SAUDIS AND TERROR
Cross-Cultural Views

In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

Allah Says in the Holy Qur'an:

We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for All creatures.
(21:107)

فكر

مركز الفكر العالمي عن السعودية
Center for Global Thought on Saudi Arabia

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PREFACE

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Without the tragic 9/11 events, which targeted vital centers in the United States, terrorism would not have attracted this tremendous concern by governments, peoples, strategic studies centers and media institutions. We all understand that many terrorist operations have taken place before, as well as after, 9/11. These terror operations have affected many countries and peoples in various parts of the world. Yet, the term "terrorism" continues to fluctuate as a result of justifications that are acceptable at some times and unacceptable at most times.

The capriciousness in understanding the concept of terrorism has led to the downfall of many political regimes. Its application has brought destruction to peaceful nations and death to innocent people. Many countries, governments, peoples, civil institutions, and even cultures are suffering the consequences of the "war on terror."

What adds fuel to the fire are the political aspirations and the lure of financial benefits for the same decision makers and strategic studies centers who frame the definitions and establish their own views of such a war. They intend to keep the world in a state of "clash of civilizations." They don't care about the people who suffer the agonies of wars. The world cultures are subordinate to their unilateral cultural model, which wages ideological wars that coincide with successive military invasions.

Studies and research supporting this concept have prevailed

over the whole world, backed up by tremendous financial and logistical support. Opposing studies have been quenched, eliminated or minimized by virtue of the domination of propaganda and media, which have chosen, intentionally or unintentionally, to remain supportive of the prevailing attitude.

This book, which addresses the world's need to seek truth and justice, is the output of cross-cultural views. A number of scholars, intellectuals and media specialists from the United States, Europe, Russia and the Arab world have contributed to this book. They tackled terrorism from various angles: its concept, reasons, motivations and history, in addition to its political and ideological institutions. The writers described victims of terrorism in terms of religions, cultures and countries. Their words reflect a bona fide vision based on proof, evidence and live experiences. I hope their vision will raise a voice and call to resort to rationality and logic for the sake of peaceful and secure coexistence for all peoples of the world.

This book is a scientific endeavor and cultural work provided by distinguished figures. It reflects various cultural visions toward terror, the most important issue of today. This issue has occupied man's mind and thinking. Their contributions, though personal, are in total agreement with the main objectives of this worldwide strategic project. Such a project aims at ensuring humanity for all humans, eliminating injustice, using wisdom in judging all events, and maintaining justice in dealing with various peoples.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to all the renowned personalities who joined us in this humane, joint project.

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PART ONE
TERRORISM TODAY

TERRORISM: AN AMBIGUOUS CONCEPT WITH GLOBAL REACH

David Dumke

"Random violence is spreading all around us like a pernicious disease, dumb and deadly. In response, countries are beginning to act like outlaws, responding to terror with terror...the battlefield has lost its legitimate boundaries...Terror is a common enemy of humanity, for it does not differentiate between friend and foe, military and civilian...we need an international gathering that defines terror and envisions ways of curbing it." [1]

The carnage of the Belsan school siege in Russia in September 2004, coupled with airplane hijackings a week earlier, again left the world stunned, numb over both the ferociousness of terrorist attacks themselves, and bewildered over the causes of and solutions for terrorism. Indeed, it seems to many observers, the terrorism scourge that has rocked the world in the last decade -- and especially since September 11, 2001 -- represents a unique, freak occurrence which stems from the twisted, manipulated minds of the few "Them" (the terrorists) versus the many "Us" (the 'civilized world').

Others take this simplistic, black-and-white diagnosis of terrorism a step further, using grossly idealistic and patronizing, if not apocalyptic, warnings about the inevitable "Clash of Civilizations." This theory, cooked up over a decade ago by Samuel Huntington, has gained currency in the last three years. These individuals,

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1 Mahfouz, Naguib. "Conference on Terror." Al-Ahram Weekly, 16-22 September, 2004.

whether branded American 'neoconservatives' or not, see Islam as an inherently violent religion, made all the more so by the repressive, autocratic regimes of the Middle East. In short, they view terrorism as a specific religious, and more or less regional, phenomenon. The extremist Islamists, who are willing to use terror, do so without logic, for only out of the derelict, evil mind can flow such amoral ideas. Thus, it is a conflict, replete with moral certainty.

The problem lies with the concept of terrorism itself. The temptation to look at terrorism through a 'good versus bad' rubric, however convenient and digestible, is hopelessly simplistic and problematic. To date, there is not a consensus definition of terrorism. Political scientists studying the term came up with a remarkable 109 known definitions, and that was before 9-11 and the subsequent proliferation of study in the field[1]. Few entities have been able to define terrorism, even theoretically homogenous groups such as the Organization of Islamic Conference, failed to reach agreement amongst its members in 2002. Discussion of terrorism almost by definition places moral judgments on the actors and the causes they espouse. The mere use of the word 'terrorist,' rather than 'rebel,' 'guerilla,' or 'partisan' is decisive in determining whether or not a cause is just[2]. Aside from that, while the tactics and scope may have made terrorism more deadly, and the media-made coverage of it more extensive, it is hardly new. Nor, as history and the present bear witness, is terrorism unique to Islam or the Middle East. Al-Qaeda does not hold the patent on terrorism; it is simply a new actor using old tactics, albeit with more innovative strategies and deadly results.

Here, we will define terrorism as violence against non-combatants - civilians or military - to further a political cause. To-

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1 Ganor, Boaz. "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?." The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism: Annual Edition. September 23, 1998. Page 11.

2 Laquer, Walter. "Reflections on Terrorism." Foreign Affairs: Volume 65, Number 1, Fall 1986. Page 90.

day, without question, terrorism is a global problem. In fact, the United States Department of State designated 37 organizations, operating in all corners of the globe, as terrorist this year[1]. Terrorism comes in many shapes, sizes, and forms, and is used to advance a variety of causes: nationalist, ethnic, religious, ideological, economic, social issue-oriented, state-to-state relations.

Not included in the aforementioned State Department figure are state sponsors of terrorism. Again, the question of who is guilty of perpetrating "terrorism" is relative. The US, for example, has branded Syria a sponsor of terrorism due to its support for Hezbollah and a number of militant Palestinian groups opposing Israel. Certainly, Syria gains at Israel's expense when these organizations carry out violent acts against Israeli targets. The prime example of this seen when Israel withdrew from Lebanon after being harried by Hezbollah attacks for years. But Syrians would not agree with the label the US has affixed upon it: "We have always opposed terrorism. But terrorism is one thing and a national struggle against occupation is another...we support the struggle against occupation waged by national liberation movements," noted the late Syrian President Hafez al-Asad[2].

The United States is sensitive when the ambiguity of 'state sponsors of terrorism' is used against it by its critics, foreign and domestic alike. The US has often supported its own brutal 'liberation movements' in addition to unsavory regimes employing state terrorism - defined as terrorism by a government against one's own citizens - to suppress political dissent. Examples abound, including the Reagan Administration's support for numerous right-wing rebel groups in Central America in the 1980s, including the notorious Contras. The list of successful US-supported coups include but are not limited to Argentina, Chile, Congo, Iran, Cambodia, and South

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1 United States Department of State, Office of Counterterrorism, Center for Defense Information, Terrorism Project. www.state.gov.
2 Ganor. Page 12.

Vietnam. There is also the question of American indifference to the 'collateral damage' inflicted as a result of military actions. The collateral damage usually is measured in civilian casualty figures.

Al-Qaeda as a Classical Terrorist Paradigm: Narrative, Ideology, Motivation

As distasteful as it is for many - especially in the West - to explore the logic behind al-Qaeda, doing so is invaluable in both understanding this specific organization and, more broadly, to discern the characteristics common of terrorist groups generally. It proves that al-Qaeda is not exceptional; its campaign fits into a classic mold. It is responding to a historical wrong which has not been remedied by the contemporary power structure, leaving no alternative to the status quo other than through violent means. It thrives off the frustration - primarily economic - and desperation of the people. It has identified a cause of all societal ills, and it espouses a remedy. Finally, its adherents, like many 'terrorists' or 'rebels' of the past, perform risky operations, often sacrificing themselves - like modern day Kamikaze pilots - for the cause. If not outright public sympathy, they at least win points for their bravery.

