance. Go, both of you, to Pharaoh, for he has indeed transgressed all bounds; but speak to him mildly; perchance he may take warning or fear [Allah]" (*Qur'an*, 20:44).

The State of Moses did not drive the army and elaborate war and fighting, but he was born and raised and sent to Egypt. His *Sharia* (religion) is innocent of any violence or terrorism. The same can be said of Christianity as brought by Jesus son of Mary (Peace Be Upon Him).

Although the United States and the West are trying to link extremism with Islam, Islam has warned more about the danger of this phenomenon, and its impact on individuals and their communities. Islamic legal texts in the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* refer to the seriousness of this phenomenon. Ibn Abbas reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "O people, beware of extremism in religion for those who came before you were only destroyed because of extremism in religion" (*Sunan ibn Majah*, 3029). What does it mean? Ibn Manzoor said: "The depth means the amounts of it, the hard-line which requests than the maximum." Ibn Taymiya says regarding this hadith of the Prophet (Peace Be Upon

Him), "His saying 'Beware of going to extremes in religion' is a general prohibition applying to all types of extremes, whether in beliefs or works" (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir).

The concrete example of extremism is *Khawarij* group and other extremist groups. When the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) says "come out of my people, their reading of the *Qur'an* is not like your reading and their prayers and fasting not like your prayers and your fast." The sense that those people had strictly interpreted the sacred laws. These groups often use the *Qur'an* and Islam as a way of justifying their acts, just as the Ku Klux Klan has used Christianity to justify violence and hate crimes against various minority groups, in particular African Americans. There are a number of Muslim Americans and Muslim American groups who condemn suicide bombings and the killing of innocent civilians in the name of Islam, regardless of the cause (CAIR, 2003). Others will argue that people who do violence are, by definition, not religious. The Crusader is not really a Christian, for example, because he does not really understand the meaning of Christianity, it may be the case that the Crusader has misappropriated the true message of Christ.

Suicide is strictly forbidden in Islam and considered intended self-murder. The Prophet (Peace Been Upon Him) says in a *hadithqudsi* that a wounded man takes his own life. Allah then says, "My servant anticipated my action by taking his soul (life) in his own hand; therefore, he will not be admitted to paradise."In another saying of the Prophet (Peace Been Upon Him) he is giving a warning to a person committing suicide, stating that the wrongdoer would be repeating the suicidal act endlessly in hell and would reside in hell for ever. The Holy *Qur'an* says: "Fight in God's cause against those who fight you, but do not overstep the limits" (*Qur'an* 2:190). Thus, noncombatants must not be fought. According to Muhammad *Ibn al-Hasan al- Shaybani*, it is prohibited to kill them because the *Qur'an* says, "Fight those

who fight you". Moreover, the Prophet had strongly prohibited the killing of women and servants:."Never,.never.kill.a.woman.or.a.servant."

Anas says that the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) has said to his dispatching army, "Go in the name of Allah adhering to the community to the messenger of Allah, do not kill any old and weak person or any children or any women" (*Bukhari* Volume 004, Book 052, *Hadith* Number 258).

The other important point that is going to be discussed is the killing of non-Muslim diplomats and other non-Muslim foreigners. This act is strongly prohibited in Islam. When the envoys of Musailama Kazzab abused the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him), the Prophet responded to that: "… if the killing of envoys would be allowed, then I would have slain both of you." Abdullah Ibn Mas'ood says that "it has been a custom that envoys are not killed." The only punishment for an emissary is expulsion by the host country (Harun Yahya, 2002).

The killing of foreigners is strictly against Islam. The *Qur'an* says: "If anyone of the idolaters should seek your protection, grant it to him so that he may hear the word of God, then take him to a place safe for him, for they are people with no knowledge." This verse speaks about all non- Muslim citizens who visit the Muslim state for business, touring, seeking knowledge or any other purpose with the permission of the Muslim state, then they must be given permission accordingly and they will be free to move around.

We have explained above that terrorism has nothing to do with Islam. But if Islam is a religion of peace, why the misunderstanding? How can a religion of peace gain a reputation for being a religion of war and terror? Simply because the Islamic scriptures are misinterpreted, and many people have been ignoring the principles of the sacred laws. There

is.a.strong.link.between.religious.ignorance.and.terrorism.

Ergün Çapan in his book, *Terror and Suicide Attacks: An Islamic Perspective,* argues:

> [I]gnorance," or insufficient and false knowledge, feeds bigotry, bigotry prepares the ground for fanaticism, and fanaticism leaves the door ajar to terror. When the field in which ignorance reigns is religion, the situation becomes even more complex. People who are not well informed about their own beliefs cannot formulate a healthy correlation between the values in which they believe and the life that they lead. Consequently, they lose connection with life and start to adopt illogical behavior, they start to despise their values and develop inferiority complexes. Both are nothing but errant behavior (Çapan, 2008, p.50).

In Gülen's view, any Muslim who correctly understands Islam cannot be or become a terrorist, or a person engaged in terrorist activities cannot remain a Muslim. Misunderstandings and misinterpretations of Islam and Islamic resources need to be corrected. For this reason, Gülen strongly encourages Muslims to engage in education to internalize and convey open and inclusive interpretations of their faith, as demonstrated by the spiritually-oriented Anatolian Muslim experience (M.,Gülen, 2001).

From what is mentioned, we can say that the acts of terror carried out by terrorist groups are against the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him). Their acts of terror which include the declaration of war, killing of civilians and destroying their properties, terrifying citizens, killing of diplomats and foreigners and so on are strictly prohibited in Islam. Do not blame a religion for what humans are responsible for. We cannot blame religion for the errors of those who use its name or symbols to justify their terrible actions. As Harun Yahya illustrates throughout his book, *Islam Denounces Terrorism*:

> All religions have had their share of people who claimed to be strict adherents of their tradition, but who actually grossly misinterpreted their sacred texts to suit their own agendas. All true religious traditions condemn categorically any sort of act of aggression, and certainly any act of terror. Religion cannot be blamed (Harun Yahya, 2002, p.12).

Harun Yahya concluded that the truth is that even if terrorists have Muslim identities, the terror they perpetrate cannot be labeled "Islamic terror", just as it could not be called "Jewish terror" if the perpetrators were Jews or "Christian terror" if they were Christians.

2.2.2. Political Factors

For the period from 1970 to 2007, 2021 groups existed globally. One quarter emerged in authoritarian regimes. Moreover, there were 84 thousand attacks in the globe during the same period. Over 33 thousand occurred in non-democracies.

It is agreed that lack of democracy is a cause of domestic terrorism. Many scholars argue that the most democratic and the most totalitarian countries have the lowest levels of oppositional violence. However, weak societies lack the capacity to exercise territorial control. This facilitates the terrorists' activities in establishing bases and campaigns. Political institutions in dictatorships play a great role in explaining how non-democracies experience more terrorism than others. These political institutions use their political authority to achieve their political goals that turn to terrorism. Within these lines there is an attempt to explore the relationship between authoritarian political institutions and terrorism.

Countries with multiple parties but no elected legislature are the most prone to terrorism. The case of Algeria in October 1988 takes the shape of a crucial economic crisis and the

National Liberation Front (FLN) took steps toward political reforms. A year later, the country knew series of elections. In these elections the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), won the majority in the legislature in 1992. But the coup that happened in January by the Army shut down the legislature and forced President Chadli Benjedid to resign. As a result, terrorist groups emerged. The opposition groups turned to violence when they were denied access to political power in a legislature. The alienation of these groups or other social classes from the political system was considered as a threat to the state itself. These groups were excluded because they held social programs and represented political traditions that were regarded as opposed with the basic principles of the state. Thus, excluded groups search for alternative ways to express their political influence and change. Terrorism is seen by many as the most effective choice.

Indeed, since the Algerian independence in 1962, the National Liberation Front (FLN) dominated Algerian politics. The party acquires power by building a great coalition of supporters with patronage funded from the state-owned oil sector, using public sector employment and state spending to prevent social protest. By the 1980's, oil revenues declined. This led to a series of economic reforms to name a few: reducing public sector employment and selling state-owned businesses. However, these measures were not enough. So, the regime claimed political reform after a series of riots in late 1988.

By the end of 1989, over 10.000 new political and professional associations had been formed, among them twenty two new political parties. Once multiparty politics system encouraged the formation of various political organizations, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) had an advantage. The FIS provided basic social services where the state (FLN) had failed. Fifteen Islamic parties competed in December 1991 elections, but the FIS had a strong

position. In the June 1990 local elections, the FIS won two-thirds of the regional assemblies and 55 percent of municipal councils while the FLN was the second.

Table 1: The Social Basis of Supports for the Algerian FIS and FLN, 1990.

Social group	FIS	FLN
French and Arabic speakers	2,09*	-0,87*
	(0,55)	(0,35)
Uneducated	0,23/(0,29)	0,15/(0,19)
Urban dwellers	0,12/(0,18)	-0,03/(0,2)
Single	1,73*	-0,83**
	(0,72)	(0,47)
Small business/ law-level government	1,42*	-0,55**
	(0,51)	(0,33)
Over 50	-6,88*	2,94*
	(1,06)	(0,68)
Age 25-35	4,00*	-0,71
	(1,38)	(0,89)
Administrators	-1,07	0,59**
	(0,50)	(0,32)
Constant	-12,42*	-0,22
	(2,69)	(1,73)
Regression statistics		
Adjusted R2	0,57	0,19
Standard error	2,25	1,45
F	36,48	7,13
Significance of F	0,00	0,00
N= 212		

Source:.El.Mojahidin,.19.-27.June.1990,.Algeria.1977.

Note: figures are unstandardized regression coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses.

The estimates were derived from separate regression one with the number of seats won by the FIS as the dependent variable and the other with the number of seats won by the FLN as the dependent variable. The independent variables are log transformations of the number of people in the specified social group residing in a commune (J. willis,n.d).

On 11 January 1992, the military staged a coup and forced FLN President Benjdid to resign. The military quickly closed the legislature, canceled the second round of elections, and imprisoned FIS activists, permitting the rise of radicals backed by armed Islamist groups with

the closure of formal political institutions. As Hafez argues, the armed *jihadists* only gained prominence in 1992, after the military's intervention put an end to FIS's electoral strategy (Hafez,.2000,.p.574).

Habib Souaidia's book , Dirty War, describes the vicious acts committed by Islamist terrorists and the security forces that are supposed to fight them. The new thing in Habib Souaidia's book is that the book shows for the first time the specific work of the military and the Algerian security organizations during the war. The author does not neglect the historical context and the economic outstanding saying that wealth was in the hands of a few groups. Referring also to the end of the Democratic period when the elections were canceled in January 1992.

Terrorism in Algeria began as a struggle of armed Islamist groups against the regime and a means used by the government itself as well, not to defend democracy but to stay in power. After a coup of 1992, attacks against the police and military began. The government repression was rude toward people. The Special Forces officers in the National People's Army do not have experience in combating terrorism, and the population did not have any confidence of these units that intervene without respect to the citizens' liberties. Huge operations and inspections were targeting people who may cooperate with terrorists. Yet, there are no legal arguments against them. Instead of targeting the terrorist groups, the government aimed to oppress civilians who are supposed to support the operations of armed groups. It used the security military and special units in the gendarmerie and the police to imprison thousands of people who are neither fighters nor supporters of the Islamic Salvation Front. They were tortured or sent to the captured camps in the South. Many of them died before trials without any respect to human rights and the principles of fair trials, which are defined in the United Nations and the principles of the European compact of Human Rights of

1950.This large-scale criminalization of the opposition had the opposite effect to what had been anticipated. For many young people there was no other choice but to join the terrorist groups. Those who had lost their loved ones, or who had been subjected to unjust arrest or torture built up such hatred that they joined the armed struggle. This is why Habib Souaidia defined the army as the 'principle recruitment agent' for Islamist terrorism. Military repression against Islamists and competition between the two main armed factions of resistance increased violent activity, leading to brutal civil war that claimed the lives of nearly 150.000 Algerians. While many cases of terrorist groups emergence occur shortly before or in the midst of civil wars, their formation focuses on political institutions. The emergence of terrorist groups in Algeria clearly precedes the bloodiest period of civil conflict and was the direct result of a change in political institutions under dictatorship.

In this regard there is another story to be told: a coup in Chile in 1973, when the military shut down the legislature and banned political parties. In mid may 1983 the opposition political parties and unions organized the first national protests against the regime of Pinochet. The opposition parties coordinated meetings of various opposition groups in the *Asamblea de la Civilidad*. The military responded with repression. Political parties did not stop; they continued protesting for two years. As a result, the organized parties remained closed. Later many anti-government terrorist groups emerged between 1984 and1986 (there were five terrorist groups in Chile: left and right-wing). The famous group was the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) that attempted to assassinate Pinochet in 1986. In that period Chile under the Pinochet regime was considered one of the most repressive military governments in Latin America.

Table 2: Authoritarian Institutions and Terrorism: Multiple Parties and No Legislature. (Next page).

	dictatorships	dictatorships	All regimes	dictatorships	dictatorships	All regimes
	Log it	Log it	Log it	Negative binominal	Negative binominal	Negative binominal
	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V	Model VI
constant	-5,72** (0,96)	-8,46** (1,38)	7,99** (0,96)	-9,21** (1,92)	-5,66 (0,53)	-5,18** (0,33)
Opposition parties and no legislature democracy	0,55** (0,19)	0,72** (0,19)	0,52** (0,17) 0,49**	1,62** (0,29)	0,55** (0,08)	0,52** (0,07) 0,62**
Log GDP per capita	0,28** (0,10)	0,27** (0,14)	0,07 (0,10)	0,62** (0,21)	0,29** (0,05)	0,24** (0,03)
Log population	0,28** (0,07)	0,44** (0,09)	0,58** (0,08)	0,69** (0,13)	0,11** (0,03)	0,14** (0,02)
Civil war	0,53** (0,36)	0,51** (0,41)	0,69** (0,29)	0,78 (0,61)	0,80** (0,15)	0,79** (0,10)
Regime durability	-0,12* (0,07) -0,41	-0,15** (0,05)	-0,08** (0,03)	-0,07 (0,11) -0,69*	-0,14** (0,02)	-0,04** (0,01)
Dependent Variable	group emergence	group emergence	group emergence	number of attacks	number of attacks	number of attacks
Log likelihood	-1043,16	-945,63	-1854,96	-5795,96	-5013,26	-11125,14
Year fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
country random effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
N=	3092	3092	5529	3092	3092	5529

Note: ** p<.05;* p<.10.

This table is the work of Deniz Aksoy, David B. Carter and Joseph Wright (Aksoy, B. Carter & Wright, 2011). In their work, they use the 1000 battle deaths threshold employed by the correlates of war (Sarkees, 2000). But also estimated all models using a 25 battle deaths threshold and similar results (Gleditsch et al., 2002). Additionally, they include a measure of the number of times an autocratic leader left power in a country since 1946 (Cheibub, Gandhi

& Vreeland, 2010). Finally, they include the log of GDP per capita, as this has been widely found to influence internal conflict. The GDP data is obtained from Maddison (2007) and cover the entire time period. The authors use two primary empirical models to explore how authoritarian institutions affect the emergence and volume of terrorist activity. First, they estimate models of group emergence using logistic regression. They show that authoritarian institutions affect the probability that a regime experiences group emergence in a given year. Specifically, they demonstrate that regimes with multiple parties and no active legislature are the most prone to group emergence. Second, they estimate negative binomial models of the volume of terrorist attacks through time. Their results demonstrate that authoritarian institutions affect the level of terrorist attacks in the way they affect group emergence.

The relationship between terrorism and the presence of leaders who use their political agenda for violent struggle continues to challenge scholars in their search for causes of terrorism. The translation of political programs into violent action in a decisive factor considered one of reasons behind the emergence of national movements, or groups within societies to put an end to dictatorships. In the early months of 2011, many Arab countries aimed to push away dictatorships, but some stumbled and failed. "*If, one day, a people desire to live, then fate will answer their call-And their night will then begin to fade, and their chains break and fall"* (*Translated by Elliott Colla).*[1] These words were the slogan of the day.

The Arab Spring took the shape of a series of activities ranging from political protest to a civil war that happened in a number of Arab countries (Libya, Egypt, Tunisia and Syria). Democracy, the rule of law, social justice and dignity has been the demands of Arab people during the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring was the way of speaking loudly and say no to many things such as poverty, injustice of the government and the dictatorship, and a way to rise up

against the corrupt leaders that had ruled for decades. For instance, *El Tahrir* Square in Egypt was the center of the Egyptians' protest on January 25th calling for an end to corruption, injustice, poor economic conditions and the thirty years old regime of Hosni Mobarak. It is true that these national revolutionary movements succeeded in removing Lybian, Tunisian and Egyptian presidents from power, but the previous governments return in the shadow of new democratic governors. In Tunisia Muhammed Beji Caid Essebsi was in the government of Zin El Abdin Ben Ali and now he is the Tunisian president since 23September, 2014. In Egypt, too, after Mubarak and the rebellion of the military against President Muhammed Mursi. The latter removed by field Marshal Abdel Fattah El Sissy who was the "spiritual son" of Mubarak. The Arab people lose more than four years for nothing. They are back to the same point' worse. As a result, radicalism and extremism in politics and religion arose; from Syria, Iran till Yemen. It is the most violent aggressive and violent political and religious movement in modern times. Libya is ruined by the continuing chaos, Egypt: back to the same repression of the government and unjust system. In Syria the Free Syrian Army (FSA) with the help from KSA and the Gulf States, and the USA' creation of what is called *"Daesh".* The latter destroys the image of Islam, the religion of forgiveness to a religion of terrorism. The "state terrorism" against civilians carried out by Bashar el-Assad's regime creates extreme challenges to countries in close proximity to Syria such as Lebanon and Jordan. In Manning's article, "Pressure Mounts on Syria," which is included in the *Fund for Peace* study, the graph, 'Syria, 2005-2012' offers a seven year appraisal of Syria's "failed state" status: the scores highlight overall "improvement" in Syria's ranking position from 2005 through 2007, some deterioration from that level (88) to a score of (90) from 2007-2009, some improvement from 2009-2011, before an enormous deterioration of its "failed state position" into the "Alert" zone from 2011 onwards. In ways that echoes "GPI" interpretation of results, Manning tells

us about the "Arab Spring" and reports, "….many of its effects have been registered in the 2012 Failed States Index – Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen all saw their scores seriously worsen."

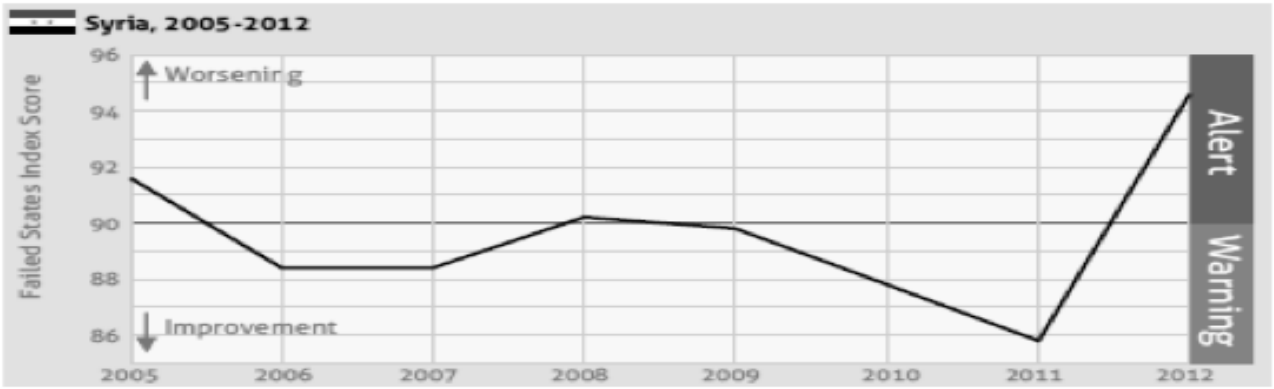
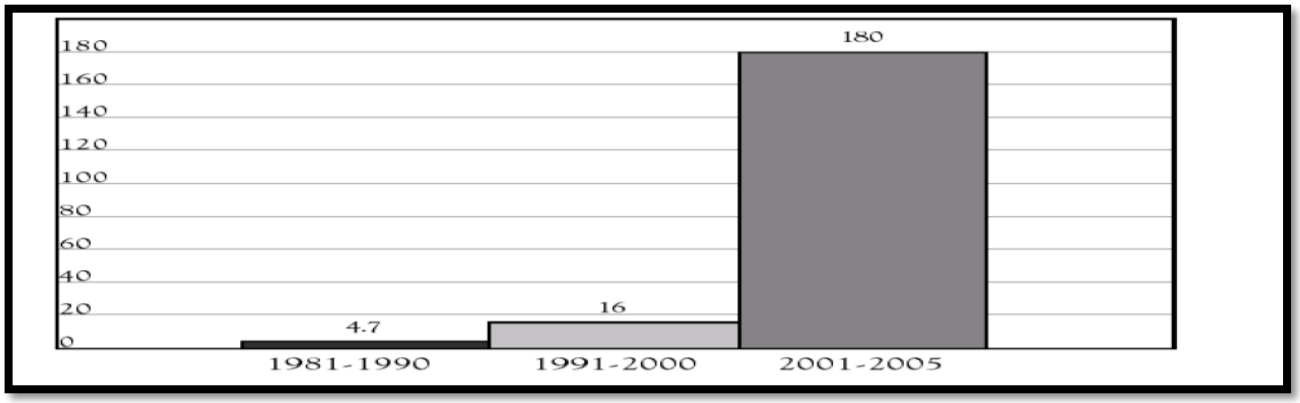


Chart 1: Syria, 2005-2012

Foreign domination that creates repression by foreign occupation or by colonial powers, directly or indirectly, gives rise to great national liberation movements that sought terrorist tactics and other political means. Before the events of 11 September, the Muslims considered the U.S. and other western countries enemies of Islam. They believe that the U.S. and other western countries have cooperated to destroy Islam and Muslims such as U.S. continued support for Israel at the expense of the Palestinians and the U.S. military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq. Also, the U.S. policies in Iraq are focusing on the Kurds against the Arabs and Shiite against Sunnis in an attempt to reinforce sectarian divisions. That increases the Muslims' anger and hatred toward the USA and its allies.

Suicide attacks in the West are seen as an Islamic fundamentalist terrorist phenomenon and certainly not without reason. The first religious group to use suicide bombing on a large level was *Hezbollah* in Lebanon in the 1980s. The strategy was a massive success, driving both France and the U.S. military out of the country. Hoffman says that suicide attacks on average kill four times as many people as normal attacks (Hoffman ,2003,p.3).The success is

further clarified by Pape in his article *The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.* Pape shows that while only 3% of the terrorist attacks since 1980 were suicide attacks, such tactics account for 48% of the fatalities in the same period (despite exclusion of 9/11) (Pape, 2003). Besides that, he argues, the act of suicide itself sends a very strong message (Pape, 2003, p.4). This makes suicide terrorism a very strong weapon, because it not only kills more people but also brings along massive fear.



Source: Atran, 2006:128

Chart 2: Suicide Attacks Worldwide, Annualized by Decades.

In Europe, the display of suicide terrorism as the intention to sacrifice one's life while carrying out attacks was evident in the London attacks. In his article Pape argues that suicide terrorism is not explained by religious fanaticism. He argues that:

> Although religious motives may matter, modern suicide terrorism is not limited to Islamic Fundamentalism. Islamic groups receive the most attention in Western media, but the world's leader17 in suicide terrorism is actually the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a group who recruits from the predominantly Hindu Tamil population in northern and eastern Sri Lanka and whose ideology has Marxist and Leninist elements. The LTTE alone accounts for 75 of the 186 suicide terrorist attacks from

> 1980 to 2001. Even among Islamic suicide attacks, groups with secular orientations SQ a third of these attacks (Pape, 2003, p.1).

According to Pape the root cause for suicide terrorism is foreign occupation.

2.2.3. Socioeconomic Factors

In addition to the state terrorism and repressive regimes, economic systems that are corrupted and create no job opportunities and poverty and educational systems which are lacking good education and training, and the never ending conflicts within a society can cause terrorist acts. There is evidence that suggests that individuals are committing property crimes if they have lower incomes or less education. The violent crimes, including murders are associated with economic opportunities. If violent crime is unrelated with economic opportunity, terrorism may be unrelated as well.

Some scholars suggest that terrorist activity is rooted in economic deprivation (inequality and a lack of economic opportunities). Gurr (1970) puts the idea of 'relative deprivation', where violence is generated when there is a disagreement between what individuals think they deserve and what they actually receive in the economic process (distributive). The economic conditions like poverty and economic inequality create dissatisfaction, which in turn makes violence more possible. In environments where economic deprivation overcomes, terrorist organizations could find it easier to find followers and receive funding from supporters. In general, the economic deprivation is expected to lead to more terrorism. The low levels of economic and social development encourage political violence and instability as well. Table 3shows the top ten countries in the world where terrorist attacks from the period 1986 to 2002 took place, and where people were victimized by terrorism at the side of various measures of economic development. Table 3 displays the top ten country sites for terrorist

attacks eight in rank order with their corresponding period average per capita gross domestic products and Human Development Index (HDI) rankings and classifications. Both per capita GDP, a measure of total wealth produced and consumed in a country divided by population, and HDI, an index that measures the level of economic development considering income, literacy, and life expectancy, are widely used measurements for comparing levels of poverty and.wealth.across.countries.

Table 3: Top Ten Countries for Terrorist Incidents—GDP Per Capita and Human Development Indices.

Country	Incidents 1986–2002	Rank	Average GDP per capita	2001 Human Development index rank
India	237	1	$2,358	115 (Medium)
Colombia	129	2	5,615	62 (Medium)
Yemen	59	3	1,608	133 (Low)
Turkey	56	4	5,805	82 (Medium)
Greece	48	6	11,862	23 (High)
Israel=Palestine*	48	6	12,651	49 (High)
Angola	45	8	2,510	146 (Low)
Peru	45	8	4,622	73 (Medium)
Pakistan	40	9	1,928	138 (Low)
France	39	10	22,897	13 (High)

*Figures for per capita GDP and Human Development Index ranking are population weighted averages for the State of Israel and Occupied Territories.

Poverty and inequality are related to increased terrorism rates. Only three of the ten countries are in low levels of socioeconomic development: Yemen, Angola, and Pakistan. Most of the countries are at medium levels of development and three, Greece, Israel-Palestine (The figures for Israel-Palestine are aggregate measures of terrorist activity and the

socioeconomic measurements are combinations of population-weighted figures for per capita GDP and HDI scores. In the larger study, Israel and the Palestinian Occupied Territories are treated as one unit. " Presented by Y Alp Aslandogan and Bekir Cinar, *A Sunni Muslim Scholar's Humanitarian and Religious Rejection Of Violence Against Civilians")* and France, are advanced and industrialized countries.

Table 4 classes the top ten countries with regard to the intensity of terrorist activity from 1986 to 2002, measured as the number of casualties (deaths, injuries, and kidnappings) suffered in each country due to terrorism. In this ranking, none of the countries are classified as low level of development in terms of the HDI ranking. Most are ranked as ''medium'' with three industrialized and wealthy countries-the United States, the United Kingdom and Israel Palestine-making.up.the.top.ten.list.

Table 4: Top Ten Countries for Casualties due to Terrorism—GDP Per Capita and Human Development Indices.

Country	Incidents 1986–2002	Rank	Average GDP per capita	2001 Human Development index rank
India	237	1	$2,358	115 (Medium)
Colombia	129	2	5,615	62 (Medium)
Yemen	59	3	1,608	133 (Low)
Turkey	56	4	5,805	82 (Medium)
Greece	48	6	11,862	23 (High)
Israel=Palestine*	48	6	12,651	49 (High)
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France	39	10	22,897	13 (High)

*Figures for per capita GDP and Human Development Index ranking are population weighted Averages for the State of Israel and Occupied Territories.

Tables 3 and 4 suggest that the relationship between the level of economic or social development and the phenomenon of terrorism may be complex.

Tables 3 and 4 are consistent with the findings of a survey study conducted by Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, 10 in which the socioeconomic and educational backgrounds of Palestinian suicide bombers were found to be quite diverse and random. Moreover, the Krueger and Maleckova study found similar results when surveying public opinion among Palestinians about suicide bombing as a response to the Israeli Occupation: a wide socioeconomic cross section of respondents expressed support for the attacks. Poor and poorly educated Palestinians were no more likely to either support or participate in suicide terrorist attacks than were more affluent and better-educated Palestinians. Socioeconomic and education background were not predictors of terrorist activity or support for terrorism.

Brynjar and Skjolberg (2004) report that socio-economic changes have been "mostly irrelevant in explaining fluctuations in (political) violence in Northern Ireland." Maleckova concludes from these studies, that:

> Neither the participants nor the adherents of militant activities… are recruited predominantly from the poor… [and] poverty on a national level does not predict the number of terrorist attacks carried out by individuals coming from a country (Maleckova, 2005, p. 41).

If anything, there seems to be a more convincing relationship between wealth and terrorism. De Mesquita argues that if screening is occurring, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the pool of willing applicants merely by analyzing those who do become terrorists. Li and Schaub point out that the definition of poverty is also problematic, as

wealthy people (who are more likely to be better informed about the world) may not define their wealth with relation to their fellow countrymen (Li & Schaub, 2004, p. 237). Berrebi acknowledges in his own work that there were also practical difficulties with inferring levels of poverty. So, poverty is not a direct cause of terrorism, but it does have a key role as a facilitator of political violence.