Al-Qaeda has two primary goals: (1) radically restructuring the social, political, and economic character of the Islamic state; and (2) ridding the Arab and Muslims regions of United States and other Western influence, tacit and explicit. Upon examination, both goals are rational if one accepts (at least for the purposes of understanding) their world view. From the al-Qaeda perspective, the states of the Islamic world are powerless in the face of Western influence. Their actions, often judged as corrupt and un-Islamic, make them accomplices. Their weaknesses embolden and empower the West, which has - led by the United States - invaded with its businesses, armies, and decadent culture. Even worse, for all its bluster about human rights and international law, the United States applies its principles selectively, making it a hypocritical superpower. US policy toward Israel is the most telling example.

Sayyid Qutb is the mentor to contemporary extremist Islam. Qutb emerged as the leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood after it was forced underground by Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s. Qutb saw the need for reform in the Muslim world in order to regain prominence and revitalize faith. Rather than build bridges between Islam and the modern Western-dominated world, Qutb's message called for tearing down the bridges that had existed under earlier more moderate politico-Islamic leaders such as Hassan al-Banna. Qutb believed the West caused economic and societal injustice, and that its materialistic ways undermined the moral fabric of the Muslim world. Qutb emphasized the need for jihad, which was not limited to self-struggle, but took a more militant, violent bearing that has since been propagated by the Western press.

Qutb viewed the world as either within the realm of Satan or the realm of God. Vanguards of Islam needed to be organized and willing to die to serve God's purpose, including waging jihad against infidels and even other self-declared Muslims who were in sherk (major sin) and identified with the West. He urged Muslims to combat Jews and Zionism, Christians and Crusaderism, Communism, Western education, and Western moral laxity. Qutb, who advocated the creation of an Islamic state, believed nationalism was a form of sherk. Qutb was executed in 1966, but his ideas still resonate with Islamic extremists.

It would be easy, given the militancy of Qutb and the extent of the al-Qaeda network today - Asia, Europe, Africa, and North America- to fall into the old "Islamic terrorism as unique" formula. Surely, political religion - "the pursuit of worldly goals through messianic leadership and mass indoctrination"[1] - is just a form of ideological indoctrination, an ingredient of terrorism. Ideology has justified many a religious extremist (read terrorist) ranging from the Jewish

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1 Ferguson, Niall. "Clashing Civilizations or Mad Mullahs: the United States Between Informal and Formal Empire." The Age of Terror. Talbot, Strobe and Chanda, Nayan (editors). New York: Basic Books 2001. Page 120.

zealots of ancient Judaea, to the 913 American Christian extremists who killed a US Congressman and his entourage before committing mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana. Other ingredients include narrative (the historical-political-economic environment) and motivation (inability to meet ends by non-violent means and the likelihood of success).

The Middle East: Not all Terrorism is Arab, Not all Arab Terrorism is Islamic

Thanks to countless movies, news accounts, and actual terrorist acts, Americans often jump to the conclusion that the Middle East is sated with terrorists and terrorist sympathizers. It is a land, "where people do not value life like we do here." It is where people are filled with, as Bernard Lewis put it, "Muslim Rage." But stereotypes about Islam and its alleged predilections for violence do not hold up under scrutiny. In the early to mid-20th Century, there were a number of organizations in the Middle East which, depending on one's perspective, could be deemed terrorist. Almost all were secular-nationalist groups.

Among the most active terrorists during that time were LEHI (the Stern Gang) and the Irgun Zvai Leumi (Irgun), both Jewish pro-Zionist organizations who targeted both Palestinians and the British. Both groups aimed to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, with each using violence to meet their objectives. Morally, the Zionists cause was bolstered by the political and cultural environment. Sympathy was generated and supporters enlisted due to the gross acts of anti-Semitism taking place in Europe, where most Jews lived in 1900. These ranged from the Dreyfuss Affair in France to pogroms in Russia. Interestingly enough, the architects of Zionism, including Chaim Weizmann, toyed with the idea of accepting a Jewish homeland located outside Palestine. But the religious element could not be ignored, especially when the power brokers at the time were Christian -- some of whom could embrace the idea of a Jewish Palestine for messianic reasons. Needless to say,

the Nazi atrocities against the Jews generated unprecedented sympathy for the Jewish people, and rightfully so. This, in turn, was used to further the Zionist cause of creating a Jewish state.

With the international community largely adopting the Zionist narrative, Jewish militant groups which were once considered terrorists were now viewed as heroic freedom fighters by the international press, especially the American media. To Americans, the notion of the defeated, helpless Jew taking up arms against a colonial oppressor was the quintessential David versus Goliath story - a fact not lost on the Jewish terrorist organizations operating at the time. "Some people argued it was merely to pander to sensationalism that American newspapers gave so much space to our operations...the operations of a regular army, even if it achieves great victories, are less spectacular than the daring attacks of a handful of rebels against a mighty government and army," noted prominent Irgun leader Menachem Begin, later the prime minister of Israel[1]. Following the Zionist narrative, American coverage focused on the Israel-British conflict, with little mention made of Palestinians.

The Stern Gang was responsible for the assassination of British Minister in State in Jerusalem, Lord Moyne, as well as Count Bernadotte of the United Nations. The Irgun's most noteworthy acts include the July 1946 bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, and the 1948 massacre of unarmed Palestinians at Deir Yassin. The former left 91 dead, including 28 British officials; the latter, carried out on April 9, 1948, resulted in the death of at least 250, including women and children.

In later years, long after the British had exited the stage, another group of Jewish terrorists formed in Israel. Whereas the original Zionist leaders - including those in the Irgun - were primarily secularist, the Gush Emunim movement was inherently religious. In general, religious influence in Israeli politics increased after the 1967

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1 Rappaport, David. "The International World As Some Terrorists Have Seen It: A Look at a Century of Memoirs." Inside Terrorist Organizations. Rappaport, David C. (editor). London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001. Page 40.

Six Day War, or "Naksa" as known by many in the Arab world. In this war, Israel occupied the Palestinian West Bank, which in Biblical times was known as Judaea and Samaria. This conquest created a religious pull on Israelis, some of whom felt their victory and occupation was divinely ordered.

Established in 1974, Gush Emunim espoused the cause of Eretz Israel, and worked by civil and military means to encourage settlements in what the UN designated as illegally occupied territory[1]. Initially limiting their activities to the settlement issue, eventually some members attempted to blow up the Al-Aqsa Mosque in a scheme to protest the 1978 Camp David Accords with Egypt. Objecting to the return of the Sinai and the granting of limited Palestinian autonomy, Gush Emunim wanted to avenge the national sin of returning divinely won lands by committing an extraordinarily destructive act. The power of the religious right in Israel has grown since the 1970's, and the cause of the settlers has been advanced. Today, some 400,000 Israelis live in West Bank settlements, despite their illegal status under international law. Eventually Yigal Amin would fall into the ranks of the radical right settler movement; he later assassinated Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin. Today, once revered right-wing Prime Minister Ariel Sharon - himself staunchly pro-settler-has been threatened with death should he evacuate Gaza.

With a large number of Palestinians illegally evicted from their homes and forced into exile, it is easy to see the motivation behind the PLO and PFLP. The historical-political environment was ripe; a wrong had been committed against the Palestinian people. Finally, even with the legal rulings of the United Nations and international community-including the United States-to back up their positions, little more than words were given to aid the Palestinian cause. This sense of power-

1 Sprinzak, Ehud. "The Gush Emunim Underground." Inside Terrorist Orga-nizations. Rappaport, David C. (editor). London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001. Page 195.

lessness, bolstered by economic duress, made violence more appealing. Even if the gun would not bring Israel to the bargaining table, it would at least bring attention to their secular cause.

Asia: Sri Lanka, Japan, and Cambodia

One of the most well publicized nationalistic revolts is the ongoing battle between the Sinhalese-dominate Sri Lankan government and the separatist Tamil rebels of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Since its founding in 1976, the LTTE fight with Sri Lanka has resulted in 60,000 deaths. The LTTE has engaged in numerous violent activities, including suicide bombings and assassinations. In fact, more than 200 suicide bombings have been carried out by LTTE. The Tigers have assassinated high-profile officials, including Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadassa in 1993. The Tamil people are largely Hindu, and the LTTE is strictly a secular-nationalist movement. LTTE seeks independence for the Tamil minority residing in Sri Lanka's northeast, primarily on the grounds that their culture - language, religious, and other components - are not adequately protected.

Japan has been victimized by various forms of terrorism: state-sponsored (North Korea's abduction of Japanese citizens and hijackings of planes), ideological (left-wing Japanese Red Army Faction), and religious/occult (Aum Shinrikyo). Aum Shinrikyo committed the most infamous act of terror on Japanese soil in 1995 when it gassed the Tokyo subway with sarin, killing 10 and injuring 5,000. Essentially, the group was religiously oriented, practicing a hybrid of Hinduism and Buddhism and believing the apocalypse was imminent. The 'doomsday cult' that hit Japan in 1995 is similar to other groups throughout history (a fanatical religious message mixed with violence), including David Koresh's Branch Davidians who died in a hail of bullets and fire in Waco, Texas in 1993.

The case of Cambodia is interesting in the evolution of terror

that the country witnessed in the 1970s. Initially, although Americans would not agree with the characterization, it fell victim to state-sponsored terrorism when the US-backed Lon Nol usurped power in a coup that ousted the monarchy. Next, it endured and was victimized by ideologically motivated terrorism during a civil war pitting the weak US-backed government against the Maoist Khmer Rouge, who eventually seized power in 1975. Finally, under Pol Pot, Cambodians felt the wrath of state terrorism when nearly 1.8 million citizens were either executed or starved to death in 'the Killing Fields.'

Europe: ETA, November 17, and the IRA

Europe has a long and bloody history of terrorism. While each form of terrorism can be found in almost every continent, European history - during any period - is filled with examples of political violence which could, depending on the definition used, rise to the level of terrorism. During the modern-era, the French Revolutionary Jacobins mastered state terrorism, using the guillotine liberally to spread fear, panic, and obedience amongst its citizens. Toward the end of the 19th Century, ideologically oriented anarchists in Europe assassinated a slew of government officials, including French President Sadi Carnot (1894), Austrian Empress Elizabeth (1897), Spanish Prime Minister Antonia Canoras (1897), and Italy's King Umberto I (1900)[1]. During World War I, the Allied and Central Powers both engaged in state-sponsored terrorism. Russia and much of post-World War I Europe, including Germany and the Soviet Union, faced ideological terror. Later, leaders of both states used state terror on a massive scale to cement their holds over their respective countries.

But European terrorist incidents are not relegated solely to the history books. Many groups in many countries have continued to operate into the contemporary era. The bulk of European terrorists

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1 Laquer, Walter. "Reflections on Terrorism." Foreign Affairs: Volume 75, Number 1, September/October 1996. Page 24.

- or those so labeled - are nationalist or politically-based (leftist or rightist). However, Europe has witnessed religious extremists as well. For example, the Solar Temple cult organized two mass suicides on the continent in the mid-1990s; but suicides without killing civilians does not equal to terrorism. There are extremist al-Qaeda allied Islamist groups active in Europe today that could accurately be called terrorist, though mostly they are of foreign origin.

Initially, Spanish authorities thought the massive March 11, 2004 bombing attack of the Madrid commuter train system was the work of the ETA, a Basque nationalist organization that has battled the government since its founding in 1959. The Euskadi at Askatasuna (ETA) is a secular, Marxist-oriented nationalist movement that aims to create a Basque national homeland in the Basque populated region of northern Spain (four provinces) and southern France (three provinces). While Christian like the rest of Spain, the Basque differ from Spaniards in their ethnicity and language. Like many nationalist groups, they have historical grievances against their foe. During the Spanish Civil War, the Basque fought on the losing Republican side, and accordingly were punished by the victorious right-wing Nationalist leader, Generalissimo Francisco Franco. The Basque uprising has, since its inception, resulted in the death of approximately 800 people, civilian (including government officials) and military (including police) alike. ETA does not use suicide bombings.

In Greece, the government arrested several members of the November 17 organization in 2002, the first major break in a 25-year long quest to thwart the group. During that period, November 17, a small leftist organization, carried out a string of assassinations, usually targeting foreign officials and businessmen. Its victims include a former CIA station chief and a British military attaché. The organization is anti-Western, anti-US, anti-capitalist, and anti-Turk. Its name was taken from a notorious government clampdown on students, which took place November 17, 1973. Across the sea, Ita-

ly has also faced leftist violence. Italy's fight against the Red Brigade culminated in the 1978 kidnapping and assassination of former Premier and Christian Democratic Party head Aldo Moro. All told, the group has carried out 2000 attacks, killing 161[1]Æ̵E

The most internationally recognized terrorist organization in Europe is the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA has many sympathizers outside Ireland, especially in the United States, who champion the cause of Irish nationalism. The IRA has long been in existence; the 1916 Easter Rebellion was led by Irish nationalists - including the IRA - demanding independence from Britain. After a bloody war, the Irish rebels were granted independence in all but the northern provinces of Ireland. Since then, the status of Ulster - or Northern Ireland - has remained in limbo, with a pro-British, largely Protestant majority and a growing nationalist, largely Catholic minority. Catholics fared far worse socially, legally, and economically in Ulster than did Protestants. In 1969, the "Troubles" between the British government and Irish nationalists led by the IRA began anew. Since that time, some 3,200 have been killed, British and Irish, civilians and combatants. The IRA assassinated Lord Earl Mountbatten in 1979, and narrowly missed British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1984. But perhaps most troubling to the British public were the bombings of pubs and train stations. While the majority of the IRA followed its political arm, Sinn Fein, and accepted a negotiated peace process in the late 1990s, splinter groups continue to use or threaten violence. Protestant pro-British unionist militias also defy the cease-fire, and have waged their own terrorist campaigns in the past.

Africa: Kenya and South Africa

As a most troubled continent, Africa has seen its share of violence, including politically motivated violence that falls into the realm of terrorism. Initially, most of the political violence in the

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1 Barker, Jonathan. No-Nonsense Guide To Terrorism. Oxford, UK: Verso Books, 2003. Page 55.

post-World War II era was nationalistic, the goal usually to break the shackles of colonialism. Innocent civilians were frequently targeted by insurgents and governments alike. In Kenya, for example, the Mau Mau under Jomo Kenyatta brutally slay more than 100 white British settlers. The British troops - avenging the death of 'innocent civilians' - killed thousands of Kenyans. It is estimated that 13,000 died, most of them innocent victims caught in the crossfire[1]Æ

The long, protracted struggle between the African majority and the apartheid government of South Africa ended in triumph for Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994. But while the story had a happy ending, the story itself was filled with bloodshed; there were many Steve Biko's along the way. The white South African government, itself built upon the explicit denial of rights to blacks and 'coloureds,' did not hesitate to use state terror on African civil rights groups, including the ANC. It even hired hit men from other black factions, allegedly including the Zulu Inkatha Party, to attack the ANC[2]Æ

Today, history is kind to the ANC, who clearly championed the 'good cause' and defeated a morally bankrupt foe. But, like the IRA and the PLO, it had both military and political wings. And like other nationalistic causes, the ANC was considered either a heroic band of guerillas or a subversive revolutionary organization. Before the tide turned on the South African government, it accused the ANC of being a terrorist organization, a label that stuck for quite some time, especially considering the ANC's ties to communist and other leftist organizations.