Indeed, the number of studies that adopt a deprivation and political opportunity approach to explain political violence is huge. The studies that make use of the deprivation model such as Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson's (N. Muller & A. Seligson, 1990). Study of eighty-five developing states between 1973–1977 found that income inequality, rather than misdistribution of land, lead to political violence.

Through an analysis of fifty-one developing countries between 1968 and 1972, Bruce London and Thomas D. Robinson (London & D. Robinson, 1989, p.305) found an important relationship between income inequality and political violence, since the distribution of wealth in domestic economies had been changed due to penetration by multinational corporations.

Another study of James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2003, p.75) found that socioeconomic factors are significant in their empirical study of 127 civil wars between 1945 and 1999. Fearon and Laitin established that poverty is a "positive predictor" of violent domestic conflict, because it is related to ''financially and bureaucratically weak states and aids insurgents in recruitment". They make several observations for the empirical study of terrorism. The first point is that the creation of terror conditions lies in the weakness of the state, particularly when state organizational and bureaucratic weakness leads to corruption. Second, those weak states may be more prone to brutal revenge against populations where the "insurgency is located, thereby fostering sympathy with insurgents among the local

population" and the third observation is that large population "levels may aid insurgents by raising the costs of state surveillance and policing."

Discrimination of ethnic or religious origins is the basic cause of ethno-nationalist terrorism. When minorities are deprived from their rights to equal social and economic opportunities, and forbidding them from expressing their cultural identities (Forbid them from using their language or practice their religion) or excluded them from political practice. This gave rise to movements that may turn to terrorism or other forms of violent struggle.

The recent case of terrorism in Indonesia, Bali attacks (2002-2005), Jakarta Marriot (2003), Kuningan Jakarta (2004) may be the main cause of these actions is the anger and hatred against the Indonesian political system that is regarded as un-Islamic. When Magawati Soekrnoputri was the president of the Republic of Indonesia, they believed it was unlawful for a woman to become a leader (*Imam*) of the state with great number of Muslims.

Famously, Huntington (1996) states that violence is also a consequence of civilization clash. The main idea is that when groups have different identities (in the sense of different religions or ethnicities), this leads to more conflict either between different groups within a country or between different country groups organized along civilization lines (e.g. Islamic countries versus the West). For terrorist groups, it should be easier to gather support against opposed identity groups. This is the case when terrorist groups build on identity-related ideologies that stress the supremacy of their respective identity (e.g. representing a 'chosen people' or the 'only true faith'). Such a world view eliminates moral constraints and strengthens an organization's cohesion, thus making terrorism less costly and also more effective (Bernholz, 2006). The conflict between world views also becomes manifest in politic, where population groups with different identities pursue different policies. Such

behavior may be represented in seeking other forms of social, economic and political interaction between groups with different identities (Arce & Sandler, 2003). Some scholars suggested that terrorism is used by the inferior group not only as a means to voice and push their view but also to shift outcomes in their favor. Identity (and opposition to other identities) works as a bond facilitating terrorist employment and financial support.

The role of socioeconomic inequality and class conflict also plays a prominent role in the analyses of political violence surrounding rebellion in Iran, South Africa, and Colombia. Manus I. Midlarsky (1988) found a strong relationship between inequality and the political violence in Latin America and the Middle East in his analysis. Also, Morehead Kennedy (1998) proves that growing social diversity, "the erosion of moral authority of the U.S. government," and poverty are conditions that bring out terrorist acts. Particularly, he links the prevalence of "widespread poverty" in the takeover of the Japanese embassy by Tupac Amaru terrorists.

Austin T. Turk (1982) argues that terrorism is the "product of systemic processes generated by relationships of inequality." Also, he notes that terrorism is common in democratic societies due to the easier communication and "dissemination of ideology and the displacement of political conflict to freer settings.'' Turk also provides a long discussion about the origins of state terrorism as the result of "the breakdown of traditional authority structures and efforts to construct new ones". Lawrence C. Hamilton and James D. Hamilton (1983) tackled a statistical analysis of international terrorism in sixteen countries during the period 1968–1978 and found that "the containment and reduction of terrorist activity is facilitated by conditions of repression rather than reform." Schock also found that class-based violent conflicts are moderated differently by the regime

structure than the ethnic-based conflicts. Finally, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler's (2000) study of forty-five civil wars between 1960 and 1999 concludes that the incidence of domestic political violence is better explaining by the opportunity of insurgents to finance operations and employ members rather than by "objective grievances" like poor socioeconomic conditions. In addition to poverty, inequality and political opportunity, scholars refer to other factors. For instance, Harold R. Kerbo (1978) refers to the involvement of foreign powers and the role of foreign influence in affecting the prevalence of domestic political violence in developing countries. Also, Stephen M. Walt (1978) considers the threat of transnational security posed by "failed states" that are unable to govern their own domestic territories. He refers to these states as "breeding grounds of instability, mass migration and murder." Finally, Robert I. Rotberg (1993) develops this idea by describing failed states as "reservoirs and exporters of terror."

On the other hand, Jefferson and Pryor (1999) examined the existence of hate groups across counties in the United States of America in 1997, using a list of hate groups assembled by the Southern Poverty Law Center. About 10 percent of the 3,100 counties in the continental United States contained one or more hate group such as the Ku Klux Klan. They suggest that the existence of hate groups was unrelated to the unemployment rate, divorce rate, percentage black or gap in per capita income between whites and blacks in the county. They concluded, "Economic or sociological explanations for the existence of hate groups in an area are less important than adventitious circumstances due to history and particular conditions." Today, some such groups are directly hostile to the government. A recent FBI strategic assessment of the potential for domestic terrorism in the United States focused on such groups as Christian Identity and other movements associated with Christian fundamentalism. The most extreme of these extremists attribute a subhuman status to people

of color. In addition, they view themselves in a continuous battle with the forces of evil (as manifested through non-white races and a powerful government) that must end in the apocalyptic crisis predicted by the Book of Revelations. The terrorists view it as their duty to hasten the realization of this divine plan, which permits them to greater levels of violence. That violence is directed against existing social structures and governments which are viewed to be hopelessly entangled with such "dark forces" as Jewry with huge financial corporations, and international institutions trying to form a warning "new world order." Christian violence in the United States has been focused for decades against racial minorities and "immoral" targets; recently it has expanded into attempted bombings and poisoning municipal water supplies. The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was the concrete example. Although Timothy McVeigh accepted responsibility for that attack, some guess that there was additional involvement by other conservative militia or terrorists. Many argue that effective domestic law enforcement in the United States has largely prevented these groups from achieving widespread violence on the level of Oklahoma City, making that incident a tragic exception among a larger number of foiled plots.

Germany also experienced a rash of violence against foreigners in the early 1990s. Unemployment was high, particularly in the former East Germany. Krueger and Pischke (1997) found no relationship between the unemployment rate and the incidence of ethnic violence across 543 counties in Germany. Similarly, education in the county was unrelated to the violence against foreigners within the counties that are located furthest from the west(former East Germany) had the highest incidence of ethnic violence.

In this regard, Gülen called for paying more attention to the individuals and looking for solutions to the social problems like poverty and lack of education. Gülen's interest is education. He encourages his admirers to establish educational institutions in Turkey and

outside of it. He gives special importance to the areas where ethnic and religious conflicts are rising, such as Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, the Philippines, Banda Aceh, Northern Iraq, and South-eastern Turkey (Saritoprak, 2005, p. 413-427). Many educational institutions (from nursery to university) have been established in Turkey and some 103 countries of the world by civil society organizations that had been inspired by Gülen. In addition to following the national curricula of their localities, these educational institutions actively foster interfaith and intercultural dialog, mutual understanding and respect, which offer hope of upward mobility, and provide lasting solutions to the problem of violent social conflict (Ibid). A striking example of generation of hope of upward mobility is the set of educational institutions in south-eastern Turkey. Kalyoncu describes how the people of the region, predominantly Kurdish citizens of Turkey support the educational initiatives of organizations inspired by Gülen that give their children an opportunity to become engineers, doctors, lawyers and architects instead of being recruited by terrorist organizations (Thomas, 2003). Other examples of such bridges can be seen in Philippines, where Muslim minority students study with their fellow Christian students in an atmosphere of trust (Tekalan, 2005); Bosnia-Herzegovina where children of Bosnian Muslims who have been massacred by Serbians study shoulder-to-shoulder with their children (Karakas, 2007), and Macedonia where the fighting Albanian, Macedonia and Serbian factions carry their children to such schools for safety. Students are not the only beneficiaries of these educational institutions.

Civil society organizations focusing on education serve as a bridge between the peoples of the countries where they are and thereby can contribute to the world peace' (Ibid).

2.2.4 Psychological Factors

In contrast with political scientists and sociologists, who are interested in the political and social contexts of terrorist groups, the psychologists who study terrorism are interested in the "micro-level" of the individual terrorist or terrorist group. The psychological approach is concerned with the study of terrorists, their personalities, beliefs, attitudes, motivations, and careers as terrorists. In addition to political science and sociology, this study focuses on the discipline of psychology, in an attempt to explain terrorist motivation and to explain terrorism from a psychological perspective. Within this field of psychology, we study the personality of individual terrorists, including the causes and motivations behind the decision to join a terrorist group and to commit violent acts.

2.2.4.1Mental Illness

"Even the briefest review of the history of terrorism reveals how varied and complex a phenomenon it is, and therefore, how futile it is to attribute simple, global, and general psychological characteristics to all terrorists" (Reich, W., 1990, p. 261).

The terrorists can assume many different roles. The "personality" of a financier may be differed from an administrator or an assassin. Taylor and Quayle's research (Taylor, M. & Quayle, E.,1994) explored that some systematic differences might be distinguished between those who engage in terrorism and those who do not. They conclude in their research: "the active terrorist is not discernibly different in psychological terms from the non-terrorist; in psychological terms, there are no special qualities that characterize the terrorist."

Also, psychologist John Horgan (2003) examined the search for a terrorist personality, and concluded that "in the context of a scientific study of behavior such attempts to assert the presence of a terrorist personality, or profile, are pitiful" (Horgan, J. 2003, p. 3-27). Most researchers who study terrorist behavior share the same conclusion. Horgan finds a way to understand why people join terrorist groups, how they join and why they left. He goes to speak with the terrorists themselves. "I've always felt that it is critical for us to reach out and speak to people who have been involved in terrorism" (Ibid). Horgan explained: "As unpalatable as that may seem I think there are phenomenally important lessons to be learned from the accounts of people who have been radicalized, been recruited, and in many cases have actually walked away or disengaged. They have stories to tell" (Ibid). He continued:

> They certainly have their own motivations for wanting to allow us to interview them. But by and large, interviews can be arranged. It's quite a painstaking process. And there's typically a back and forth in terms of questions and answers. They might ask us *'Why do you want to interview us? Can this kind of information be used to capture people like me? Who's funding your research? Is it going to be published and if so where?'* We are always up front with them. We have ethically approved research studies in every single case. And for the most part, these interviewees tend to be cooperative. They tend to be facilitative. They want to share their stories (Ibid).

Schanzer said these people, "got involved in a political movement." "People who are involved in politics actually want to talk," Schanzer added: "It's strange to say that a violent terrorist is involved in politics but it is a form of political communication in many ways and they want to talk because they want to promote their own ideas."[2] When Horgan asks terrorists why they became terrorists he does not find a clear answer.

Horgan says they might answer, *"Look I don't really know. It was kind of complicated, and this was going on in my life or that was going on in my life, but I found myself going along with this (group) or being inspired by it"* (Ibid). Schanzer noted:

> The why is so whimsical. It could be you're angry at something that happened to your relative living in Pakistan. It could be because you were disappointed about that your career has not gone the way you expected it to in the United States, that you had faced some sort of discrimination, were mad at U.S. foreign policy…(Ibid).

When Horgan asks a terrorist how he became involved in terrorism, he said he gets "closer to an answer that reflects the process of the pathway, including the role of significant others (such as) brothers, fathers, uncles in their life that led them to that decision" (Ibid).

Jerrold Post (1984, 1990), says that all terrorists suffer from negative childhood experiences and a damaged sense of self. His analysis of the terrorist 'mindset' draws upon a "view of mental illness that compels, or forces, people to commit horrible acts." It is said that more 'crazy' people come into contact with the law through sheer folly and foolishness than a compulsion their mental illness made them have. Post (1990) makes a distinction between terrorists who desire to 'destroy the nation, or world, of their fathers' and those who desire to 'carry on the mission, or world, of their fathers.' The idea that whether they hate or love their fathers, or the 'world' they represent. The concrete examples are the studied of skyjackers and mail bombers and the relationship with terrorists and their fathers is often found. According to Post terrorist acts are a way of resistance against fathers, and according to Kaplan these activities because of "their mental damage." Post believes that the individuals who hate from generation to generation are the most criminals, as in Northern Ireland and the Basque country. In his view, these terrorists' hatred is "in their blood" and passed from father to son. Post also makes an interesting distinction between "anarchic-ideologues" such as the

Italian Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse) and the German RAF (aka the Baader-Meinhof Gang), and the "nationalist-separatist" groups such as the ETA, or the IRA, stating that:

> There would seem to be a profound difference between terrorists bent on destroying their own society, the "world of their fathers," and those whose terrorist activities carry on the mission of their fathers. To put it in other words, for some, becoming terrorists is an act of retaliation for real and imagined hurts against the society of their parents; for others, it is an act of retaliation against society for the hurt done to their parents.... This would suggest more conflict, more psychopathology, among those committed to anarchy and destruction of society.... (Post, 1984, p.243).

Indeed, author Julian Becker describes the German terrorists of the Baader-Meinhof Gang as "children without fathers." They were "sons and daughters of fathers who had either been killed by Nazis or survived Nazism. Their children despised and rebelled against them because of the shame of Nazism and a defeated Germany". One RAF female member told MacDonald: "We hated our parents because they were former Nazis, who had never come clean about their past." In addition to Becker, Gunther Wagenlehner concludes that "the motives of RAF terrorists were unpolitical and belonged more to the area of psychopathological disturbances." Wagenlehner established that German terrorists blamed the government for failing to solve their personal problems. "These students became terrorists because they suffered from acute fear and from aggression and the masochistic desire to be pursued." Psychologist Konrad Kellen reaches the same conclusion, saying that most of the West German terrorists "suffer from a deep psychological trauma" that "makes them see the world, including their own actions and the expected effects of those actions, in a grossly unrealistic light and that motivates them to kill people."

Taylor noted that there are two basic psychological approaches to understand terrorists' behavior: the terrorist is viewed as mentally ill or as a fanatic. For Walter Laqueur, "Terrorists are fanatics and fanaticism frequently makes for cruelty and sadism." This study is not concerned with the single terrorist, such as the Unabomber in the United States, who did not belong to any terrorist group. Criminologist Franco Ferracuti has noted that there is "no such thing as an isolated terrorist, that's a mental case." Mentally unbalanced individuals have been especially attracted to airplane hijacking. David G. Hubbard conducted a psychiatric study of airplane hijackers in 1971 and concluded that skyjacking is used by psychiatrically ill patients as an expression of illness. His study revealed that:

> Skyjackers shared several common traits: a violent father, often an alcoholic; a deeply religious mother, often a religious zealot; a sexually shy, timid, and passive personality; younger sisters toward whom the skyjackers acted protectively; and poor achievement, financial failure, and limited earning potential (A. Hunsicker,2006, p.23).

A number of other psychologists would take issue with Post's arguments that "the West German anarchists were more pathological than Irish terrorists". For example, psychiatrist W. Rasch who interviewed a number of West German terrorists concluded that "no conclusive evidence has been found for the assumption that a significant number of them are disturbed or abnormal." For Rasch "terrorism is pathological behavior only serves to minimize the political or social issues that motivated the terrorists into action". And psychologist Ken Heskin notes that "In fact, there is no psychological evidence that terrorists are diagnosably psychopathic or otherwise clinically disturbed." But if the individual is mentally ill, it is not the case of international terrorism. Some specialists point out that there is

little evidence to support the notion that terrorists in general are psychologically disturbed individuals.

Crenshaw concluded from her studies that "the outstanding common characteristic of terrorists is their normality." This view is shared by a number of psychologists. For example, C.R. McCauley and M.E.,Segal conclude in a review of the social psychology of terrorist groups that "the best documented generalization is negative; terrorists do not show any striking psychopathology." Heskin did not find members of the IRA emotionally disturbed. He shows that terrorists are alienated from society, but alienation does not necessarily mean being mentally ill. "The science isn't there yet as far as terrorism psychology is concerned. We now know more about what we don't know" John Horgan noted.[3]

Horgan interviews terrorists after they have left the group. At the beginning, those terrorists take great risks to join the group, and become free when they became "disillusioned." Some of them talk, Horgan said: "because they might see themselves, upon disengagement, as a spokesperson against the terrorist group." Horgan added: "I was astonished, truly astonished, even as a cynical social scientist to discover that disillusionment was a common denominator across the spectrum of terrorist groups," he explained:

> Some become disillusioned only after a matter of hours or days after becoming initially involved. Others become disillusioned because they get burned out. They realize that it's going to take a long time for this group to be able to really achieve what goals it laid out to prospective recruits. People become disillusioned for lots of different kinds of reasons (Ibid).

Many say they became disillusioned very early but felt pressured to hide their disillusionment and stay a long time before they were able to leave. As a solution, Horgan said:

> We certainly need to be able to find safe exit roots, safe methods of identifying disillusioned fighters who are willing to come back and say *hey I went for these reasons but the reality is very different,* and those disillusioned ex-fighters may well be some of the best tools we have in terms of, if not preventing the flow of others to ISIS, at least stemming the tide of recruits that we're now seeing (Ibid).

He added: "It is important to look at accounts of individuals that have become disillusioned as a result of joining ISIS. It is key to preventing the next generation from joining."

It is really difficult to study the psychopathology and maladaptive personality features in terrorist populations. Most studies that have examined this question using real psychological measures have included only terrorists that have been referred to the mental health examination. Even so, the research that does exist is honestly finding that serious psychopathology or mental illnesses among terrorists are quite rare, and not a major factor in understanding or predicting terrorist behavior (McCauley, 2002; Sageman, 2004). For as Fried has observed, "Even in the cases of the terrorist who is clearly psychotic and delusional in his thinking, awareness of political realities can play a significant role in determining behavior" (Fried, 1982, p.11). In the opinion of Friedland: "as for empirical support, to date there is no compelling evidence that terrorists are abnormal, insane, or match a unique personality type. In fact, there are some indications to the contrary" (Friedland, N., 1992, p. 81). The two well known scholars in their evaluations of the "mental disorder" perspective on

terrorism: Ray Corrado and Andrew Silke reached similar conclusions. Silke summarized his review with the following conclusions: "The critique finds that the findings supporting the pathology model are rare and generally of poor quality. In contrast, the evidence suggesting terrorist normality is both more plentiful and of better quality."[4]

Ruby also concludes that: "terrorists are not dysfunctional or pathological; rather, it suggests that terrorism is basically another form of politically motivated violence that is perpetrated by rational, lucid people who have valid motives" (Ibid).

In his critical review of the theme of terrorist abnormality in psychological research, Andrew Silke examined that when researchers failed to find any strong links between terrorism and major psychopathology, "a trend has emerged which asserts that terrorists possess many of the traits of pathological personalities but do not possess the actual clinical disorders. This development has effectively tainted terrorists with a pathology aura, without offering any way to easily test or refute the accusations." The most important question in the study of terrorism is what makes terrorists "different". McCauley answered, "perhaps the best documented generalization is negative: terrorists do not show any striking psychopathology." Crenshaw argues that 'the outstanding common characteristic of terrorists is their normality', and Silke has concluded that "most serious researchers in the field at least nominally agree with the position that terrorists are essentially normal individuals." Post says that the social dynamics of the "anarchic-ideologues" like the RAF differ from the "nationalist-separatists" such as ETA or the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). From studies of terrorists, Post suggests that terrorists such as the ETA's members, who engage in a conservative goal like freedom for the Basque people, have been raised in more traditional and conservative families. However, anarchistic and left-wing terrorists such as members of the Meinhof Gang or RAF come from less conventional families. In developing the

dichotomy between separatists and anarchists, Post ties on Robert Clark's studies of the social backgrounds of the separatist terrorists of the ETA. Clark found that the ETA terrorists are "not alienated and psychologically distressed". But, "they are psychologically healthy people who are strongly supported by their families and ethnic community."

Post bases his observations of "anarchists on a broad-cased investigation of the social background and psychology of 250 terrorists" (227 left-wings and 23 rightwing). (A. Hudson, 1999) conducted by a consortium of West German social scientists under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Interior and published in four volumes in 1981-84. In these studies- West German analyses- of RAF, 25 percent of the leftist terrorists lost one or both parents by the age of fourteen. And 79 percent stated that they had experienced cruel conflict with other people, especially with parents .The German authors conclude that "the 250 terrorist lives demonstrated a pattern of failure both educationally and vocationally". Post concludes that "nationalist-separatist" terrorists such as the ETA are loyal to parents who are disloyal to their regime.

The basic mindset of an Irish terrorist is anti-British sectarianism and separatism. The basic mindset of an ETA member is anti-Spanish separatism. The basic mindset of a 17 November member is antiestablishment, anti-US, anti-NATO and anti-German nationalism and Marxism-Leninism. And the basic mindset of Aum Shinrikyo member is worshiping of Shoko Asahara, paranoia against the Japanese and U.S. governments.

Knowing the mindset of a terrorist group would enable us to understand the organization's behavior and the threat that it poses. Knowing the mindsets and methods of terrorist groups will also help us to identify the group' actions and to predict the actions of a particular group under various circumstances.

2.2.4.2 Motives of Being a Terrorist

Duke, historian, and Russia specialist Martin Miller agrees, while emphasizing that the motives of insurgent violence should be understood as part of an interaction with forces emanating from government security forces and state counter-terrorism policies in what he calls the phenomenon of "entangled terrorisms."

Among the psychological factors in understanding why individuals become terrorists are emotion, desire and physiological need. In another word, there are motives behind becoming a terrorist. As Crenshaw puts it, "the popular image of the terrorist as an individual motivated exclusively by deep and intransigent political commitment obscures a more complex reality" (Crenshaw, M., 1985, p.465). The reality is that people have motives to join a terrorist organization and to engage in terrorism. For example, Martha Crenshaw suggests that there are at least four categories of motivation among terrorists: the opportunity for action, the need to belong, the desire for social status and the acquisition of material reward (Ibid). Post also suggests that terrorism is an "end unto itself", independent of any stated political or ideological objectives. His argument is that "the cause is not the cause. The cause, as codified in the group's ideology, according to this line of reasoning, becomes the rationale for acts the terrorists are driven to commit. Indeed, the central argument of this position is that individuals become terrorists in order to join terrorist groups and commit acts of terrorism" (Post, J.M., 1990, p. 25-40).

Injustice, identity and belonging are the three motivational themes related to committing violence.

2.2.4.2.1 Injustice: Injustice is considered a central factor in understanding violence generally and terrorism specifically. In the mid 1970s, Hacker concluded that "remediable injustice is

the basic motivation for terrorism" (Hacker, F.J.,1976). A desire for revenge is a common response toward injustice.

> One of the strongest motivations behind terrorism is vengeance, particularly the desire to avenge not oneself but others. Vengeance can be specific or diffuse, but it is an obsessive drive that is a powerful motive for violence toward others, especially people thought to be responsible for injustices (Crenshaw, M., 1992, p. 71).

2.2.4.2.2 Identity: "The successful development of personal identity is essential to the integrity and continuity of the personality" (Crenshaw, M.,1986, p.379).When people search for identity, this may derive them to extremist or terrorist organizations. People define their identities through group membership. As Johnson and Feldman suggest, "membership in a terrorist group provides a sense of identity or belonging for those personalities whose underlying sense of identity is flawed." (Johnson, P. W., & Feldman, T. B. ,1992, p.293). For these people, "belonging to the terrorist group becomes … the most important component of their psychosocial identity" (Post, J.M.,1987, p.23).

The individual may ask the following question "Who am I?" (Knutson, J. N.,1981, p. 105). Taylor and Louis describe a set of circumstances for enjoying a terrorist organization:

> These young people find themselves at a time in their life when they are looking to the future with the hope of engaging in meaningful behavior that will be satisfying and get them ahead. Their objective circumstances including opportunities for advancement are virtually nonexistent; they find some direction for their religious collective identity but the desperately disadvantaged state of their community leaves them feeling

marginalized and lost without a clearly defined collective identity (Taylor, D. M., & Louis, W., 2004, p. 169).

2.2.4.2.3 Belonging: Luckabaugh and colleagues argue that some terrorists "the real cause or psychological motivation for joining is the great need for belonging" (Luckabaugh, Robert, Fuqua, Cangemi & Kowalski, 1997, p.59). For these "alienated individuals from the margins of society, joining a terrorist group represented the first real sense of belonging after a lifetime of rejection, and the terrorist group was to become the family they never had" (Post, J.M.,1984, p.241). Observations on terrorist recruitment show that many people are joining to seek solidarity with family or friends (Della Porta, D., 1995), and "for the individuals who become active terrorists, the initial attraction is often to the group, or community of believers, rather than to an abstract ideology or to violence" (Crenshaw, M.,1988, p.22). Thus, these three factors: injustice, identity and belonging have been found in terrorists' personalities and they have strong influence in their decisions to enter terrorist organizations and to engage in terrorist activity.

2.2.4.3 Childhood and Adult Experiences

The role of life experiences in understanding terrorism is based mainly on certain emotional and behavioral themes; *Injustice, Abuse, and Humiliation*. They are often connected and it is difficult to separate them. It is said that most abuse is unjust. Humiliation often results from extreme forms of abuse (often involving the anticipated judgments of others). So, those experiences may have different effects when they present in different forms. Field spent many years studying terrorism and the "troubles" in Northern Ireland. She found that; the children there have suffered severe disruption in the development of moral judgment-a cognitive function-and are obsessed with death and destruction about which they feel

helpless, and against which they feel isolated and hopeless" (Field, R. A., 1979, p.71-75). She also found that:

> Common sense and experience can tell us that people who are badly treated, and/or unjustly punished, will seek revenge. It should not be surprising, then, that young adolescents, who have themselves been terrorized, become terrorists, and that in a situation where they are afforded social supports by their compatriots reacting against the actions of an unjust government, the resort to terrorist tactics becomes a way of life (Ibid).

Akhtar shares this view and concludes that:

> Evidence does exist that most major players in a terrorist organization are themselves, deeply traumatized individuals. As children, they suffered chronic physical abuse, and profound emotional humiliation. They grew up mistrusting others, loathing passivity, and dreading reoccurrence of a violation of their psychophysical boundaries (Akhtar, S.,1999, p.350).

Many researchers have noted that "periods of imprisonment and incarceration often facilitated experiences of injustice, abuse and humiliation" (Ferracuti, F., & Bruno, F., 1981, p. 199-213). Post and colleagues give a rich explanation of the impact of such experiences among the 35 "incarcerated middle-eastern terrorists." They found that:

> The prison experience was intense…… It further consolidated their identity in the group or organizational membership that provided the most valued element of personal identity. The impact of the prison experience showed more divergence between the secular and Islamist groups. Only a small percentage of either group stated that they were less connected to the group after their incarceration. Sixty two

> per cent of secular group members reported returning to activity with their organization, compared to 84 per cent of the Islamist group members who returned or plan to return upon their release (Post, J., Sprinzak, E., & Denny, L., 2003, p.171).

These findings are concerning childhood trauma and adult injustice and humiliation. Many terrorists are involved in extremist groups because they were abused and humiliated. Finally, Fried says:

> We are left to ponder what events may be the ones that make a potential terrorist cross the line into actual violence, or possibly even lean to terrorist activity on the part of someone whom one would not have described as particularly terrorism-prone. Such factors may include experiences of profound disappointment because of a personal failure or disillusionment with an ideal; the killing or imprisonment of a family member or comrade; being introduced into a setting where terrorism is a long-standing tradition or a response to current political crisis (Fried, R.,1982,p. 119-124).

Life experiences are found among terrorists. In addition, themes of injustice and humiliation are often important in terrorist biographies and personal histories.

2.2.5 Biological Factors

Oots and Wiegele argue that "social scientists who seek to understand terrorism should take account of the possibility that biological or physiological variables may play a role in bringing an individual to the point of performing an act of terrorism" (Oots & Wiegele, 1985, p. 17).

David Hubbard (1983) was one of the first biological researchers of terrorism, and his work is similar to the cycle of violence hypothesis in criminal justice. In his view, people

who commit repetitive and cyclical acts of violence (that include wife beaters, rapists, and serial killers) are driven by hormonal or neurochemical fluctuations in their body or brain chemistry (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009, p. 39-40).Three compounds said to be abnormal levels among terrorists: Norepinephrine, acetylcholine, and endorphins. Norepinephrine is the most influential because it is associated with "the so-called flight or fight mechanism in human biology". The theory of "fight or flight" was developed by W. B. Cannon back in 1929, and refers to a state of arousal under stress in which the heart, lungs and muscle operate more efficiently. When it applies to terrorism and crime, the behavioral requirements of such activities (fighting exhilaration before an event, and fleeing manipulation of audience after an event) produce a syndrome of physiological need for arousal "at fairly regular intervals." Here we will mention the most basic review of recent knowledge on biological factors influencing aggression.

2.2.5.1 Neurochemical Factors

Serotonin (5- hydroxy-tryptophan, or5-HT), of all neurotransmitters in the mammalian brain has received the most research attention and has shown the most consistent association with aggressive behavior. Lower levels of serotonin have been linked to higher levels of aggression in normal, clinical, and offender samples. The association between 5-HT deficits and aggression seem to be specific to impulsive, rather than premeditated aggressive behavior, which also appears to be mediated by perceived threat or provocation (Borun & Vehaagen, 2006, p. 46-48.). Low levels of 5-HT may heighten one's sensitivity or reactivity to cues of hostility or provocation. "In the absence of provocative stimuli, decreased 5HT functioning may have little effect on the level of aggressive behavior exhibited by humans (Smith, 1986)" (Berman, et al. 1997, p. 309). Because Serotonin is primarily an inhibitory

neurotransmitter, it is possible that deficits in 5-HT reduce inhibition of aggressive ideas or impulses that would otherwise be suppressed – there is not real evidence that it creates them. As neurotransmitters, *Norepinephrine* (NE) (Ibid) may affect arousal and environmental sensitivity and Dopamine (DA) may affect behavioral activation and goal-directed behavior. "Compared to serotonin, the relationship between both dopamine and norepinephrine and human aggression is less clear" (Berman, et al.,1997, p. 309). Although some studies have linked low levels of DA to increases in aggression (particularly impulsive aggression), DA and 5-HT levels are correlated (they travel together). So Psychology of Terrorism 15 it is particularly uncertain whether DA has any relationship to aggressive behavior independent of the effect of 5-HT.

2.2.5.2 Hormonal Factors

The effects of androgens and gonadotropic hormones on human behavior – particularly aggressive behavior – are weaker and more complex than one might expect. There is not good empirical evidence to support "testosterone poisoning" as a cause of disproportionate violence in males. Testosterone has – at best – a limited role (Borun & Vehaagen, 2006, p. 46-48). A meta-analysis of the relationship between testosterone and scores on the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (Archer, 1991) showed a "low but positive relationship between T levels and the overall inventory score of 230 males tested over five studies" (Brain & Susman, 1997, p. 319).

2.2.5.3 Psychophysiological Factors

Lower than average levels of arousal (e.g., low resting heart rate) and low reactivity are consistently found in studies of people who engage in aggressive and antisocial behavior (Raine, 1993, 1997).

2.2.5.4 Neuropsychological Factors

Cognitive abilities relating to self-awareness and self-control are referred to as "executive functions." The frontal lobe of the brain and the prefrontal cortex in particular, has been identified as the primary neuroanatomic site of these functions. "Evidence of the relation between executive deficits and aggression has been found among incarcerated subjects, among normal subjects in laboratory situations, and among non selected populations. Effect sizes are small to moderate, but consistent and robust" (Borun & Vehaagen, 2006, p. 46-48). Theoretical and empirical evidence suggests that dysfunction or impairment in the prefrontal cortex may be responsible for the psychophysiologic deficits found in people who engage in antisocial and aggressive behavior (Raine, 1993, 1997). Specifically, brain imaging, neurological, and animal studies suggest that prefrontal dysfunction may account for low levels of arousal, low (stress) reactivity and fearlessness.

2.3 Conclusion

As it is noticed before, "man as a fighting animal" which Darwinism has imposed on people is the root of various ideologies of violence that bring disaster to mankind in the twentieth century. Thus, when Darwinism is taken away, no philosophy of conflict remains.

The three divine religions that most people in the world believe in "Islam, Christianity and Judaism," all oppose violence. All three religions aim to bring peace to the world, and oppose the suffering of innocent people. For this reason, if some people commit terrorism using the concepts of Islam, Christianity or Judaism in the name of those religions these people are just Social Darwinists. They are not believers. Interestingly enough, there is nothing called *jihadist* terrorism yet; the appropriate word is extremism. Even if those people claim that they are serving religion, they are enemies of religion. Because they are committing a crime that religion forbids. Thus, the root of terrorism is not in any of the divine religions, but in Darwinism and materialism.

Now, it is so important to seek local and global solutions to local and global problems, to defend democracy and social justice and criticize terrorism. Many scholars conclude that democracies are more prone to terrorism. Furthermore, they explain how much terrorism is experienced by democracies with different political institutions. Their argument is that opposition political parties in the absence of an elected legislature lead to a terrorist activity. The idea that autocracies with multiple parties and no legislature experience more terrorism than other authoritarian regimes. In authoritarian regimes, excluded parties and repressing hostile groups are "key institutions" in the domestic politics of authoritarian countries. Histories of childhood abuse appear to be widespread among terrorists. Furthermore, themes of injustice and humiliation are the most important things in terrorist biographies and personal histories. In addition, researchers conclude that individuals who become terrorists are often unemployed, socially alienated individuals who have dropped out of society. These are not excuses for terrorism, but they are markers and motivation for the terrorists' ideologies. Now, more than ever, we are living in a global world and need new global movements and politics to address global problems and achieve global solutions.

Chapter Notes

[1] http://arablit.org/2011/01/16/two-translations-of-abu-al-qasim-al-shabis-if-the-people-wanted-life-one-day

[2] http://islamicommentary.org/2014/11/psychology-of-a-terrorist-experts-go-to-the-source

[3] http://islamicommentary.org/2014/11/psychology-of-a-terrorist-experts-go-to-the-source

[4] http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10683169808401747

CHAPTER THREE

The Jihadist Leaders

3.1 Introduction

The Jihadist leaders in their struggle to find the proper strategy against the growing rates of terror acts claim that the rise of modern terrorism can be closely associated with the West. More specific, the main targets of these leaders are the U.S. led global system and Israeli occupation of Palestine .The actual chapter will deal with these matters. *Al-Qaeda* leader, Osama bin Laden, and *Hamas* leaders are using the language of *Jihad* to fight both the U.S. presence in the Middle East and the Israeli occupation of Palestine.
The second part of this chapter tackles the analysis of the origins of terrorism the jihadists distinguish in their struggle. Finally, we will speak about the threat of their strategy.

3.2 What are the Jihadists Fighting: *The Causes of the Conflict*

The Jihadists claim that they are groups who fight regular military forces in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, *Hamas* is a resistance group that has a legal legitimacy to fight the Israeli presence in the Palestinian territories and *Al-Qaeda* has a strong desire to attack the United States and might possess significant capability to harm this state.

3.2.1-The Case of *Al-Qaeda*

After the first Gulf War *Al- Qaeda*' s leader, Osama bin Laden, aimed to fight the growing U.S. presence in the Middle East, particularly in Saudi Arabia, home to Islam's most holy places. Bin Laden opposed the stationing of U.S. troops on the holiest of Islamic lands and waged an extended campaign of terrorism against the Saudi rulers, whom Bin Laden, regarded as untrue Muslims. As a result, the Saudi rulers banished him in 1992 and revoked his citizenship in 1994.

Bin Laden moved to Sudan, where he operated until 1996. During this period, *Al- Qaeda* established connections with other organizations with the help of Sudanese hosts and Iran. In Sudan, *Al- Qaeda* was involved in several attacks and guerrilla actions carried out by other organizations. In May 1996, following U.S. pressure on the Sudanese government, Bin Laden moved to Afghanistan where he allied with the Taliban.

The principal goals of *Al-Qaeda* are to drive Americans and American influence out of all Muslim nations, especially Saudi Arabia, destroy Israel, and bring down pro-Western dictatorships around the Middle East. After moving to Afghanistan, Bin Laden shows his 'anti-American rhetoric'.

In an interview with the *Independent* in July 1996, Bin Laden spoke about the Riyadh and Dhahran attacks on U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia, saying that it marked "the beginning of war between Muslims and the United States." He did not take responsibility for the attacks, but he said that "not long ago, I gave advice to the Americans to withdraw their troops from Saudi Arabia." On August 23, 1996, Bin Laden issued *Al-Qaeda*'s first "declaration of war" against America. His message is a call for *jihad* against the Americans who occupy the Land of the Two Holy Mosques (Saudi Arabia).

According to Bin Laden's 1998 *fatwa* (religious ruling), it is the duty of Muslims around the world to wage *jihad* on the United States, American citizens and Jews. *Al-Qaeda* declared war on the United States and its allies two times before the attacks of September 11, 2001. Those two declarations came in the form of *fatwas* (religious decree.)

3.2.1.1The First *Fatwa*

In August 1996, Osama bin Laden issued his first *fatwa*: a 30-page polemic entitled *Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places,* against the United States and Israel. It was published in a London newspaper called "*Al Quds al Arabi".* Bin Laden said: "The people of Islam had suffered from aggression, iniquity, and injustice imposed on them by the Zionist-Crusaders alliance and their collaborators." He accounts the various 'injustices' and concludes that: "It is no longer possible to be quiet. It is not acceptable to give a blind eye to this matter" (Bin Laden, 1996).[1]

Bin Laden says that there is "no more important duty than pushing the American enemy out of the holy land, "and he calls on his Muslim brothers to concentrate on "destroying, fighting and killing the enemy until, by the Grace of *Allah*, it is completely defeated." He warns fellow *Jihadists* that, due to "the imbalance of power between our armed forces and the enemy forces, a suitable means of fighting must be adopted i.e. using fast moving light forces that work under complete secrecy" (Ibid) .

At the end of the *fatwa*, Osama bin Laden urges all Muslims to "take part in fighting against the enemy - your enemy and their enemy - the Americans and the Israelis. They are asking you to do whatever you can, with one's own means and ability, to expel the enemy, humiliated and defeated, out of the sanctities of Islam" (Ibid) .

3.2.1.2 The Second *Fatwa*

On February 23, 1998, in *Al Quds al Arabi,* The second *fatwa* was published. Unlike the first one which was issued by Osama bin Laden alone, this one was signed by Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of *Jihad* group in Egypt and *Al- Qaeda* second-in-

command, Abu-Yasir Rafa'l Ahmad Taha, leader of the Islamic Group, *Sheikh* Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jumiat-ut-Ulema-e-Pakistan and Fazlul Rahman, leader of the *Jihad* Movement in Bangladesh. Bin Laden and the leading Muslim militants declared the formation of a coalition called *the International Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders* to fight the U.S. The *fatwa* reasons focus on three facts. First, the United States has been "occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places." Second, the "crusader-Zionist alliance" has inflicted great devastation upon the Iraqi people. Third, the United States' goal is 'to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there."It concludes with instructions to Muslims everywhere:

> The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies - civilians and military - is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it.... [E]very Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it (Bin Laden, 1998).[2]

Between 1991 and 1996, *Al- Qaeda* took part in several attacks. It was involved in the bombing of two hotels in Aden, Yemen, which targeted American troops. The organization also gave great support to Somali militias which brought the final withdrawal of U.S. forces in 1994. Two major actions against the U.S. military in Saudi Arabia, a November 1995 attack in Riyadh.

Table.5 shows some of these attacks.

Table 5: Some of *Al- Qaeda*'s Attacks, between 1993 and 1999.

Year	Attack	Casualities
1993	Bombing of world trade centre, New York City	6 killed, over 1000 injured.
1998	Bombing of U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.	Over 200 killed, approximetely 5000 injured.
1999	Attempted bombing of Los Angeles International Airport.	
1999	Bombing of USS Cole, Port of Aden, Yemen	17 killed, 39 injured.

Source: http://www.heritage.org/research/projects/enemy-detention/al-qaeda-declarations. May 20, 2015

After 9/11 period, *Al-Qaeda*'s emphasis was on economic *jihad*, by targeting oil facilities in Middle Eastern and Gulf states. Earlier to the 9/11 attacks, Bin Laden acknowledged the strategic importance of the energy sector. In his 1996 declaration of war, he called the *mujahedeen* to "protect this (oil) wealth and not … include it in the battle as it is a great Islamic wealth and a large economical power essential for the soon to be established Islamic state." *Al-Qaeda*'s strategy was changed by the end of 2004. In December, Bin Laden declared the "bleed-until-bankruptcy" strategy. He called the purchase by Western countries of the oil at then-market prices the "greatest theft in history" and concluded that there was now "a rare and golden opportunity to make America bleed in Iraq, both economically and in terms of human loss and morale… Focus your operations on it [oil production] especially in Iraq and the Gulf area, since this [lack of oil] will cause them to die off [on their own]." Within a year, *Al-Qaeda* cell attempted to hit a key energy facility in Dammam, Saudi Arabia, and in February 2006

Al-Qaeda's Saudi affiliate was able to breach security at the Abqaiq processing facility, the world's largest crude processing plant. Although the attack was not able to interrupt production, it foreshadowed *Al-Qaeda*'s growing focus on strikes at the economic assets of its enemies.

Osama bin Laden based on his victory over the Soviets in Afghanistan during the 1980s. He believed that the way to bring down a superpower was to weaken its economy through guerilla fighting. We "bled Russia for ten years until it went bankrupt and was forced to withdraw in defeat," Bin Laden claimed in his October 2004 videotape, "We are continuing in the same policy to make America bleed profusely to the point of bankruptcy." He means to make the U.S. suffer like the Soviet Union and the activists must destroy America's resources to bring down its military and economic dominance. *Al- Qaeda* follows three methods in its economic war against the U.S. The first is the destruction of high-cost qualitative targets by low-cost qualitative means. The 2001 attack on the World Trade Center is a concrete example of how activists can get more attacks for fewer dollars. Bin Laden mentioned that *Al- Qaeda* spent $500,000 to carry out the attacks of September 11, which caused America to lose more than $500 billion. "Every dollar of *Al-Qaeda* defeated a million [U.S.] dollars," *(Aljazeera,* 01 Nov, 2004)(Ibid). Bin Laden's other strategy is forcing the U.S. to sink "unsustainable amounts" of funding on its defense agencies. The more the U.S. invests in defense, the more its domestic investment suffers neglect. Bin Laden's aim is to provoke America into expensive military interventions: "All that we have to do is to send two mujahedeen to the furthest point east to raise a piece of cloth on which is written *Al-Qaeda,* in order to make generals race there to cause America to suffer human, economic and political

losses without their achieving anything".(Ibid).

Attacks on oil serve *jihadists* in another way. Higher oil prices mean a historic transfer of wealth from oil-consuming countries - the U.S. - to the Muslim world, where three quarters of global oil reserves are concentrated.

> I will focus on the importance to continue the *Jihad* against America economically and militarily. By the grace of Allah, America is in retreat and its economy would be bleeding up to now. But more attacks are required. I advised the youth to strive to find more of the American economic hubs. So, that the enemy is attacked in its centers by the permission of Allah Most Great….Indeed, Allah helped these youth to tell the head of global Disbelief, America and its allies, 'you are wrong and you are upon the false path.' So, they sacrificed their lives for the sake of 'there is no God but Allah' (Ibid).

Table 6: *Al-Qaeda* and its Affiliates Have Continued their Attacks on the U.S. and its Allies since 9/11.Some of those attacks include: (Next page).

year	attack	casualties
2001	Attempted bombing of American Airlines flight Σ 83 by Richard Reid (the shoe bomber). The plot was foiled by passengers and Reid was convicted in U.S. Federal District court. At his sentencing, Reid professed his loyalty to Osama bin Laden	
2002	Fire bombing of synagogue in Djerba,Tunisia	21 killed, dozens injured
2002	bombing at U.S consulate ,Karachi ,Pakistan	11 killed, 51 injured
2002	Bombing at night club on Island of Baly Indonesia	202 killed, 209 injured
2002	Attack on U.S Maries of failaka Island ,Kuwait	01 killed, 01 injured
2002	Bombing at Paradie Hotel, Mombasa, Kenya	15 killed, 40 injured
2003	Riyadh compound bombings, Saudi Arabia	34 killed, in club 10 Americans, more than 160 injured.
2003	Suicide attack against French tanker MV Limburg	01 killed, 04 injured.
2003	Bombing on Casablanca, Morocco	12 killed, more than150 injured
2003	Truck bombing on two separate days, Istanbul, Turkey	50 killed, 609 injured
2005	Bombing of London underground and bus	56 killed, more than 700 injured
2006	Transatlantic aircraft (liqud explosive);foiled, 24 suspects	

Source: http://www.heritage.org/research/projects/enemy-detention/al-qaeda-declarations. July 22, 2015.

Responding to the American writers who published articles under the title ' on what basis are we fighting?' Bin laden answered:

> Because you attacked us and continue to attack us: You attacked us in Palestine […] you attacked us in Somalia; you supported the Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya, the Indian oppression against us in Kashmir, and the Jewish aggression against us in Lebanon. […]Under your supervision, consent and orders, the governments of our countries which act as your agents, attack us on a daily basis […] you steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of you international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed by mankind in the history of the world… (See appendix: A, p. 212) (Bin laden, 2002).[3]

He added:

> These tragedies and calamities are only a few examples of your oppression and aggression against us. It is commanded by our religion and intellect that the oppressed have a right to return the aggression. Do not await anything from us but *Jihad,* resistance and revenge. Is it in any way rational to expect that after America has attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then leave her to live in security and peace?!!" (Ibid).

In his 2009 videotape, in the sixtieth anniversary of the establishment of the state of the Israeli occupation, Osama bin Laden confirmed that the struggle between us and them (Muslims and Americans) is increasing with the existence of the western policies in the Muslim world. Bin Laden confirmed that the Palestinian issue is the prominent issue of his *Umma* (Islamic nation). This issue gives him the desire to free the innocent people from the tyrants (the Israelis and their allies).

> We fight for the sake of 'there is no God but Allah' so that the word of Allah becomes dominant and the word of the disbelievers becomes abased and in order to lift off the

> injustice on the weak and oppressed in Palestine and elsewhere […] This is the most dangerous severe and ferocious of the Crusades waged against Islam with the permission of Allah, the end of America is near and its end is not contingent on the existence of this poor servant of Allah Osama (Ibid).

Bin laden views that the Palestinian occupation is central to the grievances of the global Muslim community, and dialogue is not possible with such groups that cause a large number of innocent civilian deaths in a Muslim community. According to him, a reactive military response is needed in this situation. Many western scholars support Bin Laden's view, among them David Hirst who argues that "the resolutely pro-American King Abdullah of Jordan had told the U.S. he doubted New York would ever have happened had it addressed the Arab–Israel conflict in a more serious, less partisan, way" (Hirst, 2001, para.8).[4]

In this regard, Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, says that:

> Under foreign occupation and denied the right to vote, denied the right to run your own affairs, often denied the right to work for three generations, I suspect that if it had happened here in England, we would have produced a lot of suicide bombers ourselves. This is the reality that undermines any attempt to link terrorism such as we recently saw in London to any particular ideology, or to the even more absurd suggestion that those terrorists are against 'our values and our way of life (BBC News, 2005, para.10).[5]

Cohen believes that "the acts of the Saudi and Egyptian "19" were in response to U.S. policy supporting the authoritarian and repressive regimes of these countries coupled with a perceived pro-Israeli bias in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict"(Cohen 2001,p.9). The recent hesitation of the U.S. and Britain to seek an urgent ceasefire in the Lebanon-Israeli conflict

encouraged.the.hostility.between.the.two.communities.

Azzam Tamimi, a representative of the Muslim Association of Britain, urged British Muslims to Say,

> No, I'm not responsible for what happened on July 7. My heart bleeds, I condemn it, yes, but I did not make those boys angry. I did not send those bombs to Iraq. I do not keep people locked in Guantanamo Bay and I do not have anything to do with Abu Ghraib, except to denounce it. Politicians, see what you have done to this world? (Hencke, 2005, para.11).[6]

In Ltc Gurbachan Singh' opinion, "the Iraq war and the Abu Ghraib incident have seriously damaged the reputation of U.S. and Britain amongst most Muslim communities and have contributed significantly in polarizing many moderate Muslims towards an anti-West stance and.even.joining.*Al-Qaeda*."

In George W. Bush's 2002 National Security Strategy, the President states that "the United States must defend liberty and justice because these principles are right and true for all people everywhere ….And look outward for possibilities to expand liberty" (Bush, 2002). Bush sought to bring democracy to the Middle East with the Western values of civil liberties, freedom and capitalism. As an attempt to "impose Western values and views on the Arab World" (Ottaway & Thomas, 2004, p.2). Michael Kinsley argues that "democracy produces a government that the people-or some plurality of the people-want, at least at that moment. But it may not produce the kind of government that we wish they would want, or- more to the point- that we want" (Kinsley, 2006, para.4).[7]

Furthermore, John Raines suggests that "It is not the Islamic other but we 'the West' who act upon the basis of an ideology that sees our world, the 'First World,' as truly first, and thus

not only worthy of but in fact demanding worldwide emulation" (Raines, 1996, p.39). According to Kishore Mahbubani the "Western mind is a huge world" that is "trapped in a mental box" (Mahbubani, 2002). In the sense that "the rest of the world would transform itself to become carbon-copy replicas of Western liberal democratic societies" (Ibid). Amy Chua in her book *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*, argues that "exporting market democracy has brought about more ethnic conflict, rise of militant Islam and genocides due to domination by ethnic minorities and foreign investors, and therefore 'much more is needed than simply shipping out ballot boxes" (Chua Beng Huat, 2005, p.6).

Tariq Ramadan, in his book on *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam,* was sad at the "fact that the governments of the United States (particularly after the outrages of 11 September 2001) and Europe maintain relations that are sometimes disrespectful of and even clearly discriminatory against citizens and residents of their countries who are of the Muslim faith" and calls it 'Islamophobia'(Ramadan, 2004, p.6). Alatas highlights that "Although much of the media in the West claims to be impartial, liberal, free and objective, in reality it is biased, subjective, illiberal, insensitive and intolerant' and such that 'some people get alarmed when they see Muslims being concerned about saying their prayers on time, being uncompromising in their dietary restrictions, or being more orthodox"(Alatas, 2005, p.44).

Thus, the causes of 9/11 and the aftermath includes political and social issues like the sixty six year old Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Iraq war, U.S. support for Israel, the socio-economic disparities between Islamic countries and the West, the imposing of western-style democracy on the Middle East and more recently the Lebanon-Israeli conflict.[8] The Americans' behavior around the world led to the Arabs' hostility and hatred to the West as

Bin Laden pushes in his statements-the injustice done to the Palestinians, the cruelty of continued sanctions against Iraq, the presence of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, the repressive and corrupt nature of US-backed Gulf governments- the attacks are the result of American policies. The 9-11 attackers were protesting the way the American government has been using in the Middle East and elsewhere.

3.2.2 The Case of *Hamas*

Hamas is an acronym for *Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya* 'Islamic Resistance Movement'. It was founded by *Sheikh* Ahmed Yassin, a Palestinian cleric who became an activist in local branches of the Muslim Brotherhood beginning in the late 1960s. Yassin preached and performed charitable work in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which were occupied by Israeli forces following the 1967 Six Day War.

Hamas started the 1980s as an Islamic Resistance Movement against the Israeli occupation when children and youth were resisting Israeli soldiers with nothing more than stones. The Palestinian resistance was often met with brutal force from the Israeli army. *Hamas* was so operative; this is why Israel was forced to sign Oslo Accords with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. As a resistance movement, it could always act as an informal army of the Palestinian issue, causing damage to Israel without giving an excuse to Israel for its revenge on Palestinian population.

Hamas first employed suicide bombing as a tactic in April 1993, five months before PLO leader Yasir Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed the Oslo Accords. The historic pact established limited self-government for parts of the West Bank and Gaza under the Palestinian Authority (PA). *Hamas* condemned the accords, whereas the PLO gave Israel

its.formal.recognition.

The supreme leader of *Hamas*, Ahmad Yassin, assassinated by Israel in 2004, proposed a ten year ceasefire between the movement and Israel in return for establishing a Palestinian state on 1967 boundaries. The movement reached several ceasefires with Israel and at some points accepted proposals to stop targeting Israeli civilians if Israel stops targeting Palestinian civilians. The acceptance of a two-state solution by *Hamas* was voiced by the movement's leaders such as Mishaal and Hanyia on different occasions (D. Cheong, 2013).

Hamas' refusal to recognize Israel needs to be put into its correct context. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized Israel in 1993, however, the latter did not recognize Palestine. Yet, the PLO is the only representative of the Palestinian people. According to *Hamas*, 20 years of recognition by the PLO did not bring any concrete solution to the Palestinians. Mahmoud Alzahar, one of the most prominent leaders of the movement and the former minister of foreign affairs, emphasized in his statement when he visited China in 2006 that "the recognition of Israel by *Hamas* will not be at any expense" (Alajrami, 2013). Many Palestinians argue that Israel has to recognize Palestine since the PLO did so two decades ago. With two decades of peace talks, Israel is asking Palestinians to recognize it as a 'Jewish State,' but Palestinians refuse to do. Logic says that a mutual recognition should exist and Israel has to recognize Palestine, especially after Palestine obtained a non-member status in the United Nations General Assembly (Ibid).

Speaking of non-violent resistance, the political leader of *Hamas*, Khaled Mishaal, assured the use of non-violent resistance by Palestinians. He claims that Palestinians "were the first to try non-violent resistance since the 1920s, up to the first Intifada in 1987, which was non-violent, but this led to nothing. But this pushed the enemy to further colonize our

lands" (Ibid). He insisted on that the only solution is "resistance" (Ibid).Speaking of violence and blood, Mishaal confirmed that there is no profit in spilling blood, but he said that "Palestinian blood is spilled by Israel whether there are negotiations or resistance" (Ibid).

The second *intifada* ended in early 2005 when Israeli security forces succeeded in ending suicide attacks and moved against militant groups in the West Bank. Though *Hamas* gave up suicide bombing, it remained committed to armed resistance.
In the West Bank, in the meantime, *Hamas* has been driven underground. Its social and military infrastructure has been taken apart, and many of its members arrested by PA and Israeli security forces.

Hamas is said to be a "terrorist" organization and that is not acceptable because a number of arguments are supporting that *Hamas* is not. Among such evidences are *Hamas*'s electrical victory in 2006, and many statements made by the movement's leaders. Moreover, *Hamas* has never threatened the West and there is no justification to call it a terrorist organization. The liberation talk of the movement and the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories must also be considered. The western governments claim that the movement is using violence to achieve political ends, while *Hamas* has never targeted the West.

The western principles of terrorism include: carrying out attacks upon a person's life which may cause death, the kidnapping or hostage taking and causing extensive destruction to a government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, seizure of aircraft, ships or other means of public or goods transport. But in fact, according to the statics published by the Military Wing of *Hamas- Ezzideen AlQassam* Brigades, the number of Israelis killed by *Hamas* is "much more less" than the number of *Hamas* members killed by

Israel. According to the website of *Hamas* Military Wing, 1800 *Hamas* members were killed by Israel by 2010 (Al-Qassam, 2010). Estimates of Palestinians killed in 1948 alone as a result of establishing Israel is around 15, 000 (Ibdaa, 2012). This does not include tens of thousands of Palestinians who were killed in the Palestinian territories and neighboring Arab countries during clashes with the Israeli forces. Furthermore, throughout the history of the conflict, the number of Israeli captured by *Hamas* was 14.[9] Approximation of Palestinians kidnapped by Israel since 1967 is around 750,000. In 2006, *Hamas* captured the Israeli soldier Gilad Schalit at Gaza borders and exchanged him for 1027 Palestinian prisoners. According to a recent report published by the Palestinian Ministry of Detainees and ex-detainees, the number of Palestinians in Israeli jails is 4900 (Ibid). Finally, since 2005, *Hamas* stopped using suicide bombings against Israel. The number of Israelis killed by *Hamas* from 2005-2013 is around dozens only compared to hundreds of Israelis killed by *Hamas* from 2000-2005 which was largely to Israel's excessive use of violence against Palestinians. And the birth of the state of Israel included much terrorism, committed by men who went on to become.top.leaders.of.Israel.

Hamas argues to be a popularly elected government and service organization that is struggling for liberation from Israeli oppression and has nothing to do with terrorism.

2.3The Jihadists' Analysis: *The Origins of Western Terrorism*

In most of Bin Laden's speeches, there is a reference to the causes of the war between the Americans and the Muslims. He considered that the U.S. support to Israel and its foreign policy are the two main reasons of killing the innocent people. He argues that the attacks of New York and Washington were just a response to the U.S. foreign policy. As the Defense Science Board Task Force reported in 2004, "Muslims do not 'hate our freedom,' but rather,

they hate our policies." During his court hearing Shahzad said: "until the hour the U.S. pulls its forces from Iraq and Afghanistan, and stops the drone strikes in Somalia and Yemen and in Pakistan, and stops the occupation of Muslim lands, and stops killing the Muslims, and stops reporting the Muslims to its government, we will be attacking U.S." The presence of the U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia was a source that turned Osama bin Laden against America. Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, one of the architects of the Iraq war, said about the America's presence in Saudi Arabia: "It's been a huge recruiting device for *Al-Qaeda*. In fact if you look at Bin Laden, one of his principle grievances was the presence of so-called crusader forces on the holy land, Mecca and Medina."

The U.S. foreign policy shapes events in every place of the globe. This is very true when we speak about the Middle East, a region of instability and huge strategic importance. A short time ago, the Bush administration attempted to transform the region into a community of democracies. This strategy created crises in Iraq, a sharp rise in world oil prices, several bombings in Madrid, London and Amman, and open struggle in Gaza and Lebanon. According to the website of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), "The United States and Israel have formed a unique partnership to meet the growing strategic threats in the Middle East . . . . This cooperative effort provides significant benefits for both the United States and Israel" (J. Mearsheimer & M. Walt, 2006, p.3). This is why Osama bin Laden is fighting Israel's presence in Jerusalem. Bin Laden sought to punish the United States for its policies in the Middle East, including its support for Israel.