Latin America: A Mixed Bag in Columbia, Ideological Battles in Peru

Latin America, essentially a homogenous Catholic religious bloc, has endured state-sponsored terrorism, state terrorism, ideology-based terrorism, and crime-based terrorism. Sometimes, as can be seen today in Columbia, all forms are present simultaneously. In

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1 Byford, Grenville. "The Wrong War." Foreign Affairs: Volume 81, Number 4, July/August 2002. Page 39.

2 Barker. Page 72.

Columbia, the primary battle is between the government and leftist rebels led by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC). But the government is also fighting another leftist-populist group, the National Liberation Army (ELN).

Additionally, the right-wing United Self Defense Forces of Columbia (AUC) is seemingly pitted against all, both leftist groups and the government. All three organizations are on the US State Department's list of terrorist organizations, while the Columbian government was the recipient of a $1.3 billion American aid package. Plan Columbia called for a build-up of the Columbian armed forces, necessary to pacify the rebel groups and crack down on narcotics traffickers, who fund the rebel groups in exchange for protection. Bombings of civilian targets, assassinations, and kidnappings of politicians are common. The Columbian government, while the best of the lot, has blood on its hands, while both the US and Cuba have meddled in the civil war there.

In Peru, the secretive Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) attained international notoriety for the frequency and scope of their attacks, especially during the reign of former President Alberto Fujimori. Fujimori made it a priority to defeat the Shining Path and another leftist organization, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement. The Shining Path was founded in the Ayachucho region, a mountainous, impoverished backwater some 300 miles from the capital of Lima in 1970. Founded by philosophy professor Abimael Guzman, the group burst onto the scene in 1980 when they organized a series of bombings at polling stations. It is estimated that during the period of 1980-1986, Shining Path undertook 12,000 operations in which 10,000 were killed[1]. All told, some 30,000 Peruvian have died in politically-motivated violence since 1980. Tupac Amaru was largely destroyed by Peruvian forces when - in a highly publi-

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1 McCormick, Gordon H. "The Shining Path and Peruvian Terrorism." Inside Terrorist Organizations   McCormick, Gordon H. "The Shining Path and Peruvian Terrorism." Inside Terrorist Organizations. Rappaport, David C. (editor). London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001. Page - 109.

cized incident - it seized a Japanese diplomatic compound in 1996.

North America: Not Immune to Terrorism Inside or Outside the US

Terrorism was not new to the United States or North America on September 11, 2001. Both neighbors of the United States have endured periodic unrest, which included political violence. In Mexico, the Chiapas uprising - an indigenous ideological battle which was subversive but not necessarily bloody or terrorist per se - led to the brutal slaying of 45 civilians, most considered innocent, by unidentified pro-government forces. Canada, meanwhile, has been continually threatened by the Quebec separatist movement. From 1963-1971, one Quebec group, Le Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) resorted to bombings and kidnappings.

Within the United States, a diverse group of subversive entities have carried out terrorist attacks in recent years. The motivations for these groups vary widely, but usually are justified on the basis of a specific alleged injustice. There is a laundry list of single-issue groups, ranging from anti-abortion activists to radical pro-environmentalists, who have participated in violent crimes. These terrorist acts - violent and backed by a specific political message - range from arson to murder. Other groups, black and white, Christian, Muslim, and Jewish, have carried out ethnic and religious-motivated violence.

Puerto Rico, a US territory since 1898, is neither a state nor an independent nation. Instead, it is officially a "commonwealth" enjoying many of the privileges and responsibilities of US states, without the full rights or obligations of one. The ambiguous status has spawned an oft bloody nationalist movement. President Harry Truman's 1946 decision to veto legislation passed by the Puerto Rican legislature to authorize a plebiscite on independence led to a 1950 assassination attempt and later, a shoot out on the floor of the US House of Representatives. Years later, the Armed Forces of National

Liberation (FALN) carried out a bombing campaign in the continental United States. The 365 FALN bombs targeted businesses and other high-profile buildings, including New York's Fraunces Tavern in 1975. Eighteen Americans were killed in the process[1]Æ

In recent years, a noxious mix of anti-government right-wing groups have surfaced, often to bloody ends. The most notorious rightist terrorist act took place in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, when Timothy McVeigh blew up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, killing 168, including many children. McVeigh, who saw the US government as tyrannical and infringing on citizens' rights, later said his attack was in revenge for the government's culpability in the death of the 90 members of the Branch Davidian religious sect in 1993. A generation earlier, left wing terrorists - including the Weathermen Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army - were more visible. The former were known for symbolically-targeted bombings, while the latter engaged in kidnappings (Patricia Heart) and, in the case of the head of the Oakland, California school system murder[2]Æ

Conclusion: Terrorism as an Ambiguous Problem with Global Reach

"*Cruelty impresses cruelty and raw force. The simple man in the street is impressed only by brute force and ruthlessness. Terror is the most effective political means*," noted Adolph Hitler, who certainly operated in a manner consistent with his words. In the end, terrorism is a most ambiguous term, which today triggers universally negative connotations. But the word is simply a label, which affixes moral judgment on acts carried out to further a political cause. Terrorism is a global phenome-

1 Hewitt, Christopher. "Understanding Terrorism in American: From the Klan to al- Qaeda." London: Rutledge, 2003. Page 34.
2 Hewitt. Page 64.

non by the simple fact that it occurs now and throughout history in many locations for many reasons. Almost without exception, terrorism - state-supported or state-sponsored, under a nationalistic, ideological, religious, or economic banner, has a logic behind it, at least in the mind of the perpetrator. Of course, with rare exception, who can rightly be called a terrorist and what can appropriately be called a terrorist act still lies in the eye of the beholder. But in the end, one cannot deny nor disprove the oft-quoted axiom: "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."

ETIOLOGY AND EFFECTS OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

Edward A. Schwarz

Etiology, the beginning or the source, is key to understanding that the word "terrorism" relates to fear, to hatred and participants have been called heroes, patriots, murderers, militants, Satanic demons, freedom fighters, liberators, an unending list peculiar to one definition. Variances offer diversity; this is illustrated wherein the Philippines utilizes the phrase ¢guerilla fighters¢ and this is routinely acceptable as reported in news dispatches and commentaries. Terrorism is a deliberate and precise weapon used against civilians based upon religious and political agendas. We owe this word to the French Revolution some two hundred years ago when it was used to perhaps cull out disloyal members or traitors as a way to defend liberty or a similar political crisis. It quickly took the shape of a state crime along with its lethal instrument of death, the guillotine.

The commonly accepted and broadly implied definition of terrorism is a variable mix and a subject of confusion as published or reported by news and other communications media within a given country. However, it generally demands blood and casualties; it is a deliberate, hostile, and violent act keyed to inflict devastation upon civilians. Further, it is precise, rarely at random, and it employs hijackings, shootings, assassinations, kidnapping, poison gas, bombings, threats, sabotage, violence, and political unrest as indexed within its war and killing menu.

There is no such thing as benign terrorism and it should not be confused with the other groups who do not advocate violence. World War II had "freedom fighters" brigades and an underground corp. These organized groups attacked military targets and for the most part were not suicidal and were comprised of men and women driven with a passion for freedom and for the recovery of their oc-

cupied countries. In brief, they wanted their countries to be rid of the Fascist occupation. A fallacy exists in identifying modern terrorism mostly with Arabs and the assumption that acts of violence are encouraged or are being promoted by the Islamic Faith. This will be discussed later but historical definitions also describe terrorists as soldiers, warriors, crusaders; others may indeed qualify in a broad sweep for this general inclusion. In the first century of what was called the Old Palestine, Hebrew/Jewish zealots killed Romans and Roman collaborators; centuries later the Stern Gang, considered to be extremists by many within the Zionist movement, was a terrorist organization in the post-war British mandated and occupied Palestine. The Irish Republican Army until recent years regularly selected and destroyed civilian targets; innocent civilians were killed or maimed, the Basque separatists continue to bomb locations within Spain in terms of national identity as opposed to the 'international Islamic terrorists' who blew up a passenger train in Spain in 2004. In Japan, (Aum Shinrikyo, sarin nerve gas) subway terrorism and in the Philippines, kidnappings and deaths are frequently reported.