The U.S. support for Israel reached more than $140 billion dollars in 2003 (Ibid). Israel receives each year about $3 billion in direct "foreign assistance" (Ibid).This aid is one-fifth of America's foreign-aid budget, making Israel one of the wealthy industrial states equal to South Korea and Spain (Ibid). Another aid can Israel receive from the U.S.; the military

assistance, since Israel can use twenty five percent of the U.S. aid to fund its own defense industry. Moreover, the United States has provided Israel with nearly $3 billion to develop weapons systems like the *Lavi* aircraft that the Pentagon did not need, and giving Israel access to "top-drawer U.S. weaponry like Blackhawk helicopters and F- 16 jets" (Ibid). Finally, the United States turned a blind eye toward Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons. In addition, Washington provides Israel with consistent diplomatic support. Since 1982, the United States has vetoed 33 United Nations Security Council resolutions that were critical of Israel (Ibid). It also blocks Arab states' efforts to put Israel's nuclear arsenal on the International Atomic Energy Agency's agenda (Ibid).The United States also comes to Israel's rescue in wartime and takes its side when negotiating peace. The U.S. is a leader in the Arab-Israeli peace process. So, Instead of being fair and finding reasonable solution to this issue, the U.S. fund Israel's colonization of Palestine. Indeed, one American participant at Camp David (2000) later said, "Far too often, we functioned . . . as Israel's lawyer" (Guttman, 2005, p.2). Thus, Washington has given Israel wide space in dealing with the Occupied Territories (the West Bank and Gaza Strip). Moreover, the Bush administration's ambitious strategy to transform the Middle East is one of the successesful projects of the United States because of its dominance over the oil in the region. The U.S. support for Israel and imposing of Western intervention in the Middle East is a strategy to control oil supplies.

For the United States, the invasion of Iraq is a key to a military presence in the Middle East. That guaranties the U.S. and Israel freedom of action in the region. The strong relationship between the U.S. and Israel is the one that brings disasters to the Arabs, Muslims and the world as a whole. The breakdown of the peace process continued Israeli settlement activity in Palestine and the Israeli terrorism has increased in the region.

Iraq's conquest would also allow the U.S. to achieve its access to Iraqi oil and surpass its economic competitors in Europe and Asia and reaching the global hegemony. Bush wanted to establish the right to attack countries. By conquering Iraq, the U.S. guaranties its establishment. From this Iraqi base, the U.S. could impose a pro-Israeli pax-Americana in the region.

The Bush administration also took Israel's side during the recent war in Lebanon and initially opposed a call for a ceasefire in order to give Israel more time to go after *Hezbollah*. Bin Laden goes further in his analysis to the impact of the Israeli lobby in the U.S. foreign policy saying that:

> […]Many claimed that your changes are not real and the reality: you are turning to the same point. Some years, you are with the Republicans and the other with the Democrats and so on. You are following the same steps that are put by big companies for decades to serve their interest. Your representatives in the White House and Congress are not the decision makers. But the decision makers are the owners of these companies. They are the real leaders of the United States.[10]

In this regard, many scholars wrote about the Israeli lobbies and U.S. foreign policy. Such as John Mearsheimer, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, and Stephen Walt, Professor of International Relations at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, who published in late August 2007 a book entitled *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. This book describes the lobby as a "loose coalition of individuals and organizations who actively work to steer U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction." The book "focuses primarily on the lobby's influence on U.S. foreign policy and its negative effect on American interests" (J.Mearsheimer & M.Walt, 2007, p.8).The authors also argue that "the

lobby's impact has been unintentionally harmful to Israel as well" (Ibid, p.9).The Israel lobby is one of the most powerful and pervasive special interest groups in the United States. It consists of a multitude of powerful institutions and individuals that work to influence Congress, the President, academia, the media, religious institutions, and American public opinion on behalf of Israel. The person who was very aware of that was *Al-Qaeda* leader, Osama bin Laden since he warned the American people about the Jewish dominance telling them that one day they will be slaves to the Jewish dominance. In his message to the American people, he said:

> Your president also warns you about the dominance of big companies that are continuing to dominate most of your authorities in the sense that you will be slaves at the hands of these companies. So, this domination will hurt you and us and the world as a whole (Ibid).

Osama bin Laden mentioned the book: *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, and others in one of his audiotapes, saying that "after you read the suggested book[s], you will know the truth, and you will be greatly shocked by the scale of concealment that has been exercised on you" (Mackey & Otterman, 2009, p.5). In this occasion, Walt rejected the harshly criticism about Bin Laden's beliefs. He then guessed that bin Laden endorsed the book because he sees Israel as a threat to peace in the Middle East.

Both Mearsheimer and Walt argue that although "the boundaries of the Israel lobby cannot be identified precisely", it "has a core consisting of organizations whose declared purpose is to encourage the U.S. government and the American public to provide material aid to Israel and to support its government's policies. Mearsheimer and Walt argue that "No lobby has managed to divert U.S. foreign policy as far from what the American national

interest would otherwise suggest, while simultaneously convincing Americans that U.S. and Israeli interests are essentially identical."[11] They argue that "in its basic operations, it is no different from interest groups like the Farm Lobby, steel and textile workers, and other ethnic lobbies. What sets the Israel Lobby apart is its extraordinary effectiveness" (Ibid). According to Mearsheimer and Walt, the 'loose coalition' that makes up the Lobby has "significant leverage over the Executive branch", as well as the ability to make sure that the "Lobby's perspective on Israel is widely reflected in the mainstream media." They claim that the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) in particular has a "stranglehold on the U.S. Congress", due to its "ability to reward legislators and congressional candidates who support its agenda, and to punish those who challenge it." Mearsheimer and Walt decry what they call misuse of "the charge of anti-Semitism", and argue that pro-Israel groups place great importance on "controlling debate" in American academia. The authors conclude by arguing that when the Lobby succeeds in shaping U.S. policy in the Middle East, then "Israel's enemies get weakened or overthrown, Israel gets a free hand with the Palestinians, and the United States does most of the fighting, dying, rebuilding, and paying" (Ibid). According to Mr. Mearsheimer "it's becoming increasingly difficult to make the argument in a convincing way that anyone who criticizes the lobby or Israel is an anti-Semite or a self-hating Jew" (Ibid). The authors pointed to the growing dissatisfaction with the war in Iraq, criticism of Israel's war in Lebanon and the publication of former President Jimmy Carter's book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* as making it somewhat easier to criticize Israel openly. Michael Scheuer, a former senior official at the Central Intelligence Agency and now a terrorism analyst for CBS News, said to NPR that Mearsheimer and Walt are "basically right." Israel, according to Scheuer, has engaged in one of the most successful campaigns to influence public opinion in the United States ever conducted by a foreign government.

Scheuer said to NPR that "They [Mearsheimer and Walt] should be credited for the courage they have had to actually present a paper on the subject." For more than half a century, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee has worked to make Israel more secure by ensuring that American support remains strong. From a small pro-Israel public affairs boutique in the 1950s, AIPAC has grown into a 100,000-member national grassroots movement described by The New York Times as "the most important organization affecting America's relationship with Israel" (Gil-White, 2005, p.3). Each year, AIPAC is involved in more than 100 legislative and policy initiatives involving Middle East policy or aimed extent the U.S.-Israel relationship (Ibid). AIPAC works to secure the U.S. foreign aid for Israel to help ensure Israel remains strong and secure. In addition to working closely with Congress, AIPAC also actively educates and works with candidates for federal office, White House, Pentagon and State Department officials, and other policymakers whose decisions affect Israel's future and America's policies in the Middle East (Ibid). AIPAC keeps political leaders and citizen activists apprised of critical developments affecting the U.S-Israel relationship through publications such as the Near East Report and continually updated news and issues analysis (Ibid).

The two well-known academics, Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer, published a working paper in March 2006 arguing that "the Israel lobby" mentioned the influence of these lobbies on U.S. foreign policy. They defined the lobby as "mysteriously large, including everything from Washington think-tanks, New York newspapers, and websites, to traditional lobby groups such as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)." For Walt and Mearsheimer, the Table below indicates AIPAC's ability to affect the substance of the U.S. approach to the Middle East remained ambiguous throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Table 7: AIPAC's Ability to affect the Substance of the U.S. Approach to the Middle East Throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Event	**Degree of Influence/Congruence**				
	5 (high)	4	3	2	1 (low)
1973 Yom Kippur War	*				
Kissinger Shuttle Diplomacy	*				
Post-War Arab Boycott	*				
1978 Camp David Diplomacy				*	
1978 F-15s Arms Deal					*
1981 AWACS Arms Deal					*
1982 Lebanon War				*	
1987 Palestinian *Intifida*				*	

Source: David Howard Goldberg, *Foreign Policy and Ethnic Interest Groups: American and Canadian Jews Lobby for Israel* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 97.

According to David Verbeeten analysis (Verbeeten, 2006, p. 37-44), between 1973 and 1987, AIPAC knew more failure than success in influencing key U.S. decisions which had an impact on Israeli security. AIPAC achieves influence, or protects congruence, in Washington by enunciating Israel's general importance and by promoting positions in line with existing White House perceptions of U.S. national interests.

The lobby also has significant role over the Executive Branch. That power derives from the influence of Jewish voters on presidential elections. Although their small numbers in the

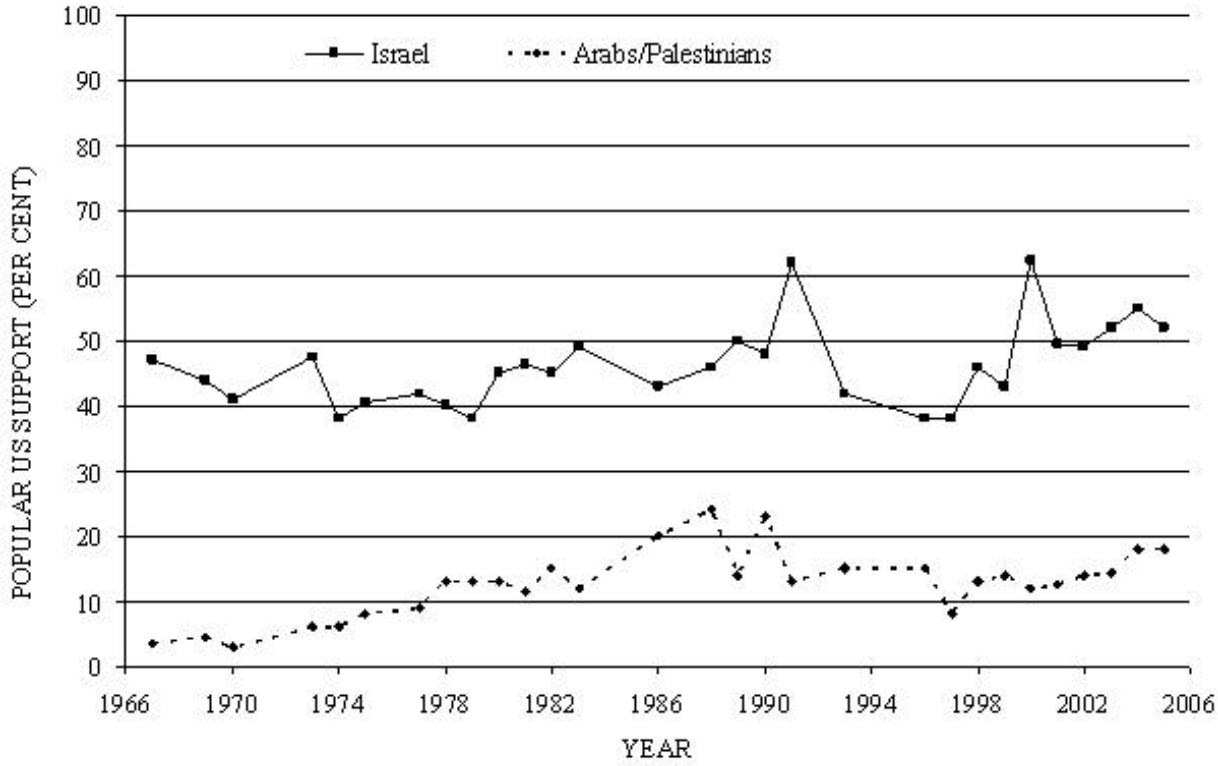
population(less than 3 percent), Jewish-Americans make large campaign contributions to candidates from both parties. *The Washington Post* quoted, those Democratic presidential candidates "depend on Jewish supporters to supply as much as 6 percent of the money" (J. Mearsheimer & M. Walt, 2006, p.3).The most important thing for the lobby is targeting the administration in power. Also the lobby serves pro-Israel individuals when they take important positions in the Executive Branch. The concrete example is the Clinton administration since the Middle East policy was largely shaped by officials with close ties to Israel or they are pro-Israel. These men were among President Clinton's closest advisors at the Camp David summit in July 2000. So, the U.S. did not take its own decisions in solving the problem. Indeed, the American delegation took most of its cues from Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak. This is why Palestinian negotiators complained that they were "negotiating with two Israeli teams, one displaying an Israeli flag, and one an American flag" (Ibid).The Bush administration followed the same steps of the previous administration. The officials among these administrations are advocating policies favored by Israel.

The lobby has a great influence on the U.S. Congress because some members in Congress are "Christian Zionists" like Dick Armey, who said in September 2002, "My number-one priority in foreign policy is to protect Israel" (Ibid).When Israel killed an unimaginable number of innocent people in Palestine, Washington turned a blind eye. The U.S. and Israel have the same interest for their actions. However, Arabs have been persuaded that the U.S. is negotiating a peace process between Israel and the Palestinians and it is a fair judge of Middle Eastern affairs. There are also Jewish Senators and Congressmen who work to make U.S. foreign policy support Israel's interests. Morris Amitay, a former head of AIPAC noted:

> There are a lot of guys at the working level up here [on Capitol Hill] …who happen to be Jewish, who are willing… to look at certain issues in terms of their Jewishness …. These are all guys who are in a position to make the decision in these areas for those senators …. You can get an awful lot done just at the staff level (Ibid).

AIPAC is the one that forms the core of the lobby's influence in Congress. Its success is related to rewarding legislators and congressional candidates who support its agenda and to punish those who challenge it. Furthermore, Douglas Bloomfield, a former AIPAC staff member, claimed: "It is common for members of Congress and their staffs to turn to AIPAC first when they need information, before calling the Library of Congress, the Congressional Research Service, committee staff or administration experts." (J. Mearsheimer & M. Walt, 2006, p.242). He notes that AIPAC is "often called upon to draft speeches, work on legislation, advice on tactics, perform research, and collect co-sponsors and marshal votes." So, the U.S. Congress is supporting Israel. As former Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC) noted when he was leaving office, "You can't have an Israeli policy other than what AIPAC gives you around here" (Ibid).The former Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon once told American audience: "When people ask me how they can help Israel, I tell them help AIPAC." His successor, Ehud Olmert, added, "Thank God we have AIPAC, the greatest supporter and friend we have in the whole world" (Ibid, p.37).

For decades, most Americans sympathized with Israel (chart 3), congressmen and senators hoped to bring back the Jewish state.



Source: "Gallup Polls on American Sympathy toward Israel and the Arabs/Palestinians," Jewish Virtual Library website, accessed on August 10, 2015. After 1993, the question refers to the Palestinians rather than the Arab nations.

Chart 3: The American Support to Israel

AIPAC and other lobby groups have channeled this support in the U.S. Congress. In the words of scholar William Quandt:

> The bond between the United States and Israel is unquestionably strengthened because of the congruence of values between the two nations. Americans can identify with Israel's national style … in a way that has no parallel on the Arab side. Neither the ideal of the well-ordered Muslim community nor that of a modernizing autocracy evokes much sympathy among Americans. Consequently, a predisposition no doubt

> exists in American political culture that works to the advantage of the Israelis (Quandt, 1977, p. 14).

Other politicians and analysts refer to a "special relationship" between the United States and Israel among these historians, Mitchell G. Bard and Daniel Pipes who said: "the United States and Israel may well be the most extraordinary tie in international politics" (G. Bard & Pipes,1997,p.41).

The alliance between the wider Zionist lobby, and the right-wing "Christian Zionists," can make the winning of public opinion. Their literal reading of the Bible convinced them that Christ would reappear only after the Jews repossessed the whole "promised land" and who viewed Islam as "a very wicked and evil religion." Congress, under the influence of these lobbies, can bring wars to the state. Additionally, propaganda campaign led by right-wing think-tanks, advertising agencies and pro-Israeli experts make public opinion softer. They aimed to reduce critics and objective press. In other words, the "checks and balances" of the American political system all failed absolutely.

In Bin Laden words:

> Your media is not objective. It overturned the facts and showed that the Israeli occupiers of Palestine are victims and in the same time highlighted the oppressed Palestinians, who demand their duty, as terrorist. This is unjust… Your media is very dangerous because it can falsify the truth and deceive the public opinion. It also could lead nations to go through unjustly wars against us as it was clearly evident in Gaza and Iraq… Also, the Israeli lobby has a great influence on media. These lobbies are hiding the truth to serve the Israelis.

The journalist Eric Alterman himself writes that the media is "dominated by people who cannot imagine criticizing Israel" (Alterman, 2002). He added, "Columnists and commentators who can be counted upon to support Israel reflexively and without qualification" (J. Mearsheimer, M. Walt, 2006, p. 401-403). The pro-Israel side is reflected in major newspapers such as *Wall Street Journal*, *The Chicago Sun-Times* and *The Washington Times* and magazines like *Commentary, the New Republic* and *the Weekly Standard* .Their perspectives are strongly pro-Israel and rarely criticize Israel.

The New York Times' executive editor Max Frankel once recounted the impact of his own pro-Israel attitude on his own writings: "I was much more deeply devoted to Israel than I dared to assert." He added, "Fortified by my knowledge of Israel and my friendships there, I myself wrote most of our Middle East commentaries. As more Arab than Jewish readers recognized, I wrote them from a pro-Israel perspective" (Ibid). Furthermore, the lobby organizes letter-writing campaigns to boycott news that are considered anti-Israel. One CNN executive said that he sometimes gets 6,000 email messages in a single day complaining that a story is anti-Israel. Sometimes pressure on editors comes from Israel's friends in the U.S. Congress. These factors explain why the American media offer few criticisms of Israeli policy.

Finally, *Al-Qaeda* leader warned the American people about the owners of big Jewish companies, "those owners are warmongers; they are responsible for the wars between us. They are the ones who took your money to finance the war till you become bankrupt." Because Iraq is one of the world's largest oil supplies, the USA would have to finance the military presence in Iraq for many years. The war cost to the U.S. treasury reached $204.4 billion by 2005 (Hinnebusch, 2007). Bush's combination of tax cuts and military adventures turned the $127 billion budget surplus he inherited in 2001 into a $374billion deficit in 2003;

the U.S. combination of excessive military spending with high domestic consumption and low taxes may still bring the Bush juggernaut to a halt (Ibid). Moreover, U.S. troops killed reached 3,000 in 2006 and total casualties (including injured) had surpassed 17,000 by 2005(Ibid). In addition to the occupation of Palestine is added that of Afghanistan and Iraq which, according to former CIA anti-terrorist expert Michael Scheuer, are "completing the radicalization of the Islamic world." The U.S. policies of relying on the Kurds against the Arabs and the Shiite against the Sunnis in Iraq created sectarian divisions among ethnic groups.

According to many people, the war on terrorism is a war on Arabs, a war on the Middle East or a war on Islam. The United States provides no possible solution except massive violence; they aimed to kill Arabs, conquer the Middle East and destroy Islam.[12]

The continued military intervention, whether against an "axis of evil" or any country that is said to support terrorism by the Bush administration, is considered as a threat to many people in Iraq, Syria, Palestine or any Arab countries. This expansion could help produce a great danger to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It could also turn out the Middle East into flames. The U.S. failure is the doctrine of pre-emption itself. David Kay, Bush's weapons inspector in Iraq, said of the failure to find Iraqi WMDs after the war: "If you cannot rely on good, accurate intelligence, that is credible to the American people and others abroad, you can't have a policy of preemption" (Frank, n.d).[13] So, the terror acts that have been made by the U.S. Empire and colonialism, is a clear and present danger to innocent civilians throughout the world. It seems unacceptable to support or carry out terrorism toward civilian populations. This is immorality crime "a nation of 1 200 million Muslims from the east to the west is slaughtered every day; in Palestine, in Iraq, in Somalia, in southern Sudan, in Kashmir, in Philippine, in Bosnia, in Chechnya and in Assam" Bin Laden said.[14] According to *Al-Qaeda* leader, the victims and the oppressed must stand up against the tyrants and offer their own

lives for the sake of their religion. He concluded that despite the United States' superiority in its military and technology, it could not achieve anything without using the apostates and hypocrites. Thus, it is significant that the development and growth of modern terrorism have linked with the U.S. affairs in the Middle East. And with the rise of *jihadist*s ideology, the Western military strength and superiority is not secure.

2.4 The Jihadists' Strategy: *Threat and Response*

Several *fatwas* (religion rulings) considered terrorism and suicide bombing as *haram* (forbiden). These rulings have been published by Islamic scholars' wide reaching; one of the most far-reaching is the 600 page ruling by *Sheikh* Tahir-ul-Qadri. On 2 March 2010, Qadri's *fatwa* was an "absolute" condemnation of terrorism without "any excuses." He said that "Terrorism is terrorism, violence is violence and it has no place in Islamic teaching and no justification can be provided for it, or any kind of excuses or ifs or buts." Qadri said in his *fatwa* that terrorists and suicide bombers are unbelievers. Iranian Ayatollah Ozma Seyyed Yousef Sanei issued a *fatwa* that suicide attacks against civilians are legitimate only in the context of war. The ruling did not say whether other types of attacks against civilians are justified outside of the context of war, nor whether *jihad* is included in Sanei's definition of war.

A leading group of Pakistani scholars and religious leaders declared suicide attacks and beheadings as un-Islamic. '*Ulema*' (clerics) and '*mushaikh*' (spiritual leaders) of *the Jamaat Ahl-e-Sunnah*, who gathered for a convention, declared that suicide attacks and beheading are un-Islamic in an agreed resolution. Chairman of the Pakistani Ruet-e-Hilal Committee, Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman, said in his address that those who were fighting in the name of applying *Shariah* (Islamic law) must first abide by these same laws and "killing minors is contrary to the teachings of Islam."

Some scholars of that period offered an essential interpretation on the verses and prophetic narratives that are usually quoted by the militants to promote militancy. According to Ahmad Ghamidi (his booklet on *Jihad* is considered one of his most important contributions towards understanding the religion according to the principles of interpreting the *Qur'an* introduced by Farahi and Islahi) the Qur'an does not allow waging war except against oppression under a sovereign state. He holds that *jihad* without a state is nothing but creating corruption in the land. The principle of the study is that there are divine commands in the *Qur'an* which are specific to the age of the Messenger. He says that nobody can be punished for being non-Muslim after the Prophet who acted as the divine manager. He punished the disbelievers by sword if necessary those who rejected the message of God and his messenger even after the truth was made manifest to them. Ghamidi and his colleagues have written comprehensively on the topics related to these issues. In his book *Meezan al-Ghamidi* has concluded that:

> First, *Jihad* can only be waged against persecution and Islamic *jihad* has only two purposes : putting an end to persecution even that of the non-Muslims and making the religion of Islam reign supreme in the Arabian peninsula. The latter type was specific for the messenger of God and is no more operative. Second, *jihad* must be under a sovereign state. The third point is that there are strict ethical limits for *jihad* which do not again allow fighting for example non-combatants. Finally, in these perspectives, acts of terrorism including suicide bombing becomes prohibited.

2.4.1 Islamic Statements against Terrorism

In addition to *fatwas* (religion ruling), numerous Muslim leaders, scholars, and organizations in the United States and other countries have spoken out against 9/11 attacks. We only list a few quotes here, but many more can be found in appendix: C, p.224.

Mustafa Mashhur, General Guide, Muslim Brotherhood, Egypt; Qazi Hussain Ahmed, Ameer, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Pakistan; Muti Rahman Nizami, Ameer, Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, Bangladesh; *Sheikh* Ahmad Yassin, Founder, Islamic Resistance Movement (*Hamas*), Palestine; Rashid Ghannoushi, President, Nahda Renaissance Movement, Tunisia; Fazil Nour, President, PAS – Parti Islam SeMalaysia, Malaysia; and 40 other Muslim scholars and politicians:

> The undersigned, leaders of Islamic movements, are horrified by the events of Tuesday 11 September 2001 in the United States which resulted in massive killing, destruction and attack on innocent lives. We express our deepest sympathies and sorrow. We condemn, in the strongest terms, the incidents, which are against all human and Islamic norms. This is grounded in the Noble Laws of Islam which forbid all forms of attacks on innocents. God Almighty says in the Holy Qur'an: 'No bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another' (Surah al-Isra 17:15)" (*MSANews*, September 14, 200).

Perhaps the most prominent living Islamist is Yusuf al Qaradawi. He is a longtime leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. Qaradawi has from time to time issued *fatwas* or given speeches diverging from traditional hard-line teachings, and several U.S. journalists have taken to referring to him as a "moderate." He and other scholars like, Tariq Bishri, Egypt; Muhammad S. Awwa, Egypt; Fahmi Huwaydi, Egypt; Haytham Khayyat, Syria; *Sheiykh* Taha Jabir al-Alwani, U.S. claimed:

> All Muslims ought to be united against all those who terrorize the innocents, and those who permit the killing of non-combatants without a justifiable reason. Islam has declared the spilling of blood and the destruction of property

> as absolute prohibitions until the Day of Judgment. … [It is] necessary to apprehend the true perpetrators of these crimes, as well as those who aid and abet them through incitement, financing or other support. They must be brought to justice in an impartial court of law and [punished] appropriately. … [It is] a duty of Muslims to participate in this effort with all possible means" (Statement of September 27, 2001).

More statements are released by Muslim organizations and religious scholars on a regular basis (See appendix: C, p.224).

Dr Muhammad Tahir ul-Qadri, the leader of *Minhaj ul-Quran* organization, says he feels that it is his duty to 'save' young Muslims from extremism. In the summer camp, at Warwick University, Dr. Qadri told the audience - predominantly made up of British Muslims - to reject *Al-Qaeda'* ideologies. He advised them to do their ability to fight extremist thoughts.[18]

Although the murder of Muslims is always forbidden in Islam, the murder of non-Muslims is also prohibited in certain circumstances. Many Muslim scholars have presented evidence about the religious justification of terrorism against certain non-Muslims, a significant example of Muhammad ibn al Uthaymeen who states regarding killing a non-Muslim who is living in an Islamic state or with whom Muslims have a peace treaty: "As for a non-Muslim living under Muslim rule and a *Mu'ahid* (a Non-Muslim ally with whom Muslims have a treaty, trust, peace, or agreement), the prophet said: "Whoever kills a *Mu'ahid* will not even smell the fragrance of paradise and its fragrance can be smelled from the distance of forty years away." He also said: "Certainly, one of the most difficult situations for which there is no turning back for whomever casts himself into it - shedding sacred blood

without right." However, this does not address the killing of non-Muslims living outside the Islamic world who do not have a specific treaty with Muslims.

Muslim popular opinion on the subject of attacks on civilians by *Al-Qaeda* varies. Some said that suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners are seen as 'justifiable' others said these actions are unjustified (See appendix: E, p.227).

Fred Halliday, a British academic specialist on the Middle East, argues that most Muslims consider these acts to be egregious violations of Islam's laws. Muslims living in the West denounce the September 11 attacks against the United States, while *Hezbollah* contends that their rocket attacks against Israeli civilian targets are defensive *Jihad* by a legitimate resistance movement rather than terrorism. However, Bin Laden justified his aggression against civilians saying that repeating words that America is the land of freedom, and its leaders in this world is a big lie. According to him:

> The American people are the ones who choose their government by way of their own free will; a choice which stems from their agreement to its policies. Thus the American people have chosen, consented to, and affirmed their support for the Israeli oppression of the Palestinians, the occupation and usurpation of their land, and its continuous killing, torture, punishment and expulsion of the Palestinians. The American people have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their Government and even to change it if they want (Bin Laden, 2002, p.3).

Bin Laden added that The American people are the ones who pay the taxes which fund the planes that bomb Muslims in Afghanistan and destroy their homes in Palestine, the armies which occupy Muslims' lands in the Arabian Gulf, and the fleets which ensure the blockade

of Iraq. The Americans tax dollars are given to Israel to continue to attack Muslims and penetrate their lands (See appendix: A, p. 213-214). For him,

> The American people are the ones who fund the attacks against us, and they are the ones who oversee the expenditure of these monies in the way they wish, through their elected candidates. Also the American army is part of the American people. It is this very same people who are shamelessly helping the Jews fight against us. The American people are the ones who employ both their men and their women in the American Forces which attack us. This is why the American people cannot be not innocent of all the crimes committed by the Americans and Jews against us (Ibid).

He concluded that Allah gives the permission to take revenge. Thus, if Muslims are attacked, then they have the right to attack back and destroy their villages and towns. If they have stolen the Muslims' wealth, then they have the right to destroy their economy. And as the Americans have killed innocent people, then Muslims have the right to kill theirs.

Speaking about Bin Laden's death, many Muslims in the UK came out on streets in support of him, announcing him as an Islamic hero and condemned the role of the U.S. and the West in killing him. The protest against Bin Laden's death was organized by the preacher Anjem Choudary who praised both 7/7 and the September 11 attacks. So, the issue of *Al-Qaeda* is debatable. *Al-Qaeda* has been forced to defend itself against charges that its actions lead to the death of countless innocent people. This is considered the major weakness of Al-Qaeda, and it remains an enduring weakness of the global *jihad* against the West.

3.5 Conclusion

Al-Qaeda continues to fight the United States and its allies in the dichotomy "us versus them" between the Muslim world and the West. The organization has adapted the idea that dialogue is not possible with the United States and its allies. *Al-Qaeda* leader, Osama bin Laden, declared many times the war against the United States. This global *jihad* is followed by great numbers of attacks in different places. In Chris Hedges words, the violent subjugation of the Palestinians, Iraqis, and Afghans will only ensure that those who oppose us will increasingly speak to us in the language we speak to them-violence. Many classified *Al-Qaeda* as a terrorist organization because it inflicts indiscriminate civilian causalities. In fact, this cannot be applied to *Hamas* because since 2006 *Hamas* has not been a sub national group. Yet, it is the legitimate, democratically elected government of the *Hamas*-Gaza state. Furthermore, a number of arguments are presented in support of *Hamas* not being a terrorist organization. Also, it has never threatened the West. Thus, there is no justification to consider it as a terrorist organization. It is a liberation movement that is fighting Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Recep Tayyip Erdogan says that he does not see *Hamas* as a terror organization. *Hamas* is a political party. And it is an organization. It is a resistance movement trying to protect its country under occupation. So we should not mix terrorist organizations with such an organization. Thus, all violence brought by either the Americans or the Israelis is a direct consequence of U.S. domination or Israeli occupation. To end this violence, including violence against Palestinians and many Muslims in the world, *Al-Qaeda* and *Hamas t*ook steps to punish the tyrants.

Al-Qaeda and *Hamas* leaders are fighting the unjust policies of western countries against their Muslim communities including Israeli occupation of Palestine, Iraq War, the presence of U.S. military in the Middle East and the imposing of western-style democracy.

In his analysis, Bin Laden proclaimed that Bush administration foreign policy has also done little to strengthen the new global order, giving favors to its major contributors in the oil, energy, and military industries. This political and economic globalization is also associated with terrorism. The global order which is manifested in international political and economic circumstances such as global distribution of wealth and power will play a role in developing grievances and resistance against U.S. terrorism.

Friendly relations between Israel and the U.S. continue to be a key to both American and Israeli foreign policy. Israel receives a wild support in the U.S. Congress. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that the U.S. and Israel share common "economic, political, strategic, and diplomatic concerns" and the countries exchange "intelligence and military information and cooperate in an effort to halt international terrorism and illegal drug trade". We can also discover the significant role of the lobby's influence in the U.S. foreign policy and the strongly work of the Israel lobby on Congress and the Bush administration that push the state to war in Iraq. This is why Bin Laden called his Muslim brothers to fight the United States and its allies and to stand up against their policies.

Many Islamic statements are released against *Al-Qaeda* strategies and the 9/11 attacks in particular. Yet, much Muslim popular opinion said that suicide bombings against Americans and other western countries are justifiable acts. So, this make *Al-Qaeda* 's subject a debatable issue.

Chapter Notes

[1] http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/military-july-dec96-fatwa_1996

[2] http://fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm

[3] http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/nov/24/theobserver

[4] http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/09/afghanistan.terrorism24

[5] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4698963.stm

[6] http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/jul/18/uk.july7

[7]http://www.slate.com/articles/newsand_politics/readme/2006/03/thepursuitofdemocracy.html

[8] http://eresearch.yolasite.com/clash-of-civilization-or-clash-of-interest.php

[9] http://www.alqassam.ps/images/userfiles/image/special_files/wahim/report/9.htm

[10] http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/nov/24/theobserver

[11] http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby

[12] http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/117

[13] http://www.mit.edu/people/fuller/peace/credibility.htm

[14] http://gemsofislamism.tripod.com/bk_OBL_Messages.html

[15] http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-10900478

CHAPTER FOUR

The American Leaders

4.1 Introduction

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon but, for the Bush administration, the threat is greater than ever before. The present chapter will deal with the international anti-terrorism strategy of the USA during the Bush administration. In this chapter, we will focus on the USA strategy in fighting terrorism. President Bush will propose many measures in fighting international terrorism. In doing this, we will use some documents that the U.S. used in its fight against international terrorism. In addition to the 'The National Security Strategy', there are other documents to be discussed and taken into consideration.

The second point that is going to be talked about within this chapter is to identify which origins of terrorism the Bush administration distinguishes in its anti-terrorism strategy. The U.S. will differentiate some factors that have threatened not only the United States but also the.international.system.

Finally, we will speak about the threat of the U.S. strategy. The U.S. legitimizes its measures in fighting international terrorism; however, the Bush policies faced many critics both at home and abroad.

4.2 What are the Americans Fighting?

In the past, the United States had declared war on social problems such as poverty and drugs. The war is a phenomenon related to traditional American political discourse. As a response to the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington, the United States declared war on terrorism. The latter defined the threat as a war against 'terrorism of global reach'. So, the U.S. would not give up till the enemy is destroyed or defeated entirely. And the solution is the use of military force. This is clearly shown in George W. Bush speeches.

4.2.1 Short Term Strategy

On the night of September 11, George W. Bush addressed the nation in a famous speech. First, he explained what had happened on Sept. 11. He then noted that America did not hold all Muslims responsible for the attacks and recognized that terrorists were a small and extreme part of the population.

Bush also discussed the challenges that may face America at war, especially when the enemy is unclear. He gave "marching orders" to Americans, advising them to continue their lives as usual and to pray for the victims of September 11 and the members of the U.S. military. Finally, he took responsibility for leading America to one of its darkest moments, saying, "And in our grief and anger, we have found our mission and our moment" (George W. Bush, 2001 / 2008, p.72). Bush drew his plans for a "War on Terror" that would begin with *Al-Qaeda*, but would not end there. He claimed that America would "pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists" (Ibid, p.117).

On September 20, in the speech that was televised live around the nation and the world, George W. Bush confirmed his first speech. He announced that "Our war on terror begins with *Al-Qaeda*, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated" (Ibid, p.68). Less than three weeks after Bush's speech, American forces established a military campaign in Afghanistan to capture Bin Laden and overthrow Afghanistan's Taliban government. The American campaign in Afghanistan succeeded to overthrow the Taliban from power and to cause damage to Bin Laden's organization. With American support, a new pro-Western government was installed in Afghanistan in early 2002. The 2002 and 2003 statements emphasized on preemption war.

The strategy informed that the United States would seek international support but would act alone if American interests and 'unique' responsibilities required. So, the strategy justified in advance the invasion of Iraq.

This strategy was renewed and revised in 2006. The revised strategy refers to strengthening coalitions and partnerships. Within its chapter, there is a reference to the subject of strengthening alliances and preventing attacks not just against the United States but against American friends too. It insists that the United States will fight the enemy, but the fight will be done with the support of friends and allies.

The 2006 strategy also refers to the problem of states that support terrorism such as Iran. Furthermore, the 2006 statements refer to the use of WMD and the users of such methods or those who help them will face an 'overwhelming response'. The documents assure that the United States will make sure that both its determination and its capacity to identify the source of an attack are well-known.

Colin Powell described the war on terror as the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda that deals with fighting a pre-emptive war in order to prevent acts of terrorism:

> Counter terrorism in overarching national security strategy designed to restore American leadership and respect in the world. This leadership must be based on a strong commitment to our values and to building the structures of international cooperation that are needed not only to fight terrorist, but also to meet other key challenges of our time (Daniel, 2008, p.1).

In his speech of January 29, 2002, the U.S. President addressed the U.S. Congress and referred to Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the "axis of evil". Bush stated that these countries

possessed the WMD, and had regimes enabling them to employ such weapons through missiles and other means. In 2003, the Bush administration pointed just Iraq and ignored the other two countries. It is considered that Iraq continues to produce and possess the WMD and it has links with *Al- Qaeda*. It assumed that there was an increasing risk that Iraq or *Al- Qaeda* attack with the WMD against the United States or its allies.

On June 20, 2002, Lord Robertson, NATO Secretary General stated that terrorism is considered as the greatest security threat and should be the main focus of the activities of NATO. The latter has given new commitments supporting operations against terrorism 'undertaken by other international organizations and by coalitions involving Allies'. NATO will increase its military capabilities accordingly and will try to ensure flexible Alliances able to act rapidly. To increase its capabilities it has supported the principles of nation-specific commitments, role specialization and common acquisition and funding of key advantages. Thus, NATO is in a process of rapid transformation to defend against terrorism and WMD.

In 2002-2003, the short-term actions required by national strategy were summarized in the four 'D's':

- Defeat terrorists (including cutting off their finances).
- Deny them state support.
- Diminish their strength by addressing 'root causes'.
- Defend the homeland and interests abroad.

> The intent of our national strategy is to stop terrorist attacks against the United States, its citizens, its interests, and our friends and allies around the world and ultimately, to create an international environment inhospitable to terrorists and all those who support

> them. To accomplish these tasks we will simultaneously act on four fronts (National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, 2003).[1]

Within this strategy it is mentioned that the United States will defeat terrorist organizations of global reach by attacking their shelters, leadership, command, control, and communications, material support and finances. The strategy aims to interrupt the terrorists' ability to plan and operate. So, it will prevent terrorists to "improve their communications and cooperation." To achieve that, the United States will cooperate with regional partners to isolate the terrorists. Further, the U.S. government will help other states to develop their military and financial tools necessary to fight terrorists and their organizations. To achieve effective results, the efforts must be across all geographic regions.

The second principle of the four D strategy (Defeat, Deny, Diminish and Defend) calls for denying the sponsorship and support terrorists with the acceptance of other states to take their responsibilities and react against these international threats within their sovereign territory:

> Where states are weak but willing, we will support them vigorously in their efforts to build the institutions and capabilities needed to exercise authority over all their territory and fight terrorism where it exists. Where states are reluctant, we will work with our partners to convince them to change course and meet their international obligations. Where states are unwilling, we will act decisively to counter the threat they pose and, ultimately, to compel them to cease supporting terrorism (Ibid).

The approach will also diminish "the underlying conditions" that those terrorists try to find, through focusing all the "efforts and resources on the areas most at risk."

Interestingly enough, the United States will defend its citizens and interests at home and abroad "by both proactively protecting [their] homeland and extending [their] defenses to ensure [their] identify and neutralize the threat as early as possible."
"America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home" (George W. Bush, 2001 / 2008, p.107).

Thus, from what is mentioned before, by isolating the terrorist organizations regionally and destroying them within state sovereignty, the United States and its allies will secure a world in which their children can live free from fear and where the threat of terrorist attacks does not define their daily lives. So, victory for them will be achieved only if the United States and the international community continue their work to prevent terrorists from causing horrors such as those attacks of September 11, 2001.

The statements of strategy from 2002 to 2006 are calling for military force (in the short term) and 'winning the battle of ideas' (in the long term). But the 2006 strategy gives more importance to the long-term solution.

4.2.2 Long Term Strategy

In response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration presented what is known as the 'Freedom Agenda', an ambitious policy to improve the long-term stability of Arab states and reduce extremist ideology by advancing democracy in the region. This new strategy represented a major shift in the traditional U.S. foreign policy approach to the Middle East (Yerkes & Wittes, 2006, p.1).

The Origins of Terrorism:

A Comparison between the International Anti-terrorism Strategies of American and Muslim Leaders

On September 17, 2002, the National Security Strategy (NSS) offers the administration's first comprehensive rationale for a new, aggressive approach to national security. The new strategy calls for preemptive action against rogue states and terror groups by saying that the United States "must adapt the concept of imminent threat to the capabilities and objectives of today's adversaries." It added that "the greater the threat, the greater the risk of inaction." The NSS further states:

> Given the goals of Rogue States and terrorists, the United States can no longer solely rely on a reactive posture as we have in the past. The inability to deter a potential attacker, the immediacy of today's threats and the magnitude of potential harm that could be caused by our adversaries, potential choice of weapons do not permit that option. We cannot let our enemies to strike first (D. Westphal,n,d, p.10).

The strategy states that the U.S. "will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise [its] right of self-defense by acting preemptively." The NSS also focuses on how diplomacy and foreign aid can be used to plan American values, including "a battle for the future of the Muslim world."

According to President Bush and his advisors, this administration sought to promote democracy not only in Iraq and the Middle East but in the whole world. President Bush added a democracy rationale to the list of reasons for invading Iraq. In his February 2003 speech, he declared that "the world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder" (Carothers, 2007, p.3). In addition to stopping Saddam Hussein's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, Bush administration considers Iraq's intervention as a democracy mission

that would be the policy of Middle East aimed at supporting a democratic transformation of the whole region.

In his second inaugural address, President Bush established what is known as his "freedom agenda," declaring that "America is a nation with a mission, and that mission comes from our most basic beliefs....It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture" (Ibid). According to President Bush, there is a lack of political freedom in some countries, especially in the Middle East that encourages extremism. So, democracy promotion is presented as a fundamental factor of the U.S. war on terrorism. In this regard, in a July 2007 meeting the President stated:

> I come at it many different ways. Really not primarily from a political science perspective, frankly, it's more of a theological perspective. I do believe there is an Almighty, and I believe a gift of that Almighty to all is freedom. And I will tell you that is a principle that no one can convince me that doesn't exist (Ibid, p.4).

U.S. democracy assistance to the Middle East has increased in recent years. The Middle East Partnership Initiative was created in December 2002 as the U.S. program to advance Arab reform. While the Middle East Partnership Initiative funding has remained fixed, the funds changed through time, as the Administration has focused further on political reform and programs that aid in the long-term processes of social and political institution-building (Ibid). Through these shifts in programming and building its own organizational structure, the Middle East Partnership Initiative has improved its ability to work with local Arab actors and worked to influence other aspects of U.S. policy that affect the environment for Arab reform (Cofman, Wittes & Yerkes, E., 2006, p.2).

The Bush Administration's "strategy of freedom," and its program, the Middle East Partnership Initiative, have made significant advantages since its first three years. Through a large increase in funding and improved attention at higher levels of the government, U.S. democracy assistance has managed to make some progress in the Middle East and at home, making freedom as the top of the Administration's foreign policy agenda in the region (Ibid, p.3). However, the U.S. democracy promotion program in the Middle East faces significant challenges over the next years (Ibid).

The foreign policies of Presidents Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and Bill Clinton all emphasize on democracy. Yet the Bush emphasis on democracy promotion is deferent, the administration's distinguishing features are: the military intervention, the focus on the Middle East and war on terrorism (Ibid).

When the Bush administration was asked what they have done to advance democracy in the Middle East, it declared that:

• The administration has thrown out two dictatorial regimes in the region (taking Afghanistan into consideration) and managed their replacements by elected governments (Carothers, 2007, p.4).

• The President and some of his top advisors have spoken out loudly and clearly about the need for democratic change in the Arab world. Administration officials believe that this public line both creates pro-democratic pressure on governments in the region and encourages or inspires ordinary citizens to push for positive political change (Ibid).

• The administration has taken a series of interrelated measures to motivate and push friendly autocratic Arab governments to move forward with political reforms: 1) public and private jawboning of Arab leaders, particularly of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak; 2) rewarding reformers, with praise and economic benefits, such as the free trade agreements with Bahrain

and Morocco; 3) establishing a new aid program, the State Department's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), to support economic, political, and social reform initiatives throughout the region; 4) revising existing bilateral aid programs, such as the Egyptian bilateral aid program, to increase their pro-democratic content; and 5) setting up regional pro-democratic diplomatic and aid initiatives, such as the Foundation for the Future (Ibid).

• Through economic sanctions, diplomatic initiatives, and special new democracy aid funds, the administration has exerted pressure for internal political change on the two governments in the region it views as hostile: Syria and Iran. This pressure included a special effort in 2004 to get Syria to withdraw from Lebanon, which helped make possible the subsequent Lebanese Cedar Revolution (Ibid).

Thus, the Bush administration has engaged on the issue of democracy in the Middle East, more than any previous U.S. administration.

The administration's strategy on democracy promotion has been clear enough. Yet, the future of democracy promotion as part of U.S. foreign policy is uncertain. George W. Bush, democracy promotion is closely related to the Iraq war. Only a minority of the U.S. public supports democracy promotion as a U.S. policy goal.

Although the administration insists that the Iraq intervention was a democratizing mission, this issue remains strongly debated at home and abroad. Here are the views of historian John Lewis Gaddis of Yale University and Karen DeYoung of the Washington Post. According to Lewis Gaddis, Professor of Political Science, the Bush strategy is an historic shift for American foreign policy because it is the first serious American grand strategy in the early days of the Cold War. For him, the Cold War ended, and the Americans got into a new situation without a grand strategy.

Karen De Young also stated that the National Security Strategy is a document prepared for Congress to give them an idea what direction the administration is heading, what kind of resources they will need and how they see the long-term goals of America's security policy. For him, this document talks about preemption and the justification for preemption, military preemption, as well as other kinds of preemption. It talks about weapons of mass destruction and international terrorism as being the main global threat of the first part of this century. De Young added if you read the document carefully, you will see that we have many different tools that allow us to choose many different routes. We have always had diplomatic tools, we have always financial tools. What is new about that document, he thought that it is preemptive military strategy, saying, "We have the right and the obligation to move against people that we perceive to be a threat to this country" (De Young, n,d, p.4).

Many people said that the document was published to be a justification for attacking Iraq, in the sense that attacking Iraq means overthrowing Saddam Hussein. Through that kind of justification, the United States could govern all kinds of policies in the future.

To face crises in the Middle East, Washington is again turning to foreign aid to help advance "urgent short-term security." Washington is relying on existing aid systems to pursue such work in crisis countries like Syria and Yemen. This approach is administratively and politically suitable.

U.S. foreign aid has always been grounded in the benefit of American national interests. Proposing the establishment of USAID in 1961, then President John F. Kennedy argued that the aid agenda should be driven by moral, economic, and political considerations and also by the recognition that "our own security would be endangered and our prosperity imperiled" by continued widespread poverty and instability.

By gradually advancing global social and economic development, foreign aid would counter the Soviet Union's influence and make the United States safer and more prosperous (Myers, 2015). This long-term, indirect relationship between aid and the national interest would be restated by Kennedy's successors in the "Oval Office", and continued recently, in the national security strategies of both the George W. Bush and Obama administrations (Ibid). The conception of foreign aid as a political and technocratic tool has long been prevalent among aid professionals, who largely prefer to focus on the humanitarian or developmental mission (Ibid).

But Washington sought to employ aid for directly self-interested ends. Aid has been employed as a foreign policy, with assistance packages offered to foreign governments. One prominent example is that assistance which still provided to Israel and Egypt today to fulfill the 1978 Camp David accords.

Washington has sought to pursue short-term political and security goals through a more complex approach: the funding of aid programs intended to directly shape conditions and events on the ground (Ibid).Unlike traditional development aid, whose ultimate goals can require decades to accomplish, such plans are intended to address urgent local security and political goals, which are drawn from perceived American interests in the situation (Ibid). USAID found itself engaged in barbarian acts in less than a decade after its creation, during the Vietnam War, when thousands of USAID staff worked along with military counterparts as part of the integrated Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program at the heart of the "other war" for pacification (White House, 1967).[2]

These hard aid plans share many characteristics with the traditional developmental aid, they have been managed by the same agencies and using the same modalities. For example, in

Vietnam, USAID was engaged in the immediate-impact programming of CORDS and in the pursuit of more traditional development efforts. What distinguishes these hard aid programs is the focus on rapid results and the prioritization of immediate political and security goals (Ibid). These goals may be shared by the local population or government, but this is not a must; what eventually drives the goals is not any technocratic assessment of developmental concerns but an assessment of American interests in the environment (Ibid).

American interests were questioned following the end of the Cold War. USAID was attacked by congressional critics as unreasonable charity. The agency managed to survive, but budget cuts forced the closure of 26 field missions and the shedding of more than one-quarter of its staff between 1995 and 2001 (Atwood, J., McPherson, M., & Natsios, 2008). By the time George W. Bush was elected to the presidency, USAID's cadre of foreign service officers had shrunk from its peak of over 10,000 during the Vietnam War (Kunder, 2009) to just under 1,000 (Ibid).The Bush administration saw foreign aid as central to American efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

USAID's staff and leadership worried a lot about losing resources and operational control to the Pentagon and the State Department, in which both expressed dissatisfaction with USAID's slow pace and evident discomfort with unabashed politically or security-driven work (Myers, 2015). In 2005, the Pentagon increased the share of foreign aid. They take a widespread concern for the broader development community. Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, both are at the Center for Global Development, wrote in 2007 that:

> These financial shifts had *stimulated concerns that U.S. foreign and development policies may become subordinated to a narrow, short term security agenda-at the expense of broader, longer-term diplomatic goals and institution building in the*

> *developing world-and that U.S. soldiers may increasingly assume responsibility for activities more appropriately conducted by civilians skilled in development challenges.*[3]

As secretary of state, Condoleeza Rice sought to strengthen financial plans and set up authorities for foreign assistance within her department, a bureaucratic shift that brought USAID "under more direct control of the State Department" (Weddle, 2009, p.97). The establishment of new offices such as the coordinator of reconstruction and stabilization encouraged suspicions within USAID since the State Department sought more direct control of assistance efforts.

In 2008 elections, Barack Obama promised to double the foreign assistance budget, refresh USAID, and prioritize "the critical investments needed to fight global poverty" which consequently came as a great relief to many at USAID and in the broader development community (Myers, 2015). When Obama took office, he pursued these promises by nominating a USAID administrator with strong developmental records and issuing an unprecedented presidential policy directive (Ibid) that declared "development is vital to U.S. national security and is a strategic, economic, and moral imperative for the United States" (Ibid, p.7).

USAID was still a challenged agency urgently in need of reforms (Ibid). Administrator Rajiv Shah successfully reclaimed some of the budgetary and planning authorities that had been shifted to the State Department, and he introduced new modernization plans (Ibid). As U.S. foreign policy, the USAID commitments in Iraq and Afghanistan began to decline (Ibid). These moves, along with the administration's emphasis on the national security importance of long-term development, which created optimism among USAID staff that their agency was

shifting its focus away from stabilization and security and back to traditional development (Ibid).

4.3 The Americans' Analysis: *The Origins of Jihadistic Terrorism*

The Bush administration distinguishes many features that are the root causes of Arabic terrorism.

4.3.1 Axis of Evil and Rogue States

On January 29, 2002, President George W. Bush gave his second State of the Union address. Much of the speech focused on the effects of the attacks that had resulted in war in Afghanistan. But according to him, terrorism was not a problem restricted to Afghanistan. It is a new foreign policy agenda and a military strategy for the United States. The President identified that there are three nations that possessed dangerous chemical and biological weapons. For Bush, these countries were sponsors of terrorism:

> Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens...Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom (George W. Bush, 2001 / 2008, p.105).

So, the three nations, "axis of evil," are North Korea, Iran, and Iraq. Furthermore, Bush mentioned that immediate intervention was necessary to combat both the spread of global terrorism and the increase of weapons of mass destruction.

The Origins of Terrorism:

A Comparison between the International Anti-terrorism Strategies of American and Muslim Leaders

The phrase “axis of evil” was created by senior White House speechwriter, David Frum. He later claimed that he had actually penned the words “axis of hatred,” but the phrase was refined by the speech-writing team or the President in a subsequent draft of the State of Union address.(Wilmoth.Lerner.&.Lee.Lerner,.K.,.2006).

The “axis of evil” speech declared that North Korea, Iran and Iraq were developing nuclear materials and weapons of mass destruction against the United States and its allies. After the State of the Union address, the Bush administration declared that Iraq posed the most immediate threat to global security. And Iraq's military dictatorship under Saddam Hussein had a challenging relationship with the United States. The U.S. and British governments stated that the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein linked to *Al-Qaeda* terrorism. However, Saddam Hussein confirmed that his regime has nothing to do with *Al-Qaeda* actions. United Nations inspectors did their investigations in Iraq, but the latter proved that there are no weapons. The United States and Britain sought to invade Iraq, on March 20, 2003, especially after failing to secure a resolution. On May 1, 2003, The United States declared an end to the war in Iraq though fighting continued against Iraqi forces. Coalition security forces and UN weapons inspectors did not find Iraqi stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, and ended the “official hunt” for WMDs in Iraq in October 2003. Also the investigations proved that there is no relationship between the former Iraqi regime and *Al-Qaeda.*

North Korea declared itself a nuclear power on February 10, 2005. It refused all UN weapons inspections. This is why North Korea's nuclear program remains unknown till now. The United States continues to declare that Iran is developing nuclear weapons technologies and.supporting.*Al-Qaeda*.operations.

The Bush administration pointed a finger directly at three countries Iraq, North Korea and

Iran which are supposed to have weapons of mass destruction and are forming what is called axis of evil.

Minnerop's study (as cited in foreign policy report, 2001) provided that the term *rogue states* in the meaning of the U.S. State Department list is "states supporting international terrorism." The U.S. State Department's criteria for inclusion in this list are either the active, immediate support of acts of international terrorism or the indirect support of terrorist organizations. According to the State Department, these nations are called "safe haven" for terrorists. For the United States, the classification of countries as promoting international terrorism is only the first step in the campaign against international terrorism. Also, Minnerop's study suggests that additional measures aim to prevent the States on the list from supporting terrorist organizations. Under current U.S. practice, distinct economic sanctions have been enacted, taking the States on the terrorism list particularly into account (Minnerop,n.d). Further sanctions, apart from extensive export and import restrictions, include the prohibition of all financial transactions and the prevention of support from foreign countries (Ibid). The states on the list do not enjoy State Immunity in civil litigation. Furthermore, the nationals of those States are confronted with extensive security controls when entering the United States (Ibid).

4.3.2 Hatred to the U.S and Murderous Ideology

On October 11, 2001, President Bush was focusing on addressing the issue of why there is so much hate for America. He asked: "How do I respond when I see that in some Islamic countries there is vitriolic hatred for America?" He then answered, "I'll tell you how I respond: I'm amazed. I'm amazed that there's such misunderstanding of what our country is

about that people would hate us. I am … like most Americans, I just can't believe it because I know how good we are."

According to the Bush administration, the Muslims hate the Americans because of their freedoms: their freedom of religion, their freedom of speech, their freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

> They hate what we see right here in this chamber….a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed.....They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa (George.W. Bush, 2001 / 2008, p.68).

On January 29, 2002, Bush declared that they have seen the depth of their enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. He added that they have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world. "What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that." Bush claimed. Furthermore, the President refers to the beginning of the war against the terrorists:

> Our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. …Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of

> trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battle-field, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it (Ibid, p.114-115).

Indeed, the Muslims' hatred to United States leads to catastrophic attacks. In one section of his speech, President Bush referred to the terrorists as "the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century." He continued, "By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies." According to Warren Ross "this sentence mixes levels, putting totalitarianism, the broader category, on a level with fascism and Nazism, the narrower concretes under this category" (Ross, n.d, p.6). Fascism and Nazism lasted for 20 years and were responsible for the deaths of 12 million people (Ibid). What about the major, and most murderous brand of totalitarianism, communism? It lasted 70 years in its Soviet variety and has been responsible for 100 million murders, and it still has a death-grip on Communist China, Cuba and North Korea. This omission cannot be accidental (Ibid). The author believes that this was a deliberate attempt to soft-pedal communism's characterization as a "murderous ideology," for whatever motive (rapprochement with the Chinese?) Bush thought important enough to have such a glaring omission (Ibid).

George W. Bush claimed that through the events of 9/11, they learned more about the enemy. They have learned that they are evil and kill without mercy, but not without purpose. They have learned that they form a global network of extremists who are driven by evil vision of Islam. The terrorists' ideology hates freedom, rejects tolerance, and hates everything

different. "The evil and hatred that inspired the death of tens of millions of people in the 20th century is still at work in the world. We saw its face on September the 11th, 2001. Like the Communists, the terrorists and radicals who attacked our nation are followers of a murderous ideology…."[4] And their goal is to build a radical Islamic empire where women are prisoners in their homes, men are beaten for missing prayer meetings, and terrorists have a safe haven to plan and launch attacks on America and other civilized nations. Then the President argues that the war against this enemy is more than a military conflict. It is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century.

For the Americans, September 11 was a horrible moment that shocked them and killed nearly 3,000 persons. This is why Bush speaks a lot about these events in his speeches. He also mentions some of the other terrorist groups. He says that some people called this evil Islamic radicalism, others called them militant *Jihadism* and the others called them Islamo-fascism. The President added whatever their call is; the ideology of terrorists is very different from the religion of Islam. This form of radicalism uses Islam to serve the terrorists' violent and political vision. These extremists misrepresent the idea of *jihad* to call for terrorist murder against Christians and Jews and Hindus. For Bush, many militants are part of global terrorist organizations like *Al- Qaeda*, which provides financing and technical assistance to local extremists, and performs dramatic and brutal operations like September the 11th. Other militants are found in regional groups, often associated with *Al- Qaeda* paramilitary insurgencies and separatist movements in places like Somalia, and the Philippines, and Pakistan, and Chechnya, and Kashmir, and Algeria. Bush further claimed:

> Still others spring up in local cells, inspired by Islamic radicalism, but not centrally directed. Islamic radicalism is more like a loose network with many branches than an

> army under a single command. Yet these operatives, fighting on scattered battlefields, share a similar ideology and vision for our world (Ibid).

The U.S. President stated that they know the vision of the radicals because they have openly stated it in videos, audiotapes, letters, declarations, and websites. In their declarations, the extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East, because the Americans stand for democracy and peace, and stand in the way of their ambitions. *Al- Qaeda*'s leader, Osama bin Laden, called Muslims to offer their "resources, sons and money to driving the infidels out of their lands." Bin laden hit the Americans and expected them to run. It is true that Bin Laden obliged the U.S.to withdraw from Lebanon and Somalia when he attacked these places. He also considered Iraq as the central front in their war against the Americans. The Americans recognize Iraq as the central front in their war on terror as well. "The whole world is watching this war and the two adversaries. It's either victory and glory, or misery and humiliation" (Harry Wright, 2006, p.192).