What drives young Palestinian men and women to self- destruction and into becoming walking bombs suggests more than just the frustration with living and economic conditions; it moves beyond this into issues of self-respect, government and feelings of denial and hope. One cannot deny their anger and the many frustrations that continue to elude solutions and safe haven resolutions. In any case, they look to Israel and the United States as the enemy camps; hence, they are driven to accept missions of death as their ultimate sacrifice regardless of the fate of innocent civilian victims. Hatred and desperation become all consuming and each action brings about an equal or greater reaction that allows the cycle of deaths to continue on both sides.

To that end, militant extremism in the name of Islam is a redefined and politicized movement structured along radical lines with the expressed purpose of eliminating much of the social Western

influences in the Middle East; indeed, to define a single state with Islam as the overall law and government. World domination is inferred but control, region by region, appears to be the current level of near term objectives. Thus, a war, declared or otherwise, exists and has existed with America and some of its allies. Seeking and destroying its terrorist enemies in direct combat, clandestine operations, etc., remains as the highest priority for the United States as it addresses its security and worldwide influence. The clash of cultures and governments echoes within the walls of the United Nations; the world community recognizes that divisions exist and that each nation is to be its own guiding light in matters of defense and extraterritorial military operations. The rules of engagement have changed in this new era of electronics and weaponry.

NATO and other treaty partnerships exist in form and in substance; the issue of terrorism still ranked near the top in terms of security issues at the 2004 Olympic Games in Greece. November 17, an active terrorist organization in Greece, represented a threat in terms of nationalistic terrorism. In brief, international terrorism knows no boundaries and it is a dark venomous virus that cheats the mind and it ultimately is in total opposition to freedom and liberty. Its stated goals and purposes seem to undergo changes in color over a period of time. Further, the protocol for nonbelievers is death or submission; its venue is the killing field anywhere, anytime and its intended victims are those persons who stand with democracy, or something similar in terms of organized government.

Religious terrorism encourages high levels of violence along with the expectations of massive (casualty) attacks. This has been well documented. It further demonstrates intent through horrific acts as recorded in Africa, India, Russia, and the United States, just to name a few. The rapidly growing camp of fundamentalist religious zealots seeks to use terrorism as their catalyst in order to initiate broad and compelling change in terms of their perceived political and social orders. As recently reported, more than half of the recognized active international terrorist organizations are described

as "militants" with strong religious motivations. Some perhaps are pawns of state sponsored terrorism with radical governmental leanings especially in matters of foreign policy. The basic conflict, hardly new, is sometimes described as Islam at odds with the Western cultures in defining and accepting the separation of church and state, expanded social and personal freedoms. Bin Laden's al- Qaeda ennobles its religious aspirations and expectations; it proclaims a political statement of domination and control; deviants are accorded harsh treatment and punishment, loyalty must never be in doubt. <u>The injection of religious solutions to these complex political dialogues leads to their assumed "anointed justifications for violence as a cure for the disputes and problems. It is, according to some, similar to the Fascist dialogue of domination and control. The radical religious terrorist assumes a license to kill in the name/ pursuit of his belief and/or his deity</u>. A case for madness, as seen through other eyes, is ill conceived; to the religious terrorist, his acts and deeds seem rational and proper, and are inspired by the interpretation of the will of his God. Many followers of Islam do not concur and are openly in opposition to the radicals who have given Islam a tainted name and reputation.

The expansive intricacies of international terrorism challenge us to better understand causes, failures, enemies, allies, etc. and to become adept in fighting this enemy. Much can be discussed in terms of the social and economic failures within political states; the frustrations of their citizens in seeking better lives, enriched opportunities, education, healthcare and family security. Surely, the dynamics of frustration, hunger, lack of education and training, damaged self image, daily uncertainty and the obvious differentials visibly seen between the haves and the have nots are remarkable reminders that all is not well. For many, there is diminished hope and even less optimism; their faith in religion is perhaps also their strength and promise for a new day. After all, was it not religion that introduced the legal process, the rights and the basic rules for living? Was it not also religion that became the short fuse for World War I

and other wars? And now, is it not the case that religion is being used for divisive and impure motives?

We recognize the diversity and uniqueness of differing ethical religions and their practices. Most have much also in common in terms of human values and a valued legal process. Civil governments, in conjunction with religious authorities, were formed; science, religion, and the arts enjoyed relative harmony and acceptance. In time, the separation of church and state for several major countries in the West became a reality of law and of function. Personal and cultural freedoms, a renaissance, also evolved in stages. Yet, in the Ottoman era, also certainly Spain until 1492, the issues of government and religion were seemingly balanced and respected.

The 1979 UN Higher Committee for Fighting Terrorism listed, by group, their reasons for terrorism, as follows:

Political
Hegemony of one country over another and racial discrimination.
A- Use of force against weak countries.
B- Interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
C- Complete or partial foreign occupation.
D- Exercise of both violence and suppression to force people to migrate, and, in other cases, to dominate a particular race.

Economic
A- Lack of balance in the international economic system.
B- Foreign exploitation of the natural resources of developing countries.

Social
A- Violation of human rights.
B- Deprivation, starvation, misery and illiteracy.
C- Negligence of a nation that has been subjected to oppression.
D- Destruction of environment.

The psychology of terrorism demands a total commitment to causes without regard for personal risks, including suicide in the name of that cause. Experts have suggested that terrorists are totally committed to this and they see themselves, in many cases, as inspired and pure martyrs. In several Middle Eastern Islamic countries and territories, the family of a suicide bomber is rewarded with currency or payment of kind. The interesting relationships of some international terrorist organizations with illegal drug cartels is similarly an indication of financial need and perhaps a wish that the Western powers would self destruct through drug indulgences. Regardless, older profile studies now under review suggest that Middle Eastern suicidal bombers were considered to be poor, not very well educated, and possibly psychologically damaged young men in their early 20s. These same experts thought that older men, better educated with social status, would be less likely to opt for suicide missions. This is in contradiction to the Saudi Arabian nationals who participated in the 9/11 attack on the United States.

In-depth probative studies strive to profile the motives and the essentials that attract terrorists to their organizations, their ultimate assignments to death and their psychology of hatred. Included are suggested material causes (wealth, appeasement of flesh desires), sentiments striving to arouse support and attention through the psychological impact of the media and news. Some are separatists with a national cause, others perhaps express hatred and blame toward other religious and societies, racial factions including other Arabs. The expansive international terrorist network has rigid training requirements much the same as what is found in a regulated but irregular army. The multiplicity of mature cells (aligned with the recent estimates of 550 or more terrorist organizations in sixty countries) demonstrates their effective potential in terms of messages of threat and fear, and of the ways to divide and to conquer. Their appetite for inflicting horror and death is insatiable; their goals represent the worst of all seasons for the democratic and free nations that are in conflict with them. Though the PLO and Hamas

have remained generally regionalized, their distrust and animosity toward the United States is regularly reported in the Middle Eastern media; in fact, the Israeli Defense Force has been characterized by them as the worst killers and terrorists in that region. In battle, much happens and certainly there are times when there is much to regret; in prolonged hostile exchanges the truth is known only to the beholder. Innocent victims on all sides are the result of a regional political dispute that has expanded and moved across the fighting ring to include religious issues and property ownership by "religious decree or similar. Wars inflict death and they may impose changing borders as part of the end results.

Any diagnostic process or potential solution would be incomplete if one denies the obvious fact that all this is about the suffering of the people. Much of international terrorism in this era is the product of religious extremists who oppose freedom, secularism and the rights of a free press, the separation of church or religion and state, and certainly, the principle that all men are created equally. While the Western societies have encouraged openness, humanitarianism and outreach programs, fundamentalist no-change Islamic societies have expressed a fear of perceived modern imported cultural exploitations as seen coming from the West. Even within the social order of the West, the ranks are divided on subjects ranging from television, sex, clothing, and the air of permissiveness that perhaps endangers the moral fiber. The old and the new are in conflict. This is part of the staging argument used by terrorists in fighting for their morality and cause. Oral persuasion may be open to compromise, issues that support radical terrorism and killings are not.

Energy is synonymous with the economics of crude oil; the ultimate weapon and whip that international terrorists remain eager to control. If this feeds their revolutionary appetite and frenzy and their attempts to take over oil producing governments are successful, the war will move to a higher level of military intervention. Thus, international terrorism is likened to its own government without portfolio.

Western powers, suggested by some, are suspect of dirty tricks for the benefit of obtaining and retaining crude oil sources. Further, a reality check would not deny that our world is changing and in ways that are less understood and are a far cry from the conventionalism of the past. Terrorism continues to be invasive and intrusive and a continuing threat familiar to all Americans vis-a-vis terrorist alerts. A recent and unidentified survey reports that four out of every ten Americans have fears of another major domestic terrorist attack. For the United States, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans no longer define Fortress America; the vulnerability of 9/11 has demonstrated that an enemy need not be a sophisticated and powerful military force or in fact be a foreign government. Terrorists have demonstrated that the improbable is in fact real and possible. Clearly, the remarkably poor (prior to 9/11) intelligence capabilities of America's CIA, the MI6 of Great Britain, along with others, offered only limited protection against terrorist attacks. This demonstrates the ability of international terrorists to morph their form and style and to blend into the general population of most Western countries.

Acknowledging that it may take years for the intelligence communities to penetrate most of the clandestine terrorist organizations, high alert levels and covert capabilities on a worldwide basis will remain key functions of concerned governments. Al-Qaeda leadership, on the run since 2001, still maintains strike capabilities and it has demonstrated the art of patience and organizational discipline. International terrorism is fluid and because of its high level of secrecy and security, it is unpredictable.

Inferences of Iraqi sponsorship of terrorism by President Bush prior to the American-led invasion of Iraq remain in dispute along with certain allegations of weapons of mass destruction. He also addressed al-Qaeda as having a relationship with Saddam. Confirmation remains lacking but reports from Arab News at the time of

the American invasion of Iraq were up front; there were no confirmed reports of any connections between the Saddam regime and international terrorist organizations.

Though Arab News in Saudi Arabia took issue and questioned the credibility and reliability of the American government position at that time, it had limited standing and public recognition in the United States. Reports by American governmental sources to the contrary, informational credibility was less than reliable; some even have accused the American government of lies in terms of twisting and pushing words to the edge. However, the truth of one moment may become the lie of the next and political motivations demonstrate how terrorists and governments manipulate events and the news; ultimately it is a free press that can make a difference. Terrorist organizations thrive on the news media; in that same instance, one sees the results and not the cause. As governments may underplay and hide the black body bags containing the remains of their fallen soldiers, terrorists claim responsibility and rejoice in the casualties; their hatred equates to more deaths of civilians and members of the military. The role of a free press is much like the eye of the camera and it can help to monitor events through accurate reporting and assured levels of confirmation.

Much like some of the Islamic nations, Israel faces divisions from within, a group of religious zealots who deny the rights of a secular government, and they consider themselves to be the only pure Jews and rightful inhabitants of the land. Indeed, they are in the minority but they exist and they would wish to turn that nation into a theocracy; hence denying the very basics of a democratic form of government. Palestinians define their militants as freedom fighters; Israelis call them merciless killers and murderers. In the end, the bottom line is death.

The exchange of foreign university students, a long established and respected practice, has been a pathway for the East to meet the West and of course, the reverse. Impoverished nations fight to rise from the ashes and their hope lies in education and with their youth

in terms of the future. The immediate future remains in doubt and their downtrodden and denied persons become easy pawns for terrorist recruitment. The major world powers address much of their annual budgets for military, intelligence and security needs; the enemy is known. International terrorism is the ultimate enemy of the masses, it cries for more blood and destruction. There is no quick cure for our endangered world; materialism and cultures have damaged the ecology, weapons for destruction are readily available to terrorist organizations and the world community for humanity is in disarray. Clearly, excuses are not reasons, anger belies understanding, and the mind is the spirit of creativity for betterment if it is allowed the light of education and the sharing wisdom of all cultures and religions. War is the creation of man and it is generally political in nature. The true and real enemies of our world are starvation, fear, disease, and uncertainty. International terrorism is an ominous threat to control the mind and the tomorrows; the future of those not yet born is in doubt.

Issues of political conflict, war and injustice mirror regional values. The future of international terrorism is unknown; for many world citizens, the horrors of the bombings will make them activists against terrorism. For others, a lesser hope; the gauntlet is there and they must choose between morality and its alternative. Terrorism is not inclined to vanish unless we fight the causes of poverty, disease, and make freedom possible through responsible reforms while honoring the tenents of religion. This may mean less for those who have so that those who have not will. The economics of deprivation are visual as we see and hear reports received from around the world. In brief, we have created much of these circumstances and we are empowered to do the right thing through international organizations and through respectful agreements and real, not imaginary, support modalities. Tactical realities may impair progress; nothing is easy but stopping or putting terrorist organizations into quarantine will be the beginning for a new day. As al-Qaeda plays by no rules, we must do the same and destroy it and

the other international terrorist organizations whenever and wherever possible. The rules of engagement demand no less.

In denying success to international terrorists, the impact of this new information age revolution can be allied with the counterattack on terrorist organizations. International terrorism struck Spain (train bombing 2004) and it influenced an election to the detriment of the then existing Spanish government. It was a blow to the allied Iraqi alliance as Spain withdrew its forces from the occupation army. International terrorism spoke and a country listened and responded out of fear.

The messages of religion are the driving forces for many and terrorists use religion for their own self-serving purposes; many believe totally in their cause. Without universal agreement that the three religions fathered through Abraham speak for peace and mutual respect, then no deal will hold. Within Islam, the greatness of its respectful teachings is being challenged and it must see the terrorists for what they are and not as they pretend to be. Jihad Watch writes that "Violent jihad is a constant of Islamic history."

The coalition of the free world is responding to terrorism on all fronts but this is a different kind of enemy, one that lurks in the shadows and flies no flag. America and its coalition of like free nations believe in freedom and they will not bend or yield to terrorism. The United States will also continue to be there for one and for all when catastrophes strike; unlike terrorist groups that offer help on one front but continue to plot and to kill on the other. If we remain united, the containment or destruction of the major elements of international terrorism can become a reality in our time.

This is better said by the Middle Eastern expression, "My friend is my enemy's enemy."

TERRORISM:
CAUSES AND MOTIVES

Dr. Salwa Al-Khateeb

"If there is an imperative need to eliminate terrorism, then we have to, first, acquaint ourselves with the requirements of such a need. Any attempt that ignores the causes is doomed to be useless."

Ex-Secretary General of the United Nations Kurt Waldheim.
- An American linguist said:
"Drain the swamp and the mosquitoes will disappear."

The entire world was shocked on hearing or watching the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. Everyone was asking why did this happen? Why was it done by Muslims against such a powerful country?

Many people have accused Islam of being responsible for creating terrorism. Thus, before explaining the national and international factors that contribute to producing a terrorist, I would like to answer some questions such as: Is there a relationship between Islam and terrorism? Is Islam, as a religion, responsible for terrorism? Why have most terrorist attacks carried out in the last few years been by Muslims?