4.3.3 Poverty

After the attacks of New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, politicians have tried to find factors that lead to terrorism. The U.S. President George W. Bush argued that there is a strong link between state failure and terror. He stated that because "persistent poverty and oppression can lead to hopelessness and despair …failed states can become havens for terror." The UK Prime Minister Tony Blair also argued that "poverty and instability leads to weak states, which can become havens for terrorists" (Rotberg, I.,n.d, p.114).

Many link terrorism to economic, political and social underdevelopment such as a reduction in socioeconomic strain or political instability (Meierrieks & Krieger, 2009). The German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder argued that "to address the root causes of terrorism and insecurity …we must ensure social and material but also cultural security." According to the Bush administration, the low levels of economic and social development increase the appeal of extremism and encourage violence and instability. As a solution, several policymakers have called for increased aid and educational assistance as a means for ending terrorism. "We fight against poverty," President George W. Bush has declared, "because hope is an answer to terror" (Bush, W., 2002).[5]

In fact, many studies of the social backgrounds of terrorists have found that they are wealthier and better educated. So, those who mentioned that the root cause of Arab hatred and terror acts are poverty. This declaration is wrong and waging a war against poverty is far from waging a war against extremist Muslims. Almost all terror leaders and many terror performers are either from middle class or rich. Osama bin Laden is a multi-millionaire, Ayman al Zawahiri was a surgeon who comes from a leading Egyptian family. This family holds ambassadors, politicians and prominent clerics. And Mohammed Atta, the leader of the 9/11 activists, was the son of an Egyptian lawyer, who had worked on a doctorate in urban preservation at a German university.

Liberal, humanitarian Americans rely on their war against hopelessness but terror groups draw their leadership from all classes of society. The middle and upper classes in second and third world countries are far from hopeless or desperate (Schwartz, 2015). Although, the lower classes in some of these countries have opportunities to migrate to countries that offer them better opportunities, few people knock the doors of these countries (Ibid). Many of the

Palestinian suicide bombers are rich men; many of them are high school or college educated professionals with careers far from hopeless or desperate (Ibid). The author also mentioned the example of hundreds of thousands of Burmese who have been in refugee camps in Thailand. They are hopeless, poor and desperate for more than 20 years, but terrorism does not appear there. So, poverty and hopelessness cannot be root causes of terrorism.

4.4 The Americans' Strategy: *Threat and Response*

In early 2003, the war on terror policy was criticized by many. But these critics did not prevent the U.S. from attacking Iraq. As Sean (Kay,2003) says, one needs only look to Afghanistan and Iraq, and the many other states in the world hosting U.S. troops, to see how unsuccessful those terrorist attacks were. Kay added that state behavior is affected by people, ideas, and media power; it is more likely to remain at the margins of state policy. Nevertheless, the new and proliferating channels for public engagement combine with the presence of modern media capabilities to alter the agenda-setting dimension of international security and affect the ways in which states best exercise their power.

To deal with terrorism as a global issue, the Bush administration sought to find global solution by demanding alliances of countries and promoting military solutions to terrorism. In this global context, there are serious dangers that the Bush administration will make the problem of terrorism worse in the name of fighting terrorism. These policies suppress human rights and democracy and they use military and police methods to deal with their opponents. The concrete example is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Afghanistan intervention and the U.S.-U.K. Iraq intervention that lead to the destabilization of the Middle East and created more enemies for the West and new waves of terrorist violence.

The military intervention is said to be against an “axis of evil” or any country that supports terrorism. The Bush administration continued to bomb Iraq, Iran, Syria and other Arab countries. It also helps Israeli-Palestinian conflict, especially after growing anger following the U.S. -U.K. war against Iraq in 2003. For decades, the U.S. and Israel have been accused of state terrorism (Chomsky & Herman 1979), just as many European superpowers in the previous times. The 2003 Bush- Blair war against Iraq is seen as an example of state terrorism and Israeli policies continue to guarantee this. The issue of WMDs was a way to turn the 'war on terrorism' against Iraq; to do so, Bush had to claim that Saddam Hussein was linked to *Al-Qaeda* and was actively developing weapons of mass destruction which he might turn over to terrorists. In this regard, Iraq is considered as a threat to the U.S. In fact, the threat was never the WMDs that could be used against the USA but it is just an excuse to reach freedom of action in the Middle East and support Israel.

Chart 4 shows the arrival of U.S. combat troops, for military operations, and military aid, to pay the Iraqi military and police force salaries and purchase updated military hardware, beginning with the invasion in 2003. Increasing violence between ethnic groups necessitated a surge by U.S. forces which explains the peak in 2005 followed by a gradual reduction in 2006 held steady through 2007 before another gradual reduction in 2008. By 2008 the troop levels had returned to the same approximate level in 2003 (143,000 troops). Military aid gradually increased in 2003 and 2004, before sharply increasing to its peak in 2005. Aid levels then decreased in 2006 through 2008, returning to approximately the same level as 2004 (1.2 billion dollars). The majority of the military aid was marked as military funds to pay for the Iraqi police and security forces to create repression by the U.S. colonial power in Iraq.

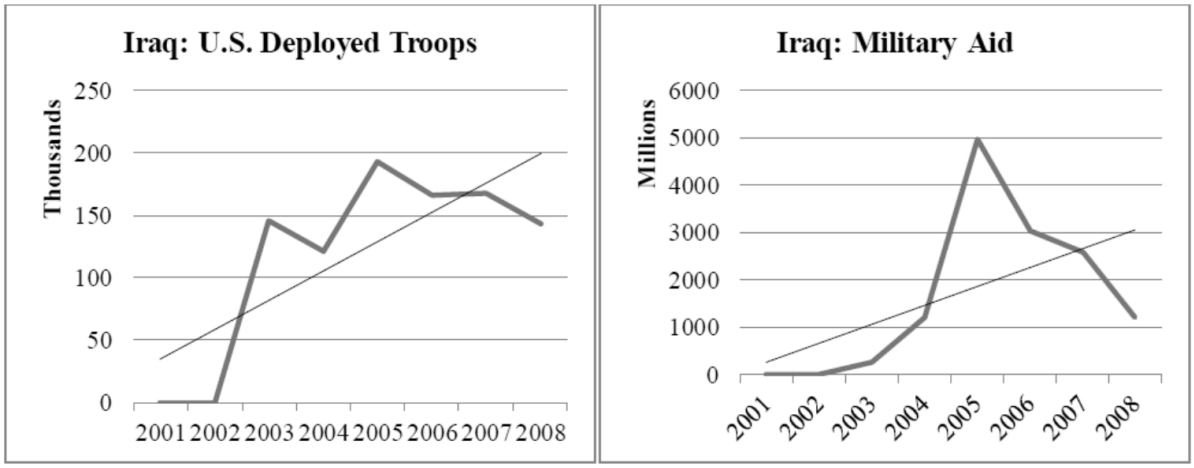


Chart 4: U.S. Deployed Troops and Military Aid.

Source: Gordon, A., (2014). *U.S. in the Unipolar Moment: Analysis of George W. Bush Middle East Foreign Policy*.p.69.

The war in Iraq (undertaken initially in the interest of pre-empting a WMD attack, then rephrased as intended to spread democracy and transform the politics of the Middle East) works against the goal of making the global environment inhospitable to terrorism and defeating violent extremism. The war in Iraq has encouraged radicalization among minorities in the Muslim world. The 2006 strategy statement acknowledges only that 'The ongoing fight in Iraq has been twisted by terrorist propaganda as a rallying cry'.

Furthermore, many of the means that the United States has used at home and abroad are not democratic and are objected to around the world on grounds of international law, civil liberties and human rights. Many people have criticized the United States for its disobedience of the Geneva Conventions in terms of the use of torture or inhumane treatment. The Administration has also faced challenges at home from prominent politicians such as Senator

John McCain and former officials such as Colin Powell. The concept of 'unlawful combatants' is not widely accepted.

In Kellner's words, the war against an imagined "axis of evil" not directly related to *Al-Qaeda* terror network, but rather has related to the NATO operations. He added, The Bush administration policy of "you are with us or against us" has divided alliances and isolated the U.S. and produced a conflicted world. "The alarming build-up of U.S. military power is escalating a new militarism and producing proliferating enemies and resentment against the U.S., now being increasingly seen as a rogue superpower." Finally, aggressive U.S. military action throughout the world failed in the Arab world, but the growing of its foreign policy is producing more enemies in the Arab world and elsewhere that will create dangerous effects in the future.

According to the United States, September 11 is a catastrophe that had changed the political, cultural, and economic climate very quickly. However, the Bush administration is the one that put the political world upside down, putting new issues on the agenda.
Before September 11, Bush's popularity was rapidly declining. In May 2001, Bush seemed to lose control of the agenda with the defection of Vermont Republican Senator Jim Jeffords to the Democratic Party (Kellner, 2001). Jeffords' defection gave the Democrats a razor-thin control of Congress and the ability to block Bush's programs and to advance their own (Ibid). Bush seemed disengaged after this setback, spending more and more time at his Texas ranch (Ibid). He was considered incompetent and unqualified, and his public support was really declining.

Kellner uses the term "Terror War" to describe the Bush administration's "war against terrorism," He said that the Bush administration has expanded its combat against Islamic

terrorism into a policy of Terror War where they have declared the right of the U.S. to strike any enemy state or organization to support terrorism, or to eliminate "weapons of mass destruction" that could be used against the U.S. "The rightwing of the Bush administration seeks to promote Terror War as the defining struggle of the era, coded as an apocalyptic battle between good and evil and has already mounted major military campaigns against Afghanistan and Iraq, with highly ambiguous and unsettling results" (Ibid).

At the end, Kellner concluded that September 11 and its aftermath has made the world a much more dangerous place. Regional conflicts from the Israel-Palestine hostilities in the Middle East to India-Pakistan conflict to discord in Africa, the Philippines, Columbia, and elsewhere. The Bush administration has used discourse against terrorism to suppress human rights, to legitimate government oppression, and to kill political opponents throughout the world. Many experts have also pointed to the risks associated with overemphasizing the threat of terrorism. In the words of Della Porta:

> Another suggestion to policymakers is not to try to over emphasize the risks of terrorism … I think that sometimes in part related to this tendency to play with terrorism in the political game, there is some tendency to over emphasize the strength and the risk coming from terrorism. … But I think that democracies have shown themselves strong enough to address the challenge of terrorism and that over emphasizing the risks with the terms like "the war on terrorism" could backfire because [they] eventually reduce the trust of the citizens on the governments and on democracy (Della Porta, interview 28 November, 2007).

Finally, there is a risk that the measures applied to counter terrorism are threats themselves.

> Our arguments are a call to realism in the sense that terrorism will never be eradicated completely, but it could be managed in a better way than we have done so far. In this connection, our research addresses some anti-terror strategies that could be counter-productive and could lead to increasing the number of terrorists and the appeal of their cause, rather than achieving our political objectives (Zagorcheva, interview 20 June, 2007).

The United States' war on terrorism is a war begun as a fight against the organization that committed the attacks of September 11, 2001, but soon became a much more ambitious action such as the occupation of Iraq. In the name of the war on terrorism, the United States has committed terrorism by means of violence.

Dr. Jeffrey Record examines three features of the war on terrorism as currently defined as the administration's supposition of the terrorist threat. Second, the scope and feasibility of U.S. war aims, and finally the war's political, fiscal, and military sustainability. He finds that the war on terrorism lacks strategic clarity and contains unrealistic objectives.
He calls for economizing the scope of the war on terrorism to reflect concrete U.S. security interests and the limits of American military power.

The director of the National Security Agency under Ronald Reagan, Lt. General William Odom, noted: "Because the United States itself has a long record of supporting terrorists and using terrorist tactics, the slogans of today's war on terrorism merely makes the United States look hypocritical to the rest of the world." Odom also said: "By any measure the U.S. has long used terrorism. In '78-79 the Senate was trying to pass a law against international terrorism in every version they produced, the lawyers said the U.S. would be in violation."

The negative effects of Bush policy on democracy promotion are also felt at home. The U.S. public is now less supportive of democracy promotion than ever before.

The policies that have done harm to America's status as a symbol of democracy and human rights and show America's negative image in the world. Although many Americans have criticized the idea of democracy promotion because of Iraq, the U.S. public believes in some principles: U.S. global engagement, and the importance of human rights, that the Bush administration can use to restore public support for democracy promotion. However, positive change will not occur neither with the power of President Bush nor with the coming of a new president into office, who affirms a renewed U.S. commitment to democracy abroad (Carothers, 2007, p.33). Real modifications must be made to democracy promotion as a part of U.S. foreign policy: decontaminating it from the taint that has become attached to it, repositioning it within the war on terrorism, and recalibrating it to fit the challenging imperatives of the new political context of this decade (Ibid). More than ever, U.S. democracy promotion must square a daunting circle-it must embody strong elements of modesty, subtlety, and the awareness of limitations without losing the vitality, decisiveness, and creativity necessary for success (Ibid).

For William kristol, The Weekly Standard Editor, the U.S. policies are bigger than Iraq, and are bigger than the Middle East. He means that the world is a chaos. And, he thinks it is very much to Bush's credit that he is got serious about dealing with it. But, Iraq is not going to be the end of it. Indeed, there are exercises of American power that could be unwise. Kristol claims that the danger is American withdrawal, American timidity and American slowness. The danger is not that the Americans are going to do too much, but the danger is that they are going to do too little. Kristol further states:

> I think when historians look at the last several decades, they'll say there was the Cold War period from the late 40s to 1989 or 1991. There was the 90s, the decade of peace and prosperity. And then there's now the post-9/11 period; we'll see what it gets called. But it is a new moment. And Bush believes it's a new moment. One can imagine an unbelievably dangerous world five, 10, 15 years from now, or one can imagine a much more hopeful world. But an awful lot of it depends on what the U.S. does, and how successful America is. And that, in turn, depends on what the Bush administration does, and how successful George W. Bush is (Kristol, n,d, p.5).

He concludes that now, it is very much to Bush' credit that on September 11, very quickly after Sept. 11, Bush came to that understanding. "And I don't think it was quite as inevitable as it now seems that he would understand that this was the defining moment of his presidency and perhaps of American history for the next 10 to 20 years. But he came to that conclusion very quickly" (Ibid).

3.5 Comparison

Chapters 3 and 4 dealt with the investigation of Muslim and American leaders' strategies. President Bush and Osama bin Laden in particular. Within these chapters, both of Bush and Bin Laden discussed their views toward the origins of terrorism. This part of this research: a comparison between the American and Muslim leaders will compare both men, Bush and Bin Laden, by discussing the similarities and differences of their strategies and by discussing the different analyses of the origins of terrorism that are at the basis of these strategies.

The creation of a dichotomy "us" versus "them", each one declares that we are the victims and we have the right to be aggressive toward the other. So, the conflict is between "good"

and "evil" "us" and "them". This dichotomy creates the idea of two sides of the struggle. Bin Laden says: “I say these events have split the whole world into two camps: the camp of belief and the disbelief. So every Muslim shall take support his religion” (Cronick, 2002, p.9). So, it is a duty for Bin Laden to defend the Islamic faith and it is not only the duty of him but *Jihad* is a must for every Muslim to defend his religion and stand up against the enemy. Bin Laden says: “The common people have understood the issue, but there are those who continue to flatter those who colluded with the unbelievers to anesthetize the Islamic nation to prevent it from carrying out the duty of jihad so that the word of God will be above all words” (Ibid). Also, when Bin Laden says:

> They champion falsehood, support the butcher against the victim, the oppressor against the innocent child….When these defended their oppressed sons, brothers, and sisters in Palestine and in many Islamic countries, the world at large shouted. The infidels shouted, followed by the hypocrites (Ibid).

He described them (the enemy) as liars, butchers, oppressors, infidels and hypocrites and "us" as victims; innocent children and oppressed. Bush uses the same language; he refers to "us" by words like democracy, freedom and our ways of life and describes "them" as terrorist “These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life... The only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it and destroy it where it grows” (George W. Bush, 2001 / 2008, p.68). So, the terrorist for both, Bin Laden and Bush, is "them" not "us".

Bush develops the idea of justice as a response to terrorism “Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations

to drive them out and bring them to justice" (Ibid, p.75). As a result, each side claims itself to destroy the other. Bin Laden has to take revenge from the presence of the U.S armies in the land of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), Saudi Arabia. And Bush must bring the enemy to justice because of the grief of his people, "Tonight, we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done" (Ibid, p.83). So, this revenge must be done because of injustices done to "us". For Bin Laden injustices must be fought by defending Islamic faith and dignity.

> And with regard to you, Muslims, this is the day of question. This is a new (inaudible) against you, all against the Muslims and Medina. So be like the followers of the prophet, peace be upon him, and all countrymen ..., lovers of God and the prophet within, and a new battle, great battle, similar to the great battles of Islam, like the conqueror of Jerusalem. So, hurry up to the dignity of life and the eternity of death (Cronick, 2002, p. 11).

Bin Laden goes on describing his enemy as "crusader-zionist alliance".

> Despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million ... despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation (Bin Laden, 1996).[6]

He calls upon his Muslim brothers to fight and wage war against "Satan's troops" and" the devils supporters". Bin Laden means the President of the United States Bush in person.

For him, this conflict is a struggle of faith and not a political struggle: "It is a question of faith, not a war against terrorism, as Bush and Blair try to depict it" (Cronick, 2002, p.14).

Back to the dichotomy between "us" and "them" the dichotomy creates the notion of homeland; both of them claim that we are the inhabitants of a country (a nation for Bush and holy places for Bin Laden).Each one has the desire to defend his homeland and destroy the enemy.

Finally, both men use religious words. When Bin Laden says: "By the grace of Allah …. by the permission of Allah Most Great….Indeed, Allah helped these youth to tell the head of global Disbelief" (*Aljazeera*, 2004).[7] Also, when President Bush says: "Thank you all for coming and God bless" (George W. Bush, 2001 / 2008, p. 113).

If we compare Bush and Bin Laden's strategies from another angle, some remarkable differences will emerge. *Al-Qaeda* leader, Bin Laden has a coherent strategy to attack the United States with the aim of provoking U.S. attacks on Muslim countries. He was never shy about explaining what he was doing and why. His public statements about his strategic goals in targeting the enemy justify this, from his first *fatwa* until the last letter he wrote before his death. In his 1996 "Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places," that published after the Khobar Towers bombings in Saudi Arabia, he explained that "it is essential to hit the main enemy who divided the *Ummah* (the Muslim world) into small and little countries and pushed it, for the last few decades, into a state of confusion"(Bin Laden, 1996).[8] When Clinton's administration withdrew the U.S forces from Somalia in 1993 and 1994, Bin Laden said :"Tens of your soldiers were killed in minor battles and one American Pilot was dragged in the streets of Mogadishu you left the area carrying disappointment, humiliation, defeat and your dead with you."

He also explained his strategy in the name of the world Islamic front, published in Arab newspapers in London after *Al-Qaeda*'s 1998 bombing of the USS Cole that killed 17 American sailors. Following the September Attacks, Bin Laden returned to the same themes again ,"The goal is to weaken America until it can no longer interfere in Muslims affairs," (*Aljazeera*,2004).[9]

To Scheuer , Bin Laden's beliefs , goals and intentions are carefully chosen plainly spoken and precise.

> Osama bin Laden's beliefs, goals, and intentions are carefully chosen, plainly spoken, and precise. He has set out the Muslim world's problems as he sees them; determined that they are caused by the United States; explained why they must be remedied; and outlined how he will try to do so. Seldom in America's history has an enemy laid out so clearly the basis for the war he is waging against it (Scheuer, n.d, p.4).

Bin Laden's goal is not to commit big attacks on American soil, but to end the historical domination of the United States in the Middle East.

Whereas Bush's war on terror did not have one goal but several, one of the goals that Bush announced was that he wanted to kill Bin Laden and destroy *Al-Qaeda*'s network. Another goal that Bush announced was that the questions of countries like Iraq, Iran and North Korea (Axis of Evil States). And finally, as a strategy for combating terrorism, the United States should support democratic government around the world, especially in the Middle East. "Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity."[10] After his second inauguration, in a January 2006 speech at National Defense University, Bush said: "The defense of freedom requires the advance of

freedom."The Bush doctrine states that the enemies of the United States are using terrorism as a "war of ideology" against the United States. So, the U.S. has the responsibility to protect itself and its friends by seeking democracy.

Bin Laden succeeded in driving America into the war he wanted, with consequences he predicted. Bin Laden's aim is to drive the United State into bankruptcy. He said: "It is the American people and their economy" (*Aljazeera,* 2004).[11] Scheuer claimed that, Bin Laden movement is aimed, not at killing or conquering Americans or reforming their internal political systems, but rather bankrupting them in order to reduce their worldwide influence and thereby liberate Muslims from the yoke of American political, military, and financial influence.

Bin laden sought to overthrow the Arab regimes which support the United States. He explained that in a letter, "Once the American enemy has been defeated, our next step would be targeting the region's leaders who had been the pillars of support for that American hegemony." He achieves his aim in his last letter dated April 25, 2011. Bin Laden died a happy man "What we are witnessing these days of consecutive revolutions is a great and glorious event," he was satisfied after watching the fall of regimes in Tunisia and Egypt. "Thanks to Allah things are strongly heading toward the exit of Muslims from being under the control of America."[12]

However, Bush claimed that U.S. forces would capture or kill Bin Laden and destroy *Al-Qaeda,* but he failed. Statements made by Bin Laden and Zawahiri in *Al Jazeera* channel said that the United States has failed to capture or kill them. More importantly, President Bush did not achieve his goal to democratize the Middle East. The United States sought to bring democracy to Iraq, but it has not succeeded to overcome ethnic and sectarian division within

the region. Furthermore, the continued presence of the American armed forces in the Middle East continues to bring disasters to these countries. So, Bush's wishes to democratize the Middle Eastern countries were not fulfilled. The President lost the war on terror and his popularity was declining shortly after this war. And his administration was criticized around the world for its policies domestically and internationally. Even European and some U.S. allies were very critical to various global issues.

3.6 Conclusion

The September 11 Attacks hold American consciousness, in his speech, President Bush speaks about the enemy who is everywhere. He represented the vision of terrorism as evil that threatens the United States. And this state must commit itself to fight against terrorism. The U.S. two battle fields featured in the short term (military force) and the long term (battle of ideas). The short-term actions that are required by national strategy were summarized in the four 'D's': Defeat terrorists (including cutting off their finances), deny them state support, and diminish their strength by addressing 'root causes'. Finally, defend the homeland and interests abroad. So, the War on Terror was working only if the enemy is defeated entirely. This is the vision that President Bush expressed in the "Axis of Evil" speech. One of the greatest dangers the Americans continue to face is terrorist groups' hatred, the rogue nations, nuclear and biological weapons and poverty. The 2006 strategy claims that Iraq has joined the coalition against terrorism. It refers to a struggle against terrorists in Iraq without mentioning the sectarian division or the civil war there. It is said that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction, but later it was verified that there were no stockpiles of WMD in Iraq. The public believed that what was told was the truth. The U.S. war on terror was just a pretext to conquer Iraq and its claim that there was a connection between Saddam and *Al-Qaeda* and the existence of WMD in Iraq are just lies that were proven later. The U.S.is still lying and

deceiving the world. The President's speech "Good vs. Evil and the Axis of Evil" convinced the American public to adopt the Bush Doctrine. The Americans' fighting against terrorism failed to match the real factors of the actual terror. Perhaps this is due to the misconceptions and the American misunderstanding of terrorism. The fact is that poverty is not a root cause of terrorism.

Of course, Saddam Hussein is not the only enemy America created for itself. The U.S claimed that Osama bin Laden is the real enemy of the United States. The U.S. war on terror is a war begun as a fight against *Al-Qaeda*, but later it became more ambitious. In the name of the war on terror, the U.S. has committed terrorism by means of violence. The "Global War on Terror" has relied on the wrong tools, the military in particular. As we mentioned earlier in the comparison, the U.S. administration uses harsh measures to spread democracy in the Middle East. Bush strategy had nothing to do with political freedom.

Finally, the U.S. must have a look at the underlying conditions that gave rise to Osama bin Laden. If the U.S. wants to solve the problem of terrorism, it has to solve the problems that gave rise to *Al-Qaeda*. It is often believed that the underlying problem here is hating freedom. "We are victims of hate." But the truth is far from hating freedom. Bin Laden is never interested in American freedom. He hates the American dominance, its support of Israel and.its.interference.in.the.Muslims'.affairs.

From this study, it is necessary to determine what are the motives that lead to the rise of *Al-Qaeda* in this conflict.

Chapter Notes

[1] http://20012009.state.gov/s/ct/rls/wh/71803.htm

[2] http://www.combatreform.org/johnpaulvann.htm

[3] http://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/09/02/hard-aid-foreign-aid-in-pursuit-of-short-term-security-and-political-goals/ifj3

[4] http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/washington/2005-10-06-bush-speech_x.htm

[5] http://www.un.org/ffd/statements/usaE.htm

[6] http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/military-july-dec96-fatwa_1996

[7] http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2004/11/200849163336457223.html

[8] http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/military-july-dec96-fatwa_1996

[9] http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2004/11/200849163336457223.html

[10] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/transcripts/bushtext_012803.html

[11] http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2004/11/200849163336457223.html

[12]http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/south-asia/in-letters-bin-laden-sought-control-and-urged-restraint

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

In the current situation terrorism is presenting danger to innocent civilians throughout the world. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon that relies on many causes among which, Darwinism which is considered as a root of various ideologies of violence that bring disasters to mankind in the twentieth and twenty first centuries.
The three divine religions that most people in the world believe in "Islam, Christianity and Judaism" all oppose violence. When terrorists commit terror acts in the name of religion they are not believers, but extremists and social Darwinists.

Terrorist activities are led, too, by opposition political parties, especially in the absence of an elected legislature. In the authoritarian regimes, the excluded political parties and repressing hostile groups are the main causes of domestic terrorism in these countries. Furthermore, themes of injustice and humiliation play a great role in terrorist biographies and in their personal histories. We cannot consider these factors as causes of terrorism but they have a significant influence in the terrorist's ideologies.

The Israeli lobby has a significant influence on the U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. globalization, its hegemony and its support for Israel created the Muslims' hatred to the west. It is extremely important to be critical of state terrorism when we discuss the topic of terrorism. For decades, the U.S. and Israel have been accused of state terrorism, like many European superpowers. The 2003 Bush- Blair war against Iraq is seen as an example of state terrorism and Israeli policies continue to insure that. The U.S. intervention in Iraq was wildly criticized because of its failures in the region.

Since dialogue is not possible with the enemy, the military approach is the appropriate way. The Muslims are using the language of *jihad* (the holy war) to defend their homelands from the infidels. *Al-Qaeda* is fighting the U.S. domination and *Hamas* is fighting Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. To end the violence against the Palestinians and many Muslims in the world, *Al-Qaeda* and *Hamas* leaders took steps to punish the tyrants. In general, the Muslims are fighting the unjust policies of western countries against their Muslim communities including Israel occupation to Palestine, Iraq war, the presence of U.S. military in the Middle East and the imposing of Western-style democracy.

The Americans claim that they fight against terrorism but they failed to match the real factors of the actual terrors. At the same time, the American strategy, war on terror, has relied on the wrong tools, the military in particular. In the name of fighting terrorism, the Bush administration is encouraging military solutions to terrorism globally. These policies ignore human rights, civil liberties and democracy as was evident in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Afghanistan, the U.S.-U.K. Iraq intervention, and other actions that destabilized the Middle East and created more enemies for the West. Interestingly enough, the work of Israel lobby on Congress and the Bush administration continues to push the state to wars and puts it in many troubles elsewhere.

2. Recommendation

2.1 To Muslims

As we mentioned earlier, the causes of terrorism are not the doing of God or religion, but are results of regimes and policies that oppress, kill and corrupt. Murdering a person without any reason is one of the most evident examples of mischief.

Allah repeats in the *Qur'an* a command to Jews in the Old Testament : "...if someone kills another person – unless it is in retaliation for someone else or for causing corruption in the earth – it is as if he had murdered all mankind. And if anyone gives life to another person, it is as if he had given life to all mankind..." (*Qur'an*, 5:32).
In the Hebrew Bible we read: "Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it" (Hebrew.Bible.Psalms,.34:.14).
Also, Jesus says:

> But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good do to them which what thank have ye? For sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? For sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again. (New Testament Luke, 6: 27-35)

This teaching sought to prevent war and bring peace to the world, and start thinking positively towards our enemies. It certainly points us to a peacekeeper position that can build a good and peaceful relationship with our enemies.
In the holy *Qur'an*, we discover many verses ordering Muslims to be peaceful and tolerant to one another, for instance; Allah says: "But if the enemy inclines towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah; for he is the one that heareth and knoweth (all things)" (Yusuf Ali, 1987, p.83). Allah also says: "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" (Ibid).
From the verses we conclude that war is not desired in Islam, only in certain circumstances where Muslims may choose it to stop aggression and injustice, and achieve freedom and peace. The second verse calls Muslims and non-Muslims to incorporate their prosperity, love, brotherhood and create ways that lead to an international restoration of peaceful partnership.