What is terrorism?
Terrorism is a universal phenomenon, without a nationality or religion. It has become a major threat to world peace and stability of all nations. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. It is estimated that there are 370 terrorist organizations in the world living in 120 countries.[1]

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1 Al- Helwah, Muhammad Ibrahem International Terrorism. King Saud University, Political Science Department. Unpublished paper. P.3 (Arabic)

Suppressing it therefore, is in the common interest of the international community. The consequences of terrorism do not only affect the victims, killed or injured, but societies in general around the world. It is difficult to define the exact meaning of terrorism, because what one considers a terrorist act another may consider an act of bravery. According to Al-Sarhan, there are 180 definitions of terrorism, including the following:

Abdel Aziz Al-Sarhan defines terrorism as:

"Any attacks on human beings, and public or private properties, which are against international laws."[1]

Hasanen Ibrahim defines terrorism as:

"A symbolic behavior of using or threatening to use systematic violence, assumed to create a feeling of fear and insecurity in society, in order to achieve political or non political goals."[2]

Ez-Al-Dein defines terrorism as:

"A systematic and organized violence for the purpose of creating a state of insecurity in the society. It is directed against a country or political party to achieve certain political goals."[3]

The American Organization for Fighting Terrorism defines it as:

"Using or threatening to use illegal violence against civilians for achieving political or social goals."[4]

Jary & Jary, (1991) defines it as:

"A form of politically motivated action combining psychological (including fear) and physical (violent action) components carried out by individuals or small groups with the aim of coercing communities and states to meet the terrorists demands."[5]

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1 Al- Helwah, M.op, cit, P. 14
2 Al- Helwah, M. op, cit. p.14.
3 Al- Helwah, M. op, cit. p. 9
4 Al- Helwah, M. op, cit. p. 14
5 Jary, David & Jary, Julia. The Harper Collins Dictionary. Harper Perennial. 1991. P. 518.

Looking at all these definitions of terrorism, I can say that terrorism everywhere has three important characteristics:

1. Using violence or the threat of using violence: all terrorist attacks are aggressive, destructive, and use force and violence against human beings or properties.
2. Creating systematic and organized attacks: all terrorist attacks aim at creating a state of panic and insecurity in society.
3. Attempting to achieve political goals: Terrorism is a deviant behavior which has political goals.

Many terrorist operations carried out in the nineteenth and twentieth century by Free Corps in Germany, the Romanian Iron Guard, Japanese terrorists, the Basque in Spain and Irish terrorists where done by those fighting for national independence and freedom from foreign occupation.

The difference between terrorist actions in the past and today is that terrorist actions were carried out then by individuals, while today they are carried out by groups.

The targets of the nineteenth century terrorists were kings, ministers and generals. The targets of terrorism today have changed; they are not just a few public figures, but the whole society (men, women and children). Their goal is not only to express their ideas, but to spread fear and panic among the whole society.

The consequences of terrorism:

Terrorism has a negative and destructive impact on the entire society. Its consequences do not affect the victims only, but hits severely all aspects of social life:

1. Psychologically:

Terrorism creates a state of panic, fear, grief and frustration.

2. Economically:

Terrorism has a very negative impact on the economic system; it affects all the economic projects in the country. It hinders development programs from reaching their goals. It discourages inves-

tors from carrying out their investment projects. Tourism is greatly affected by terrorism; the number of tourists decrease dramatically after each terrorist attack. Thus, I can say that terrorism destroys the economic progress of the country.

3. Politically:

Terrorism produces instability and insecurity in society. Governments spend a lot of money to fight terrorism; this money will be better spent if it goes to development programs. The failure of governments to face terrorism could lead to the overthrow of some governments.

4. Socially:

Terrorism has a very destructive effect on the society; economic uncertainty increases the rate of unemployment. This leads to the spread of poverty, especially among the lower class. Since most terrorist actions are carried out by young people, society loses some of its labor force. Terrorism forces some people to immigrate to other cities, causing problems to both cities. Terrorism creates a state of value conflict among people. They do not know what is right, and what is wrong; this can affect the value system, and increase crimes in societies.

One of the important questions that sociologists try to answer is what the social situations that encourage terrorism to appear are: is it the lack of democracy, or the result of a totalitarian regime?

Some sociologists assume that terrorism occurs when a country does not have a democratic system. Others argue that terrorism happens when a government starts to lose control and power over its people. Some sociologists state that terrorism happens in the most oppressive totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and the communist Soviet Union. Historical evidence shows, however, that there were few attempts to kill Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. In addition, these actions were carried out by individuals, not by groups of terrorists practicing, in a systematic fashion.

The political police in these countries did prevent attempts to carry owt terrorist acts. And terrorism did not occur in political regimes able to use unrestricted force against them, or in societies unhampered by laws of human rights. Terrorism could flourish only in a surrounding that was at least partly democratic in character or a wholly inefficient dictatorship.[1]

Before explaining the national and international events that have helped in producing terrorists in Muslim societies during that period in particular, I think it is important to give a brief idea about Islam, its principles, and how these principles could help in reducing terrorism.

What is Islam?

The name Islam means "submission" or "surrender" and Muslims are those who submit themselves to the will of God. Islam is strictly monotheistic. Muslims believe that "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is God's messenger". Islam as a religion originated in central Arabia 1400 years ago. It spread all over the world. It is the largest growing religion. It is estimated to have 778 million followers today.[2]

Islam is a rich and dynamic religion. It has grown rapidly in the past and continues its growth today. All Muslims should believe in God's revelation, His Angels, the Holy Books, Allah's prophets, and the Day of Judgment. Every Muslim is expected to practice five pillars: first, to repeat the article of faith (the creed) and mean it; second, to pray five times a day; third, to give charity or Zakat; fourth, to fast in the month of Ramadan; fifth and the last pillar to perform pilgrimage by those who are able.

Islam is the religion of mercy; it respects all mankind regardless of religion, race, and gender. The Quran encourages Muslims to follow many good principles like all religions, such as honesty, faithful-

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1 www. Laqueur, Walter. No End to War. Amazon. Com

2 Curry. T., Jiobu, R., and Schwirian,K. Sociology for the Twenty First Century. Prenhtic Hall. 1999

ness, justice, respect for parents, hospitality, solidarity, cooperation in good things and not in bad deeds. It is mentioned in the Quran:

"Help you one another in Al-Birr (virtue) and Al-Taqwa (Piety and righteousness) but do not help one another in sin and transgression" (5:2).

To be a good Muslim requires helping needy people and supporting them. Islam forbids people from killing innocent people. It is mentioned in the Quran that killing one person without a justifiable reason is like killing all mankind:

"If anyone killed a person not in retaliation for murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land, it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind" (5:32)

Islam always encourages Muslims to be strong, and to be ready for jihad. The word jihad in Arabic comes from "Juhud" which means making an effort. There are many types of jihad in Islam including moral jihad against sinning wherein every Muslim is supposed to have self discipline to resist inappropriate temptations; financial jihad against greediness meaning a good Muslim is expected not to be greedy or to squander money; thus, he / she is expected to give money zakat (obligatory donations) and sadaqa (charity) to needy people; and finally, physical jihad against invasion; physical Jihad is supposed to be used in Islam for self defense, not for attacking others.

Islam uses the word "irhab" in the Quran meaning to threaten, but not to kill innocent people or attack others:

"And ready against them all you can of power, including steeds of war (tanks, planes, artillery, etc) to threaten the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others besides whom, you may not know but whom Allah does know. And whatever you shall spend in the Cause of Allah shall be repaid unto you" (8:60)

Islam is assumed to govern all aspects of life. All Muslims depend on the Sharia, Islamic teachings, which are driven from the Quran and sunnah (Prophet Mohammad sayings and deeds), as the

main sources of Islamic doctrine. In theory, the Sharia regulates all human activities. Islam is not only a religion but a complete social system. The application of Islam varies from one society to another. It is even different in the same society from time to time, according to the different interpretations of the Quran.

In spite of all these good principles of Islam, people have been shocked to find out that in the last few years many terrorist attacks have been carried out by Muslims. I do not think that Islam is the primary factor that creates terrorism, but different political, economical, social and cultural factors that combine together to produce Muslim terrorists.