Although the methods of worshipping are different, the goal is to live together harmoniously in this world. And the first step towards realizing inter-religious tolerance should come from the leaders: political, religious or community leaders of the country. This involves the (*Imams*, Priests, political party leaders and community leaders at all levels). They should show the people the right path to integration and religious tolerance. The differences in the peoples' faiths cannot be ignored. Tolerance does not mean ignoring the differences but rather it is the willingness and readiness to accept the differences and acknowledge the rights of others to be different (Wilmot, 1997). People have been created to be different in their races, cultures, languages and religions in the sake of knowing each other. In other words, it is a challenge for them to communicate with each other."… Had Allah willed He could have made you one community. But that He may try you by that which He hath given you (He hath made you as ye are). So vie one with another in good works. Unto Allah ye will all return, and He will then inform you of that wherein ye differ." (*Qur'an*, 5:48). "… Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man has a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body; and be ye thankful" (The New Testament, Chapter 3, Colossians, 4:13).

As Muslims we know that there are many similarities in the West and in the Muslim communities such as freedom, tolerance, the right to education and civil liberties. Muslims must bring back the true spirit of Islam. Muslims must live by the moral values commanded by the *Qur'an* and as illustrated by Muhammad, the Messenger of God. Muslims have the responsibility to take Islam out from the hands of those who mismanage it, to avoid further misunderstanding of Islam. Muslims have to live by the teachings of Islamic virtue and by the example of Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him).

Back to Muslim youth, we can say that the preservation of the moral, spiritual values and the social tradition which are derived from the teachings of Islamic religion is a must and duty for each Muslim. But exaggeration in the way of religious extremism and intolerance without an understanding of the moderation, justice, equality, tolerance, compassion and peace which Islam calls for in dealing with others, will lead to acts of violence and terrorism that are forbidden in Islam.

It is, therefore, obligatory for Muslim scholars to declare a *jihad* on terrorism and terrorists (the religiously misguided criminals). Just as politicians have declared a war on terror, similarly, scholars have to fight on a different front.

2.2 To western people

For the West the establishment of the nation of Israel is an attempt to provide a safe-haven for the millions of Jews throughout the world. These Jews who have faced persecution, they deserve their own homeland. This comes from the strong connection between Israel and America. Many Israeli citizens share dual-citizenship and moved from America to Palestine when the so-called Israel was first established. This created a strong relationship between the U.S. and Israel. To Muslims the existence of Israel is not viewed the same way. This existence has displaced Palestinians from their homeland.

Also, the Saudi Arabian peninsula is holy land for Muslims. Mecca and Medina are two cities sacred to Islamic tradition. When the United States first stood in alliance with other countries to oppose Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait in the first Gulf War, the government of Saudi Arabia allowed the United States to set up military bases on this "sacred ground" because it feared that Saddam would move from Kuwait into Saudi Arabia. These

bases are still in Saudi Arabia, and are one of the main reasons that pushed Osama Bin Laden to oppose the United States.

After 9/11 President George W. Bush claimed: "we are attacked because we are beautiful people, spreading freedom around the world". But the actions of his government are seen by others differently. The connection between the attacks of September 11th and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is the main debate in the actual political scene. To solve the problem of terrorism is not to overreact or justify attacks on civilians, but rather to understand what motivates people to kill. And trying to find the answer why many Muslims were dancing with joy when news of the death and destruction of 9/11 broke, this could help reduce terrorism in the future. Americans should examine the real ways in which foreign policy contributed to regional instability in the Middle East and led to violence and terrorism in general. They have to figure out what the U.S. has done to make so much of the Muslim world hatred. In this way, they may find that the U.S. is responsible for causing terrorism against itself.

Thus, it is reasonable to consider international terrorism a deadly threat on a global level and to take reasonable action against this phenomenon, that is required an intelligent response. We also need global movements and institutions to oppose military attacks on innocent people that legitimate oppression in the name of the war against terrorism.

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Accompanying Appendices

Appendix ‘A: Bin Laden’s Speeches

Osama bin Laden, Videotaped Address, October 7, 2001

Here is America struck by God Almighty in one of its vital organs, so that its greatest buildings are destroyed. Grace and gratitude to God. America has been filled with horror from north to south and east to west, and thanks be to God. What America is tasting now is only a copy of what we have tasted. Our Islamic nation has been tasting the same for more than 80 years of humiliation and disgrace, its sons killed and their blood spilled, its sanctities desecrated. God has blessed a group of vanguard Muslims, the forefront of Islam, to destroy America. May God bless them and allot them a supreme place in heaven, for he is the only one capable and entitled to do so. When those have stood in defense of their weak children, their brothers and sisters in Palestine and other Muslim nations, the whole world went into an uproar, the infidels followed by the hypocrites. A million innocent children are dying at this time as we speak, killed in Iraq without any guilt. We hear no denunciation, we hear no edict from the hereditary rulers. In these days, Israeli tanks rampage across Palestine, in Ramallah, Rafah and Beit Jala and many other parts of the land of Islam [dar al-Islam], and we do not hear anyone raising his voice or reacting. But when the sword fell upon America after 80 years, hypocrisy raised its head up high bemoaning those killers who toyed with the blood, honor and sanctities of Muslims. The least that can be said about those hypocrites is that they are apostates who followed the wrong path. They backed the butcher against the victim, the oppressor against the innocent child. I seek refuge in God against them and ask him to let us see them in what they deserve.

I say that the matter is very clear. Every Muslim, after this event, after the senior officials in the United States of America starting with the head of international infidels. Bush and his staff who went on a display of vanity with their men and horses, those who turned even the countries that believe in Islam against us—the group that resorted to God, the Almighty, the group that refuses to be subdued in its religion. They have been telling the world falsehoods that they are fighting terrorism. In a nation at the far end of the world, Japan, hundreds of thousands, young and old, were killed and this is not a world crime. To them it is not a clear issue. A million children in Iraq, to them this is not a clear issue. But when a few more than 10 were killed in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, Afghanistan and Iraq were bombed and hypocrisy stood behind the head of international infidels: the modern world's symbol of paganism, America, and its allies. I tell them that these events have divided the world into two camps, the camp of the faithful and the camp of infidels. May God shield us and you from them. Every Muslim must rise to defend his religion. The wind of faith is blowing and the wind of change is blowing to remove evil from the Peninsula of Muhammad, Peace Be Upon Him.

As to America, I say to it and its people a few words: I swear to God that America will not live in peace before peace reigns in Palestine, and before all the army of infidels depart the land of Muhammad, peace be upon him. God is the greatest and glory be to Islam.

Translated text of bin Laden broadcast taken from the *New York Times*, Monday, October 8, 2001, p. B7.

Full transcript of Bin Laden's Speech (Following is the full English transcript of Osama bin Laden's Speech in a videotape sent to *Aljazeera*. 01/11/2004 "*Aljazeera*")(http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2004/11/200849163336457223.html)

Praise be to Allah who created the creation for his worship and commanded them to be just and permitted the wronged one to retaliate against the oppressor in kind. To proceed: Peace be upon he who follows the guidance: People of America this talk of mine is for you and concerns the ideal way to prevent another Manhattan, and deals with the war and its causes.and.results.

Before I begin, I say to you that security is an indispensable pillar of human life and that free men do not forfeit their security, contrary to Bush's claim that we hate freedom. If so, then let him explain to us why we don't strike for example – Sweden? And we know that freedom-haters don't possess defiant spirits like those of the 19 – may Allah have mercy on them. No, we fight because we are free men who don't sleep under oppression. We want to restore freedom to our nation, just as you lay waste to our nation. So shall we lay waste to yours.

No-one except a dumb thief plays with the security of others and then makes himself believe he will be secure. Whereas thinking people, when disaster strikes, make it their priority to look for its causes, in order to prevent it happening again.

But I am amazed at you. Even though we are in the fourth year after the events of September 11th, Bush is still engaged in distortion, deception and hiding from you the real causes. And thus, the reasons are still there for a repeat of what occurred.

So I shall talk to you about the story behind those events and shall tell you truthfully about the moments in which the decision was taken, for you to consider.

I say to you, Allah knows that it had never occurred to us to strike the towers. But after it became unbearable and we witnessed the oppression and tyranny of the American/Israeli coalition against our people in Palestine and Lebanon, it came to my mind.

The events that affected my soul in a direct way started in 1982 when America permitted the Israelis to invade Lebanon and the American Sixth Fleet helped them in that. This bombardment began and many were killed and injured and others were terrorized and displaced.

I couldn't forget those moving scenes, blood and severed limbs, women and children sprawled everywhere. Houses destroyed along with their occupants and high rises demolished over their residents, rockets raining down on our home without mercy.

The situation was like a crocodile meeting a helpless child, powerless except for his screams. Does the crocodile understand a conversation that doesn't include a weapon? And the whole

world saw and heard but it didn't respond.
In those difficult moments many hard-to-describe ideas bubbled in my soul, but in the end they produced an intense feeling of rejection of tyranny, and gave birth to a strong resolve to punish.the.oppressors.
And as I looked at those demolished towers in Lebanon, it entered my mind that we should punish the oppressor in kind and that we should destroy towers in America in order that they taste some of what we tasted and so that they be deterred from killing our women and children.
And that day, it was confirmed to me that oppression and the intentional killing of innocent women and children is a deliberate American policy. Destruction is freedom and democracy, while.resistance.is.terrorism.and.intolerance.
This means the oppressing and embargoing to death of millions as Bush Sr. did in Iraq in the greatest mass slaughter of children mankind has ever known, and it means the throwing of millions of pounds of bombs and explosives at millions of children – also in Iraq – as Bush Jr. Did, in order to remove an old agent and replace him with a new puppet to assist in the pilfering.of.Iraq's.oil.and.other.outrages.
So with these images and their like as their background, the events of September 11th came as a reply to those great wrongs, should a man be blamed for defending his sanctuary? Is defending oneself and punishing the aggressor in kind, objectionable terrorism? If it is such,.then.it.is.unavoidable.for.us.
This is the message which I sought to communicate to you in word and deed, repeatedly, for years.before.September.11th.
And you can read this, if you wish, in my interview with Scott in Time Magazine in 1996, or with *Peter Arnett* on CNN in 1997, or my meeting with John Weiner in 1998. You can observe it practically, if you wish, in Kenya and Tanzania and in Aden. And you can read it in my interview with Abdul Bari Atwan, as well as my interviews with Robert Fisk. The latter is one of your compatriots and co-religionists and I consider him to be neutral. So are the pretenders of freedom at The White House and the channels controlled by them able to run an interview with him? So that he may relay to the American people what he has understood from us to be the reasons for our fight against you?
If you were to avoid these reasons, you will have taken the correct path that will lead America to the security that it was in before September 11th. This concerned the causes of the war. As for it's results, they have been, by the grace of Allah, positive and enormous, and have, by all standards, exceeded all expectations. This is due to many factors, chief amongst them, that we have found it difficult to deal with the Bush administration in light of the resemblance it bears to the regimes in our countries, half of which are ruled by the military and the other half which are ruled by the sons of kings and presidents.
Our experience with them is lengthy, and both types are replete with those who are characterized by pride, arrogance, greed and misappropriation of wealth. This resemblance began after the visits of Bush Sr. to the region.
At a time when some of our compatriots were dazzled by America and hoping that these visits would have an effect on our countries, all of a sudden he was affected by those monarchies

and military regimes, and became envious of their remaining decades in their positions, to embezzle the public wealth of the nation without supervision or accounting.
So he took dictatorship and suppression of freedoms to his son and they named it the Patriot Act, under the pretense of fighting terrorism. In addition, Bush sanctioned the installing of sons as state governors, and didn't forget to import expertise in election fraud from the region's presidents to Florida to be made use of in moments of difficulty.
All that we have mentioned has made it easy for us to provoke and bait this administration. All that we have to do is to send two *Mujahideen* to the furthest point East to raise a piece of cloth on which is written *Al-Qaida,* in order to make the generals race there to cause America to suffer human, economic, and political losses without their achieving for it anything of note other than some benefits for their private companies.
This is in addition to our having experience in using guerrilla warfare and the war of attrition to fight tyrannical superpowers, as we, alongside the *Mujahideen*, bled Russia for ten years, until it went bankrupt and was forced to withdraw in defeat.
…. Be aware that it is the nation who punishes the weak man when he causes the killing of one of its citizens for money, while letting the powerful one get off, when he causes the killing of more than 1000 of its sons, also for money.
And the same goes for your allies in Palestine. They terrorize the women and children, and kill and capture the men as they lie sleeping with their families on the mattresses, that you may recall that for every action, there is a reaction.
Finally, it behooves you to reflect on the last wills and testaments of the thousands who left you on the 11th as they gestured in despair. They are important testaments, which should be studied and researched.
Among the most important of what I read in them was some prose in their gestures before the collapse, where they say, "How mistaken we were to have allowed the White House to implement its aggressive foreign policies against the weak without supervision." It is as if they were telling you, the people of America, "Hold to account those who have caused us to be killed, and happy is he who learns from others' mistakes," And among that which I read in their gestures is a verse of poetry, "Injustice chases its people, and how unhealthy the bed of tyranny."
As has been said, "An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure." And know that, "It is better to return to the truth than persist in error." And that the wise man doesn't squander his security, wealth and children for the sake of the liar in the White House.
In conclusion, I tell you in truth, that your security is not in the hands of Kerry, nor Bush, nor *Al-Qaida*. No. Your security is in your own hands. And every state that doesn't play with our security has automatically guaranteed its own security.
And Allah is our Guardian and Helper, while you have no Guardian or Helper. All Peace be Upon he who follows the Guidance.

Bin Laden's Letter to America: (the full text of Osama bin Laden's "letter to the American people". The letter first appeared on the internet in Arabic and has since been translated and circulated by Islamists in Britain. Sunday 24 November 2002 12.07 GMT)

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful,
…Some American writers have published articles under the title 'On what basis are we fighting?' These articles have generated a number of responses, some of which adhered to the truth and were based on Islamic Law, and others which have not. Here we wanted to outline the truth - as an explanation and warning - hoping for Allah's reward, seeking success and support from Him. While seeking Allah's help, we form our reply based on two questions directed at the Americans:
(Q1).Why are we fighting and opposing you?
(Q2) What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?

As for the first question: Why are we fighting and opposing you? The answer is very simple:
(1).Because you attacked us and continue to attack us.
a).You attacked us in.Palestine:
(i) Palestine, which has sunk under military occupation for more than 80 years. The British handed over Palestine, with your help and your support, to the Jews, who have occupied it for more than 50 years; years overflowing with oppression, tyranny, crimes, killing, expulsion, destruction and devastation. The creation and continuation of Israel is one of the greatest crimes, and you are the leaders of its criminals. And of course there is no need to explain and prove the degree of American support for Israel. The creation of Israel is a crime which must be erased. Each and every person whose hands have become polluted in the contribution towards this crime must pay its price, and pay for it heavily.
(ii) It brings us both laughter and tears to see that you have not yet tired of repeating your fabricated lies that the Jews have a historical right to Palestine, as it was promised to them in the Torah. Anyone who disputes with them on this alleged fact is accused of anti-semitism. This is one of the most fallacious, widely-circulated fabrications in history. The people of Palestine are pure Arabs and original Semites. It is the Muslims who are the inheritors of Moses (Peace Be Upon Him) and the inheritors of the real Torah that has not been changed. Muslims believe in all of the Prophets, including Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon them all. If the followers of Moses have been promised a right to Palestine in the Torah, then the Muslims are the most worthy nation of this. When the Muslims conquered Palestine and drove out the Romans, Palestine and Jerusalem returned to Islam, the religion of all the Prophets peace be upon them. Therefore, the call to a historical right to Palestine cannot be raised against the Islamic *Ummah* that believes in all the Prophets of Allah (peace and blessings be upon them) and we make no distinction between them.
(iii) The blood pouring out of Palestine must be equally revenged. You must know that the Palestinians do not cry alone; their women are not widowed alone; their sons are not orphaned alone.
(b) You attacked us in Somalia; you supported the Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya, the Indian oppression against us in Kashmir, and the Jewish aggression against us in Lebanon.
(c) Under your supervision, consent and orders, the governments of our countries which act as your agents, attack us on a daily basis;

(i) These governments prevent our people from establishing the Islamic *Shariah*, using violence.and.lies.to.do.so.
(ii) These governments give us a taste of humiliation, and places us in a large prison of fear and subdual.
(iii) These governments steal our *Ummah*'s wealth and sell them to you at a paltry price.
(iv) These governments have surrendered to the Jews, and handed them most of Palestine, acknowledging the existence of their state over the dismembered limbs of their own people.
(v) The removal of these governments is an obligation upon us, and a necessary step to free the *Ummah*, to make the *Shariah* the supreme law and to regain Palestine. And our fight against these governments is not separate from out fight against you.

(d) You steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of you international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed by mankind in the history of the world.
(e) Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our lands, and you besiege our sanctities, to protect the security of the Jews and to ensure the continuity of your pillage of our treasures.
(f) You have starved the Muslims of Iraq, where children die every day. It is a wonder that more than 1.5 million Iraqi children have died as a result of your sanctions, and you did not show concern. Yet when 3000 of your people died, the entire world rises and has not yet sat down.
(g) You have supported the Jews in their idea that Jerusalem is their eternal capital, and agreed to move your embassy there. With your help and under your protection, the Israelis are planning to destroy the *Al-Aqsa* mosque. Under the protection of your weapons, Sharon entered the *Al-Aqsa* mosque, to pollute it as a preparation to capture and destroy it.
(2) These tragedies and calamities are only a few examples of your oppression and aggression against us. It is commanded by our religion and intellect that the oppressed have a right to return the aggression. Do not await anything from us but *Jihad*, resistance and revenge. Is it in any way rational to expect that after America has attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then leave her to live in security and peace?!!
(3) You may then dispute that all the above does not justify aggression against civilians, for crimes they did not commit and offenses in which they did not partake:
(a) This argument contradicts your continuous repetition that America is the land of freedom, and its leaders in this world. Therefore, the American people are the ones who choose their government by way of their own free will; a choice which stems from their agreement to its policies. Thus the American people have chosen, consented to, and affirmed their support for the Israeli oppression of the Palestinians, the occupation and usurpation of their land, and its continuous killing, torture, punishment and expulsion of the Palestinians. The American people have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their Government and even to change it if they want.
(b) The American people are the ones who pay the taxes which fund the planes that bomb us in Afghanistan, the tanks that strike and destroy our homes in Palestine, the armies which

occupy our lands in the Arabian Gulf, and the fleets which ensure the blockade of Iraq. These tax dollars are given to Israel for it to continue to attack us and penetrate our lands. So the American people are the ones who fund the attacks against us, and they are the ones who oversee the expenditure of these monies in the way they wish, through their elected candidates.

(c) Also the American army is part of the American people. It is this very same people who are shamelessly helping the Jews fight against us.

(d) The American people are the ones who employ both their men and their women in the American Forces which attack us.

(e) This is why the American people cannot be not innocent of all the crimes committed by the Americans and Jews against us.

(f) Allah, the Almighty, legislated the permission and the option to take revenge. Thus, if we are attacked, then we have the right to attack back. Whoever has destroyed our villages and towns, then we have the right to destroy their villages and towns. Whoever has stolen our wealth, then we have the right to destroy their economy. And whoever has killed our civilians, then3we.have.the.right.to.kill.theirs.

The American Government and press still refuses to answer the question: Why did they attack us in New York and Washington?

If Sharon is a man of peace in the eyes of Bush, then we are also men of peace!!! America does not understand the language of manners and principles, so we are addressing it using the language it understands.

(Q2) As for the second question that we want to answer: What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?

(1) The first thing that we are calling you to is Islam.

(a) The religion of the Unification of God; of freedom from associating partners with Him, and rejection of this; of complete love of Him, the Exalted; of complete submission to His Laws; and of the discarding of all the opinions, orders, theories and religions which contradict with the religion He sent down to His Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Islam is the religion of all the prophets, and makes no distinction between them - peace be upon them all. It is to this religion that we call you; the seal of all the previous religions. It is the religion of Unification of God, sincerity, the best of manners, righteousness, mercy, honor, purity, and piety. It is the religion of showing kindness to others, establishing justice between them, granting them their rights, and defending the oppressed and the persecuted. It is the religion of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil with the hand, tongue and heart. It is the religion of Jihad in the way of Allah so that Allah's Word and religion rein Supreme. And it is the religion of unity and agreement on the obedience to Allah, and total equality between all people, without regarding their color, sex, or language.

(b) It is the religion whose book - the *Quran* - will remained preserved and unchanged, after the other Divine books and messages have been changed. The *Quran* is the miracle until the Day of Judgment. Allah has challenged anyone to bring a book like the *Quran* or even ten verses like it.

(2) The second thing we call you to, is to stop your oppression, lies, immorality and

debauchery that has spread among you.
(a) We call you to be a people of manners, principles, honor, and purity; to reject the immoral acts of fornication, homosexuality, intoxicants, gambling's, and trading with interest. We call you to all of this that you may be freed from that which you have become caught up in; that you may be freed from the deceptive lies that you are a great nation, that your leaders spread amongst you to conceal from you the despicable state to which you have reached.
(b) It is saddening to tell you that you are the worst civilization witnessed by the history of mankind: (i) You are the nation who, rather than ruling by the *Shariah* of Allah in its Constitution and Laws, choose to invent your own laws as you will and desire. You separate religion from your policies, contradicting the pure nature which affirms Absolute Authority to the Lord and your Creator. You flee from the embarrassing question posed to you: How is it possible for Allah the Almighty to create His creation, grant them power over all the creatures and land, grant them all the amenities of life, and then deny them that which they are most in need of: knowledge of the laws which govern their lives?
(ii) You are the nation that permits Usury, which has been forbidden by all the religions. Yet you build your economy and investments on Usury. As a result of this, in all its different forms and guises, the Jews have taken control of your economy, through which they have then taken control of your media, and now control all aspects of your life making you their servants and achieving their aims at your expense; precisely what Benjamin Franklin warned you against.
(iii) You are a nation that permits the production, trading and usage of intoxicants. You also permit drugs, and only forbid the trade of them, even though your nation is the largest consumer of them.
(iv) You are a nation that permits acts of immorality, and you consider them to be pillars of personal freedom. You have continued to sink down this abyss from level to level until incest has spread amongst you, in the face of which neither your sense of honor nor your laws object.
Who can forget your President Clinton's immoral acts committed in the official Oval office? After that you did not even bring him to account, other than that he 'made a mistake', after which everything passed with no punishment. Is there a worse kind of event for which your name will go down in history and remembered by nations?
(v) You are a nation that permits gambling in its all forms. The companies practice this as well, resulting in the investments becoming active and the criminals becoming rich.
(vi) You are a nation that exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools calling upon customers to purchase them. You use women to serve passengers, visitors, and strangers to increase your profit margins. You then rant that you support the liberation of women.
(vii) You are a nation that practices the trade of sex in all its forms, directly and indirectly. Giant corporations and establishments are established on this, under the name of art, entertainment, tourism and freedom, and other deceptive names you attribute to it.
(viii) And because of all this, you have been described in history as a nation that spreads diseases that were unknown to man in the past. Go ahead and boast to the nations of man, that you brought them AIDS as a Satanic American Invention.

(xi) You have destroyed nature with your industrial waste and gases more than any other nation in history. Despite this, you refuse to sign the Kyoto agreement so that you can secure the profit of your greedy companies and industries.
(x) Your law is the law of the rich and wealthy people, who hold sway in their political parties, and fund their election campaigns with their gifts. Behind them stand the Jews, who control your policies, media and economy.
(xi) That which you are singled out for in the history of mankind, is that you have used your force to destroy mankind more than any other nation in history; not to defend principles and values, but to hasten to secure your interests and profits. You who dropped a nuclear bomb on Japan, even though Japan was ready to negotiate an end to the war. How many acts of oppression, tyranny and injustice have you carried out, O callers to freedom?
(xii) Let us not forget one of your major characteristics: your duality in both manners and values; your hypocrisy in manners and principles. All manners, principles and values have two scales: one for you and one for the others.
(a)The freedom and democracy that you call to is for yourselves and for white race only; as for the rest of the world, you impose upon them your monstrous, destructive policies and Governments, which you call the 'American friends'. Yet you prevent them from establishing democracies. When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy and they won the election, you unleashed your agents in the Algerian army onto them, and to attack them with tanks and guns, to imprison them and torture them - a new lesson from the 'American book of democracy'!!!
(b)Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction to ensure world peace: it only applies to those countries which you do not permit to possess such weapons. As for the countries you consent to, such as Israel, then they are allowed to keep and use such weapons to defend their security. Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call them criminals and you take military action against them.
(c)You are the last ones to respect the resolutions and policies of International Law, yet you claim to want to selectively punish anyone else who does the same. Israel has for more than 50 years been pushing UN resolutions and rules against the wall with the full support of America.
(d)As for the war criminals which you censure and form criminal courts for - you shamelessly ask that your own are granted immunity!! However, history will not forget the war crimes that you committed against the Muslims and the rest of the world; those you have killed in Japan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Lebanon and Iraq will remain a shame that you will never be able to escape. It will suffice to remind you of your latest war crimes in Afghanistan, in which densely populated innocent civilian villages were destroyed, bombs were dropped on mosques causing the roof of the mosque to come crashing down on the heads of the Muslims praying inside. You are the ones who broke the agreement with the *Mujahideen* when they left Qunduz, bombing them in Jangi fort, and killing more than 1,000 of your prisoners through suffocation and thirst. Allah alone knows how many people have died by torture at the hands of you and your agents. Your planes remain in the Afghan skies, looking for anyone remotely

suspicious.
(e)You have claimed to be the vanguards of Human Rights, and your Ministry of Foreign affairs issues annual reports containing statistics of those countries that violate any Human Rights. However, all these things vanished when the *Mujahideen* hit you, and you then implemented the methods of the same documented governments that you used to curse. In America, you captured thousands the Muslims and Arabs, took them into custody with neither reason, court trial, nor even disclosing their names. You issued newer, harsher laws. What happens in Guatanamo is a historical embarrassment to America and its values, and it screams into your faces - you hypocrites, "What is the value of your signature on any agreement or treaty?"
(3) What we call you to thirdly is to take an honest stance with yourselves - and I doubt you will do so - to discover that you are a nation without principles or manners, and that the values and principles to you are something which you merely demand from others, not that which you yourself must adhere to. (4) We also advise you to stop supporting Israel, and to end your support of the Indians in Kashmir, the Russians against the Chechens and to also cease supporting the Manila Government against the Muslims in Southern Philippines.
(5) We also advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands. We desire for your goodness, guidance, and righteousness, so do not force us to send you back as cargo in coffins.
(6) Sixthly, we call upon you to end your support of the corrupt leaders in our countries. Do not interfere in our politics and method of education. Leave us alone, or else expect us in New York and Washington.
(7) We also call you to deal with us and interact with us on the basis of mutual interests and benefits, rather than the policies of sub dual, theft and occupation, and not to continue your policy of supporting the Jews because this will result in more disasters for you.
If you fail to respond to all these conditions, then prepare for fight with the Islamic Nation. The Nation of Monotheism, that puts complete trust on Allah and fears none other than Him. The Nation which is addressed by its Quran with the words: "Do you fear them? Allah has more right that you should fear Him if you are believers. Fight against them so that Allah will punish them by your hands and disgrace them and give you victory over them and heal the breasts of believing people. And remove the anger of their (believers') hearts. Allah accepts the repentance of whom He wills. Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise." [*Quran*9:13-1]
The Nation of honor and respect: "But honor, power and glory belong to Allah, and to His Messenger (Muhammad- peace be upon him) and to the believers." [*Quran* 63:8]
"So do not become weak (against your enemy), nor be sad, and you will be superior (in victory)if you are indeed (true) believers" [*Quran* 3:139]
The Nation of Martyrdom; the Nation that desires death more than you desire life: "Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive with their Lord, and they are being provided for. They rejoice in what Allah has bestowed upon them from His bounty and rejoice for the sake of those who have not yet joined them, but are left behind (not yet martyred) that on them no fear shall come, nor shall they grieve. They rejoice in a grace and a bounty from Allah, and that Allah will not waste the reward of the believers." [*Quran*

3:169-171]

The Nation of victory and success that Allah has promised: "It is He Who has sent His Messenger (Muhammad peace be upon him) with guidance and the religion of truth (Islam), to make it victorious over all other religions even though the Polytheists hate it." [*Quran* 61:9] The Islamic Nation that was able to dismiss and destroy the previous evil Empires like yourself; the Nation that rejects your attacks, wishes to remove your evils, and is prepared to fight you. You are well aware that the Islamic Nation, from the very core of its soul, despises your haughtiness and arrogance.

If the Americans refuse to listen to our advice and the goodness, guidance and righteousness that we call them to, then be aware that you will lose this Crusade Bush began, just like the other previous Crusades in which you were humiliated by the hands of the *Mujahideen*, fleeing to your home in great silence and disgrace. If the Americans do not respond, then their fate will be that of the Soviets who fled from Afghanistan to deal with their military defeat, political breakup, ideological downfall, and economic bankruptcy.

This is our message to the Americans, as an answer to theirs. Do they now know why we fight them and over which form of ignorance, by the permission of Allah, we shall be victorious?

Appendix 'B: George W. Bush's Speeches

Address To the Nation on the September 11 Attacks
The Oval Office. Washington, D.C. September 11, 2001

Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America — with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them. I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for you are with me." This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace.

America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world. Thank you. Good night and God bless America.

State of the Union Address To the 107th Congress the United States Capitol
Washington, D.C. January 29, 2002

…We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai.

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar.

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. The man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves — you will not escape the justice of this nation.

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day. Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom. Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world. What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war

against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others.
Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.
Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld — including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed — operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.
…..But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens — leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections —then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world. States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.
We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security. We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the

world's most destructive weapons. Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch -yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch. We can't stop short. If we stop now- leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked - our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight.
Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy….Thank you all. May God bless.

Remarks on the Future of Iraq Washington Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C. February 26, 2003

… We meet here during a crucial period in the history of our nation, and of the civilized world. Part of that history was written by others; the rest will be written by us. On a September morning, threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale. As a result, we must look at security in a new way, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century. We learned a lesson: The dangers of our time must be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them again in our skies and in our cities. And we set a goal: we will not allow the triumph of hatred and violence in the affairs of men. Our coalition of more than 90 countries is pursuing the networks of terror with every tool of law enforcement and with military power. We have arrested, or otherwise dealt with, many key commanders of *Al-Qaeda*. Across the world, we are hunting down the killers one by one. We are winning. And we're showing them the definition of American justice. And we are opposing the greatest danger in the war on terror: outlaw regimes arming with weapons of mass destruction. In Iraq, a dictator is building and hiding weapons that could enable him to dominate the Middle East and intimidate the civilized world — and we will not allow it. This same tyrant has close ties to terrorist organizations, and could supply them with the terrible means to strike this country — and America will not permit it. The danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons cannot be ignored or wished away. The danger must be confronted. We hope that the Iraqi regime will meet the demands of the United Nations and disarm, fully and peacefully. If it does not, we are prepared to disarm Iraq by force. Either way, this danger will be removed. The safety of the American people depends on ending this direct and growing threat. Acting against the danger will also contribute greatly to the long-term safety and stability of our world. The current Iraqi regime has shown the power of tyranny to spread discord and violence in the Middle East. A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions. America's interests in security, and America's belief in liberty, both lead in the same direction: to a free and peaceful Iraq.
The first to benefit from a free Iraq would be the Iraqi people, themselves. Today they live in scarcity and fear, under a dictator who has brought them nothing but war, and misery, and

torture. Their lives and their freedom matter little to Saddam Hussein —but Iraqi lives and freedom matter greatly to us.

Bringing stability and unity to a free Iraq will not be easy. Yet that is no excuse to leave the Iraqi regime's torture chambers and poison labs in operation. Any future the Iraqi people choose for themselves will be better than the nightmare world that Saddam Hussein has chosen for them.

If we must use force, the United States and our coalition stand ready to help the citizens of a liberated Iraq. We will deliver medicine to the sick, and we are now moving into place nearly 3 million emergency rations to feed the hungry.

We'll make sure that Iraq's 55,000 food distribution sites, operating under the Oil for Food program, are stocked and open as soon as possible. The United States and Great Britain are providing tens of millions of dollars to the U.N. High Commission on Refugees, and to such groups as the World Food Program and UNICEF, to provide emergency aid to the Iraqi people.

We will also lead in carrying out the urgent and dangerous work of destroying chemical and biological weapons. We will provide security against those who try to spread chaos, or settle scores, or threaten the territorial integrity of Iraq. We will seek to protect Iraq's natural resources from sabotage by a dying regime, and ensure those resources are used for the benefit of the owners —the Iraqi people.

The United States has no intention of determining the precise form of Iraq's new government. That choice belongs to the Iraqi people. Yet, we will ensure that one brutal dictator is not replaced by another. All Iraqis must have a voice in the new government, and all citizens must have their rights protected.

Rebuilding Iraq will require a sustained commitment from many nations, including our own: we will remain in Iraq as long as necessary, and not a day more. America has made and kept this kind of commitment before — in the peace that followed a world war. After defeating enemies, we did not leave behind occupying armies, we left constitutions and parliaments. We established an atmosphere of safety, in which responsible, reform-minded local leaders could build lasting institutions of freedom. In societies that once bred fascism and militarism, liberty found a permanent home.

….. We go forward with confidence, because we trust in the power of human freedom to change lives and nations. By the resolve and purpose of America, and of our friends and allies, we will make this an age of progress and liberty. Free people will set the course of history, and free people will keep the peace of the world.

Thank you all, very much.

Appendix 'C: Islamic Statement's against Terrorism

'Abdulaziz bin 'Abdallah Al-Ashaykh, chief mufti of Saudi Arabia: "Firstly: the recent developments in the United States including hijacking planes, terrorizing innocent people and shedding blood, constitute a form of injustice that cannot be tolerated by Islam, which views them as gross crimes and sinful acts. Secondly: any Muslim who is aware of the teachings of his religion and who adheres to the directives of the Holy Qur'an and the sunnah (the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad) will never involve himself in such acts, because they will invoke the anger of God Almighty and lead to harm and corruption on earth." (Statement of September 15, 2001) (via archive.org).

Sheikh Saleh Al-Luheidan, Chairman of the Supreme Judicial Council, Saudi Arabia: "As a human community we must be vigilant and careful to oppose these pernicious and shameless evils, which are not justified by any sane logic, nor by the religion of Islam."(Statement of September 14, 2001, in "Public Statements by Senior Saudi Officials Condemning Extremism and Promoting Moderation," May 2004, p. 6) (via archive.org).

Council of Saudi 'Ulama, fatwa of February 2003: "What is happening in some countries from the shedding of the innocent blood and the bombing of buildings and ships and the destruction of public and private installations is a criminal act against Islam. … Those who carry out such acts have the deviant beliefs and misleading ideologies and are responsible for the crime. Islam and Muslims should not be held responsible for such actions." (The Dawn newspaper, Karachi, Pakistan, February 8, 2003 (via archive.org); also in "Public Statements by Senior Saudi Officials Condemning Extremism and Promoting Moderation," May 2004, p. 10) (via archive.org).

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, chairman of the Sunna and Sira Council, Qatar: "Our hearts bleed for the attacks that has targeted the World Trade Center [WTC], as well as other institutions in the United States despite our strong oppositions to the American biased policy towards Israel on the military, political and economic fronts. Islam, the religion of tolerance, holds the human soul in high esteem, and considers the attack against innocent human beings a grave sin, this is backed by the Qur'anic verse which reads: 'Who so ever kills a human being [as punishment] for [crimes] other than manslaughter or [sowing] corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he has killed all mankind, and who so ever saves the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind' (Al Ma'idah:32)." Statement of September 13, 2001 (via archive.org).

Organization of the Islamic Conference, Summit Conference: "We are determined to fight terrorism in all its forms. … Islam is the religion of moderation. It rejects extremism and isolation. There is a need to confront deviant ideology where it appears, including in school curricula. Islam is the religion of diversity and tolerance." (Daily Star, Beirut, Lebanon, December 9, 2005).

Appendix 'D: The "war on Terrorism" is a " war on Islam"

CAIR Claims that the "War on Terrorism" is a "War on Islam"

CAIR national board chairman Parvez Ahmed said on July 17, 2007 at a National Press Club Forum: "The new perception is that the United States has entered a war with Islam itself."
Since the 9/11 attacks, CAIR consistently has accused the U.S. government of targeting Islam itself in the war on terrorism. CAIR denies the legitimacy of virtually all U.S. antiterrorist efforts and claims that almost every prosecution or attack on a terrorist who is Muslim, or any investigation or prosecution of an alleged terrorist front group, is an attack on Islam itself.

CAIR Press Releases/Action Alerts

• After HLF's assets were frozen in December 2001, CAIR issued a joint statement with a number of other Muslim groups that stated, "We ask that President Bush reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America's credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam." (CAIR Press Release, 2001)

• In December 2001, CAIR issued a press release that stated, "American Muslims are now under a cloud of suspicion produced by a drumbeat of anti-Muslim rhetoric from those who are taking advantage of the 9-11 tragedy to carry out their agenda of silencing our community and its leadership once and for all." CAIR Action Alert, 2001)

• Following the Elashi arrests, CAIR-Dallas issued a press release that said, "We are concerned that these charges result from what appears to be a 'war on Islam and Muslims' rather than a 'war on terror.' Recent actions by the Department of Justice have brought into question the intention of arrests such as these. We, as
American Muslims are facing an uphill battle in defending our own government's foreign policy, as well as the, so-called, war on terrorism, while being targeted by our own law enforcement agencies." (CAIR-Dallas Press Release, 2002)

Nihad Awad, Executive Director of CAIR National

• Responding to a Department of Justice initiative to fingerprint and photograph nearly 100,000 foreigners who were already in the country in an effort to weed out suspected terrorists, Awad said, in June 2002, "What is next? Forcing American Muslims to wear a star and crescent as a means of identification for law enforcement authorities?" (Los Angeles Times, 2002).

• In a February 2003 press release, Awad commented, "That the FBI is seeking lists of ordinary, law-abiding American Muslims only serves to confirm the Islamic community's worst fears of religious and ethnic profiling." (PR Newswire, 2003).

• In a February 2003 IslamOnline.net live dialogue, Awad remarked, "Now we see extremists, including the Christian Right and the pro-Israel lobby, carrying out a coordinated campaign against Islam and Muslims. The result of this is clearly apparent from the racist policies and practices being carried out by some branches of the U.S. government influenced by these groups, in contradiction to the assurances President Bush gave us on more than one occasion: that this war is not against Islam." (*Islam in America: National Ad Campaign*, 2003)

• Referring to the Department of Justice's desire to question 5,000 Muslim Americans in the wake of September 11, Awad said, in a November 2001 *Chicago Tribune* article, "This type of sweeping investigation carries with it the potential to create the impression that interviewees are being singled out because of their race, ethnicity or religion." (Chicago Tribune, 2001).

• After the FBI announced it would interview Muslims and Arabs during the leadup to the 2004 elections in an effort to gain information concerning possible terrorist attacks, Awad said, "The way it's being done stigmatizes the entire community and makes Muslims objects of suspicion to their neighbors and coworkers....

This is more politics than security…Muslims should be enlisted in the war on terror, not blacklisted." (The Los Angeles Times, 2004).

• In a November 2001 *Connecticut Post* report, Awad was quoted as saying, "The question [of a cease-fire] is a political one. If this war goes on and the U.S. continues to bomb Afghanistan, it will lose… [credibility] in the Muslim world in terms of support. It will be seen by Muslims as a war against Muslims. It's a phenomenon right now in the minds of some Muslims."

Appendix ‘E: Opinion Surveys

Gallup conducted tens of thousands of hour-long, face-to-face interviews with residents of more than 35 predominantly Muslim countries between 2001 and 2007. It found that more than 90% of respondents condemned the killing of non-combatants on religious and humanitarian grounds.

- A 2004, a year after the invasion of Iraq, Pew Research Center survey found that suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq were seen as "justifiable" by many Jordanians (70%), Pakistanis (46%), and Turks (31%). At the same time, the survey found that support for the U.S.-led War on Terror had increased.
- A 2005 Pew Research study that involved 17,000 people in 17 countries showed support for terrorism was declining in the Muslim world along with a growing belief that Islamic extremism represents a threat to those countries. A *Daily Telegraph* survey showed that 88% of Muslims said the July 2005 bombings in the London Underground were unjustified, while 6% disagreed. However it also found that 24% of British Muslims showed some sympathy with the people who carried out the attacks.
- Polls taken by Saudi owned Al Arabiya and Gallup suggest moderate support for the September 11 terrorist attacks within the Islamic world, with 36% of Arabs polled by Al Arabiya saying the 9/11 attacks were morally justified, 38% disagreeing and 26% of those polled being unsure. A 2008 study, produced by Gallup, found similar results with 38.6% of Muslims questioned believing the 9/11 attacks were justified. Another poll conducted, in 2005 by the Fafo Foundation in the Palestinian Authority, found that 65% of respondents supported the September 11 attacks.
- In Pakistan, despite the recent rise in the Taliban's influence, a poll conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow in Pakistan in January 2008 tested support for al-Qaeda, the Taliban, other militant Islamist groups and Osama bin Laden himself, and found a recent drop by half. In August 2007, 33% of Pakistanis expressed support for al-Qaeda; 38% supported the Taliban. By January 2008, al-Qaeda's support had dropped to 18%, the Taliban's to 19%. When asked if they would vote for al-Qaeda, just 1% of Pakistanis polled answered in the affirmative. The Taliban had the support of 3% of those polled.
- Pew Research surveys in 2008 show that in a range of countries – Jordan, Pakistan, Indonesia, Lebanon, and Bangladesh – there have been substantial declines in the percentages saying suicide-bombings and other forms of violence against civilian targets can be justified to defend Islam against its enemies. Wide majorities say such attacks are, at most, rarely acceptable. The shift of attitudes against terror has been especially dramatic in Jordan, where 29% of Jordanians were recorded as viewing suicide-attacks as often or sometimes justified (down from 57% in May 2005). In the largest majority-Muslim nation, Indonesia, 74% of respondents agree that terrorist attacks are "never justified" (a substantial increase from the 41% level to which support had risen in March 2004); in Pakistan, that figure is 86%; in Bangladesh, 81%; and in Iran, 80%.

Appendix 'F: Verses from *Qur'an*

In the *Qur'an* we read: "But as for those who break God's contract after it has been agreed and sever what God has commanded to be joined, and cause corruption in the earth, the curse will be upon them. They will have the Evil Abode"(*Qur'an,* 13:25).
"Eat and drink of God's provision and do not go about the earth corrupting it" (*Qur'an,* 2:60).
"Do not corrupt the earth after it has been put right. Call on Him fearfully and eagerly. God's mercy is close to the good-doers" (*Qur'an,*7:56).
"Whenever he holds the upper hand, he goes about the earth corrupting it, destroying (people's) crops and breeding stock. God does not love corruption. When he is told to have fear of God, he is seized by pride which drives him to wrongdoing. Hell will be enough for him! What an evil resting-place" (*Qur'an,* 2:205-206.)
"... And do good as God has been good to you. And do not seek to cause corruption in the earth. God does not love corrupters" (*Qur'an,* 28:77).
God commands: "We did not create the heavens and earth and everything between them, except with truth. The Hour is certainly coming, so forgive [men's failings] with fair forbearance" (*Qur'an,* 15:85).
"... Be good to your parents and relatives and to orphans and the very poor, and to neighbors who are related to you and neighbors who are not related to you, and to companions and travelers and your slaves. God does not love anyone vain or boastful" (*Qur'an,* 4:36).
God commands the following in *Sura Ma'ida*, verse 42: "... if you do judge, judge between them justly." In *Sura Nisa,* God commands believers to act justly even it is against themselves: O You who believe! Be upholders of justice, bearing witness for God alone, even against yourselves or your parents and relatives. Whether they are rich or poor, God is well able to look after them. Do not follow your own desires and deviate from the truth. If you twist or turn away, God is aware of what you do" (*Qur'an,* 4:135).
"O Mankind! We created you from a male and female, and made you into peoples and tribes so that you might come to know each other. The noblest among you in God's sight is that one of you who best performs his duty. God is All-Knowing, All-Aware" (*Qur'an,* 49:13).
In *Sura Ma'ida*, it is related as follows: "O You who believe! Show integrity for the sake of God, bearing witness with justice. Do not let hatred for a people incite you into not being just. Be just. That is closer to faith. Heed God (alone). God is aware of what you do" (*Qur'an,* 5:8).
"There is no compulsion in religion. True guidance has become clearly distinct from error" (*Qur'an,* 2:256).
"What has brought you into hell-fire?" They will say, "We were not among those who prayed and we did not feed the poor" (*Qur'an,* 74:42- 44).
"Seize him and bind him, and then expose him to hell-fire, then fasten him with a chain seventy cubits long! For he did not believe in God Almighty, nor did he urge the feeding of the poor" (*Qur'an,* 69:30-34).
"Have you seen him who denies the religion? He is the one who harshly rebuffs the orphan and does not urge the feeding of the poor" (*Qur'an,*107:1-3).
"...nor do you urge the feeding of the poor" *(Qur'an,* 89:18).

And do not kill yourselves. God is Most Merciful to you (*Qur'an,* 4:29).

The Origins of Terrorism:

A Comparison between the International Anti-terrorism Strategies of American and Muslim Leaders

Summary in English:

To contribute to the contemporary debate on terrorism, the present research seeks to answer the question of its origins. Through explaining some concepts about the phenomenon and exploring the strategies of both the American and Muslim leaders in their dealing with terrorism, this work found out what are the real causes of today's global terrorism and which solutions will help us in solving the problem.

Key-words:
Terrorism, origins of terrorism, strategies, American and Muslim leaders

Résumé en Français :

Afin de contribuer au débat contemporain sur le térrorisme, ce travail a pour but de répondre à la question : Quelles sont les origines de ce dernier ? Ā travers l'explication de certains concepts sur le phénomène et l'exploration des stratégies des dirigeants Musulmans et Américains dans leur traitement de ce phénomène, ce travail dévoile les causes réelles du terrorisme mondial d'aujourd'hui et quelles sont les solutions qui nous permettent de résoudre ce problème.

Mots-clés:
Terrorisme, origines du terrorisme, des stratégies, dirigeants Musulmans et Américains

ملخص باللغة العربية:

يسعى هذا البحث للإجابة عن سؤال شائك عن الإرهاب و جذوره و تبيين استراتجيات كل من القادة الأمركيين و المسلمين في تعاطيهم مع الموضوع. ثم الحديث عن أسبابه الحقيقية وكيفية محاربته.

الكلمات المفتاحية:
الإرهاب، جذوره ،استراتيجيات ، القادة الأمريكيون و المسلمون

Summary of the mémoire:

This mémoire deals with the contemporary debate on terrorism. It is a comparative research that focuses on the strategies of Americans and Muslims in fighting terrorism. The reason for doing this study is that both of them approach terrorism differently. In that way, we can conclude that both of them consider different factors to be the causes of terrorism. More specifically, we can distinguish the real causes of contemporary terrorism.
The following lines summarize the motivating research question and the content of the four chapters.

This research will focus on the new terrorism, terrorism of today, terrorism with global reach, terrorism without borders or limitations. The present work challenges this literature by finding out what the real causes of today's global terrorism are and which solutions will help us solve the problem. We are particularly interested in this new type of terrorism, because the contemporary forms of terrorism are more cultural in origin and nature than ever.

The objective of this research is to investigate the origins of terrorism. By investigating this, the following general question is used: What are the origins of terrorism?
Through this comparative study, three hypotheses have been proposed to investigate the main research question: (1) Islamic groups are not necessarily regarded as Islamic in spirit; (2) Islamic activists are using religious language (*jihad*) and are fighting a holy war, to overthrow the U.S. regimes in the Muslim world. And the USA's solicitude with 'evil' is considered an origin of terrorism and the central role of the USA for explaining terrorism; and (3) The U.S. strategy for fighting terrorism is often seen a military approach.

This mémoire tests hypotheses through investigating documents and other forms of communication concerning the strategies of the two men, George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden. This kind of methodology is called content analysis and it is about the study of recorded human communications. This type of research is intended to explain rather than to describe the phenomena studied. So, this work has an explanatory character with a qualitative way of collecting data to test hypotheses by measuring relationships between variables.

The first chapter deals with term definitions and terrorism concepts. It is called literature review that is considered as an introductory one. What is terrorism, who is a terrorist, and what motivates people to use this type of violence are the three core concepts and the key questions of terrorism definition. For understanding what is considered terrorism and what is not considered terrorism. The latter shares common characteristics. The first feature is the use of violence; the second one is reaching political ends; and finally the harms of it toward innocent people. Terrorists do not follow the laws of war. They target civilians to spread terror. In such, some scholars go in their analysis to make a distinction between terrorist acts and "ordinary "crime. They conclude that the political motivation of terrorists is the main distinctive feature. So, terrorism is a violent act or a threat of violence against civilians in order to further political aim.

Since the events of September 2001, the United States of America took steps toward combating terrorism and extremism. The latter became one of the priorities of its foreign policy, where the issue of security has became essential in its relations with the rest of the world, especially the Middle East. In the name of war on terror, the USA is practicing

violence without distinction between combatants and non- combatants, between legitimate and illegitimate targets.

The actions of the Israelis and the U.S. forces committed against the Palestinians, Iraqis and Afghans considered in their vision legitimate acts, not terrorism. Whereas, the Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation and the Iraqi resistance to the U.S. occupation are considered in their perspective terrorism. This is what provoke Muslim youth and push them to take extreme positions against western culture in general and the Americans in particular. Therefore, terrorism in this context is a reaction against the American- led globalization power, which destroys local cultures traditions and ways of life and replaces them with the alien hegemoneity of American mass culture.

The second chapter searches for factors that explain the root causes of terrorism. The radical school of thought argues that the root causes of terrorism are western colonialism and imperialist hegemony. In addition to these factors, the theory of: "man as a fighting animal" which Darwinism has imposed on people is the root of various ideologies of violence that bring disaster to mankind in the twentieth and twenty first century. Thus, when Darwinism is taken away, no philosophy of conflict remains.

The three divine religions that most people in the world believe in "Islam, Christianity and Judaism," all oppose violence. All three religions aim to bring peace to the world, and oppose the suffering of innocent people. For this reason, if some people commit terrorism using the concepts of Islam, Christianity or Judaism in the name of those religions these people are just Social Darwinists. They are not believers. Interestingly enough, there is nothing called *jihadist* terrorism yet; the appropriate word is extremism. Even if those people claim that they are serving religion, they are enemies of religion. Because they are committing

a crime that religion forbids. Thus, the root of terrorism is not in any of the divine religions, but in Darwinism and materialism.

Many scholars conclude that democracies are more prone to terrorism. Furthermore, they explain how much terrorism is experienced by democracies with different political institutions. Their argument is that opposition political parties in the absence of an elected legislature lead to a terrorist activity. The idea that autocracies with multiple parties and no legislature experience more terrorism than other authoritarian regimes. In authoritarian regimes, excluded parties and repressing hostile groups are "key institutions" in the domestic politics of authoritarian countries.

Histories of childhood abuse appear to be widespread among terrorists. Furthermore, themes of injustice and humiliation are the most important things in terrorist biographies and personal histories. In addition, researchers conclude that individuals who become terrorists are often unemployed, socially alienated individuals who have dropped out of society. These are not excuses for terrorism, but they are markers and motivation for the terrorists' ideologies.

The third and the fourth chapters deal with the strategies that are proposed by the Muslims (in chapter three) and the Americans (in chapter four). These two chapters present the root causes that give rise to contemporary terrorism, and identify which origins of terrorism the Muslims and the Americans distinguish in their struggle against this phenomenon. The two chapters find out what are the exact motives that push them to deal with terrorism and in which way both legitimize their methods for dealing with it. In addition, these chapters will present a clear inventory of the effects of these strategies. The Americans and the Muslims deal with different kinds of terrorism and focus on different kinds of terrorism.

Al-Qaeda continues to fight the United States and its allies in the dichotomy "us versus them" between the Muslim world and the West. The organization has adapted the idea that dialogue is not possible with the United States and its allies. *Al-Qaeda* leader, Osama bin Laden, declared many times the war against the United States. This global *jihad* is followed by great numbers of attacks in different places. In Chris Hedges words, the violent subjugation of the Palestinians, Iraqis, and Afghans will only ensure that those who oppose us will increasingly speak to us in the language we speak to them-violence. Many classified *Al-Qaeda* as a terrorist organization because it inflicts indiscriminate civilian causalities. In fact, this cannot be applied to *Hamas* because since 2006 *Hamas* has not been a sub national group. Yet, it is the legitimate, democratically elected government of the *Hamas*-Gaza state. Furthermore, a number of arguments are presented in support of *Hamas* not being a terrorist organization. Also, it has never threatened the West. Thus, there is no justification to consider it as a terrorist organization. It is a liberation movement that is fighting Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Recep Tayyip Erdogan says that he does not see *Hamas* as a terror organization. *Hamas* is a political party. And it is an organization. It is a resistance movement trying to protect its country under occupation. So we should not mix terrorist organizations with such an organization. Thus, all violence brought by either the Americans or the Israelis is a direct consequence of U.S. domination or Israeli occupation. To end this violence, including violence against Palestinians and many Muslims in the world, *Al-Qaeda* and *Hamas* took steps to punish the tyrants. *Al-Qaeda* and *Hamas* leaders are fighting the unjust policies of western countries against their Muslim communities including Israeli occupation of Palestine, Iraq War, the presence of U.S. military in the Middle East and the imposing of western-style democracy.

In his analysis, Bin Laden proclaimed that the U.S. political and economic globalization has much to do with terrorism and friendly relations between Israel and the U.S. has a significant role of American foreign policy. Israel receives a wild support in the U.S. Congress. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that the U.S. and Israel share common "economic, political, strategic, and diplomatic concerns" and the countries exchange "intelligence and military information and cooperate in an effort to halt international terrorism and illegal drug trade." We can also discover the significant role of the lobby's influence in the U.S. foreign policy and the strongly work of the Israel lobby on Congress and the Bush administration that push the state to war in Iraq. This is why Bin Laden called his Muslim brothers to fight the United States and its allies and to stand up against their policies.

Many Islamic statements are released against *Al-Qaeda* strategies and the 9/11 attacks in particular. Yet, much Muslim popular opinion said that suicide bombings against Americans and other western countries are justifiable acts. So, this make *Al-Qaeda* 's subject a debatable issue.

The September 11 Attacks hold American consciousness, in his speech, President Bush speaks about the enemy who is everywhere. He represented the vision of terrorism as evil that threatens the United States. And this state must commit itself to fight against terrorism. The U.S. two battle fields featured in the short term (military force) and the long term (battle of ideas). The short-term actions that are required by national strategy were summarized in the four 'D's': Defeat terrorists (including cutting off their finances), deny them state support, and diminish their strength by addressing 'root causes'. Finally, defend the homeland and interests abroad. So, the War on Terror was working only if the enemy is defeated entirely. This is the vision that President Bush expressed in the "Axis of Evil" speech. One of the greatest dangers the Americans continue to face is the rogue nations, nuclear and biological weapons, poverty

and terrorist groups' hatred. The U.S. President argues that there is a strong link between state failure and terror. He stated that the terrorists are poor, uneducated, hopeless and desperate. Bush claimed also that the Muslims do what they did because they hate the Americans freedom; their freedom of religion, their freedom of speech and their freedom to vote. The 2006 strategy claims that Iraq has joined the coalition against terrorism. It refers to a struggle against terrorists in Iraq without mentioning the sectarian division or the civil war there. It is said that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction, but later it was verified that there were no stockpiles of WMD in Iraq. The public believed that what was told was the truth. The U.S. war on terror was just a pretext to conquer Iraq and its claim that there was a connection between Saddam and *Al-Qaeda* and the existence of WMD in Iraq are just lies that were proven later. The U.S.is still lying and deceiving the world. The President's speech "Good vs. Evil and the Axis of Evil" convinced the American public to adopt the Bush Doctrine. The Americans' fighting against terrorism failed to match the real factors of the actual terror. Perhaps this is due to the misconceptions and the American misunderstanding of terrorism. The fact is that poverty is not a root cause of terrorism.

Of course, Saddam Hussein is not the only enemy America created for itself. The U.S claimed that Osama bin Laden is the real enemy of the United States. The U.S. war on terror is a war begun as a fight against *Al-Qaeda,* but later it became more ambitious. In the name of the war on terror, the U.S. has committed terrorism by means of violence. The "Global War on Terror" has relied on the wrong tools, the military in particular. The U.S. administration uses harsh measures to spread democracy in the Middle East. Bush strategy had nothing to do with political freedom.

The Americans claim that they fight against terrorism but they failed to match the real factors of the actual terrors. At the same time, the American strategy, war on terror, has relied

on the wrong tools, the military in particular. In the name of fighting terrorism, the Bush administration is encouraging military solutions to terrorism globally. These policies ignore human rights, civil liberties and democracy as was evident in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Afghanistan, the U.S.-U.K. Iraq intervention, and other actions that destabilized the Middle East and created more enemies for the West. Interestingly enough, the work of Israeli lobby on Congress and the Bush administration continues to push the state to wars and puts it in many troubles elsewhere.

To conclude, it is so important to seek local and global solutions to local and global problems, to defend democracy and social justice and criticize terrorism.

Now, more than ever, we are living in a global world and need new global movements and politics to address global problems and achieve global solutions. If the U.S. wants to solve the problem of terrorism, it has to solve the problems that gave rise to *Al-Qaeda*. It is often believed that the underlying problem here is hating freedom. "We are victims of hate." But the truth is far from hating freedom. Bin Laden is never interested in American freedom. He hates the American dominance, its support of Israel and its interference in the Muslims' affairs.

In sum, terrorism is a complex social and behavioral phenomenon. Its causes are different and complicated. Although the empirical result supports the mémoire hypotheses, more research needs to be done about the variety causes of this phenomenon. Terrorism is a product of other problems. If we solve the real problem, it disappears automatically. So, more research effort is needed to explore how and why terrorism ends.

Finally, we need global movements and institutions to oppose military attacks on innocent people that legitimate oppression in the name of the war against terrorism. Also, it is

obligatory for Muslim scholars to declare a *jihad* on terrorism and terrorists (the religiously misguided criminals). Just as politicians have declared a war on terror, similarly, scholars have to fight on a different front.

Although the methods of worshipping are different, the goal is to live together harmoniously in this world. And the first step towards realizing inter-religious tolerance should come from the leaders: political, religious or community leaders of the country. This involves the (*Imams*, Priests, political party leaders and community leaders at all levels). They should show the people the right path to integration and religious tolerance. The differences in the peoples' faiths cannot be ignored. Tolerance does not mean ignoring the differences but rather it is the willingness and readiness to accept the differences and acknowledge the rights of others to be different (Wilmot, 1997). People have been created to be different in their races, cultures, languages and religions in the sake of knowing each other. In other words, it is a challenge for them to communicate with each other.