First -The end of the Cold War:

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union had a negative impact on world stability. The U.S. has become the sole superpower, and has usurped the United Nations position. After September 11, 2001, and the pretext of "fighting terrorism," the U.S. gave itself the right to interfere in many developing countries' policies and ignore the international community in many decisions.

For example, the Iraq war is one of these examples that show how the U.S. disrespects the United Nations resolutions. American forces attacked Iraq in spite of international disapproval and resentment. People all around the world protested against the war, but the American army went ahead and ignored these protests.

The U.S. military aggression has created hatred and resentment toward American foreign policy, and has provoked violence against the West and American citizens in particular. Ms. Roy, a prominent Indian writer, in a widely publicized essay after the terrorist attacks in September 2001, listed some eighteen or twenty wars in which the United States was involved. The list is correct although it includes some wars in which the U.S. intervened to protect Muslim minorities for certain political reasons such as Bosnia, Kosovo and Kuwait. [1]

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1 Laqueur, W. op, cit.

Many Muslims have begun to feel the double standards of Western foreign policy. They call for democracy, but they do not respect other nations' freedom to make their own decisions. This policy reflects the superiority and injustice of the West. Many Muslims and Arabs in particular have become allergic to Americans. They refuse any advice from the West, even if it is for their own benefit. As a Saudi man said, "people nowadays hate anything coming from the West, because they take it as an order, not as advice". Thus, I can say that one of the most important reasons for the unpopularity of the United States nowadays and the attacks against American targets, is U.S. military aggression against other countries.

Second -Palestine:

Palestine has an important place in the heart of every Muslim because it has the first of the two kiblahs (the direction to which Muslims turn when praying). It is the location of the Al-Aqsa mosque, and the place where Prophet Muhammad was taken to in a journey by night from Makkah in the trip of Al-Israa and Al-Meraj.

Palestine is one of the major problems in the Middle East. It has become a chronic disease in the area. President George Pompidou during a press conference held in Paris Sept. 21, 1972 said, "We condemn terrorism, for it claims innocent lives indiscriminately. But, we have to be realistic that Palestinian terrorism cannot be eliminated without first, providing a solution to the Palestinian problem. It is impossible to eliminate terrorism of this nature without first providing a treatment to the essential cause of the given issue."

Israel's domination of the holy places, its occupation of many parts of Gaza and the West Bank and its unwillingness to share administrative control of these lands with Muslims has been a cause of deep frustration in the Muslim world. Also, it has been source of the possibility of a further conflict in the area, because there is al-

ways the danger that a religious madman or fanatic will try to burn or bomb one of the holy Muslim places. Such an action might have unpredictable consequences in the whole area.

America's absolute support for Israel has created a feeling of anger and violence among many Muslims. All diplomatic agreements have not succeeded in finding a fair solution to the Palestinian problem. Many Palestinians feel that the agreement in Oslo was unfair and unjust. Israeli policies in the West Bank and Gaza have made it difficult for many countries to justify its policies, even among Israel`s friends. The Oslo agreement encourages many Muslims to believe that there is no solution, but to fight "jihad".

In 2000, the Palestinian uprising (intifadah) began. Since that year, everyday we hear of or see attacks on both sides. According to Israel Army figures, 11,400 Israelis have been wounded since September 2000. And according to the Palestinian Red Crescent, 21,342 Palestinians were injured in the same Period. [1]

In the last two years, the U.S. has given the green light to Israel to do whatever it takes to maintain its safety, even if that means killing innocent people or building the long separation wall. The U.S. has used the veto 29 times to prevent the UN Security Council from taking fair decisions to support the Palestinians and give them their rights. U.S. never condemns Israel when it attacks civilians.

If we consider killing innocent people as terrorism, thus, we can say that both Palestinians and Israelis are committing terrorist actions. However, the only difference between them is that Palestinian attacks are carried out by individuals or groups, who have lost hope of their government achieving any results about the conflict. On the other hand, Israeli attacks are carried out by its army and with the full support of the great superpower.

Thus, I can say that the Israeli occupation and U.S. uncondi-

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1 Al-Hayat, an Areabic independent newspaper, P. 4, Thursday 7, October, 2004.

tional support of Israel have helped in producing terrorism.

Third - Afghanistan:

One of the major factors promoting terrorism was the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. During the Cold War, the United States put one of its targets to get rid of the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal. It encouraged Muslim countries to send their men to fight the Russians. In spite of their different ideologies, Muslims from various parts of the world came together to fight. They were trained and organized as groups. They established the al- Qaeda organization.

The results of a research I conducted on the 26 wanted terrorists in Saudi society who participated in the Al- Muhaya Housing Compound attack in Riyadh in 2004, conclude that 55% of these terrorists went to Afghanistan, lived and trained there for sometime. Afghanistan gave these people the chance to come together, to establish social organizations like al-Qaeda. Some of these people spent ten years or more there. They had nothing to do except fight and attend sermons. When the Soviet occupation was over, they returned to their countries hoping to be received with flowers. They were shocked to be received with rejection. They were surprised to find out that they did not have any skills that made them fit in their societies. Some of their leaders in Afghanistan took the opportunity and employed them to achieve their political goals. One Saudi who spent some time in Afghanistan said that when they were in Afghanistan, they used to ask for permission to go to the frontline of the battle and fight, but they were always told, "No, there is no need for you now, there are enough Afghans in the battle. We will need you later when you go back to your countries." This means that the leaders there had their own agenda and they had their political plans for a long time.

I conclude that Arab governments should have made some plans for how to deal with these Arab Afghans, and how to re-orient to them fit in the societies.

Fourth - Fanaticism:

The term " fanaticism" means extreme, unreasoning enthusiasm for an idea or principle. In all religions, Jewish, Christianity and Islam there are fanatics. Many people believed that religion is a main source of fanaticism.

Fanatics everywhere think that they are right and all others are wrong. They believe that the enemy should be smashed and destroyed. Fanaticism is not restricted to one religion. The Russian religious philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev has given psychological characteristic of fanatic. "A fanatic sees treason, betrayal, and infidelity everywhere. He / she sees enemies all around him." Berdaev noted the tendency of fanaticism to divide the world into two hostile camps. [1]

The important question that may arise here is where did Muslim fanaticism come from?

Muslim fanatics started in response to the presence of imperialism. The impact of Western political and cultural imperialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had three consequences in Muslim societies as follows:

1. The trend towards modernization and westernization.
2. The rise of nationalism.
3. Reformist movements and conservative reaction against Western influence.

Muslim fanatics are a part of the Reformist movements. They emerged from the umbrella of the reformists, but they have gone to extremist ends. Most reformist movements are influenced by the spirit of Jamal al- Din Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdu and Rashid Rida. Reformist movements call for the return of Islam to a central position in public life. This requires the restoration and reform of Islamic law to establish a modern Islamic state. Different reformist movements have appeared in the Arab world such as Bonchaib al-Doukali and Allal al-Fasi in Morocco, Abd al-Aziz al- Thalibi in

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1 Laqueur, W. op, cit.

Tunisia, Abdul Hamid Ben Badis in Algeria, Muhammad Ibn Abdel Wahab in Saudi Arabia and Hasan al-Banna the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

All these movements call for a return to the Quran and Sunnah of the prophet as the primary sources for the establishment of the Islamic state. They believed that Muslims should return to the early formative period of Islamic history, the time of the Prophet and the first caliphs of Islam.[1] It is worth mentioning that most of these movements concentrate on moral and social reform of their societies. They try to purify Islam from non-Islamic traditions and behavior.

The main principles of reformist movements:

In spite of the distinctive interpretations of Islam in general, and their different ideologies, reformist movements have some common beliefs among them:

1. Islam is a total and a comprehensive way of life. It should be integral to all aspects of life: politics, law and society.
2. The failure of Muslim societies is due to their departure from the principles of Islam and following the West.
3. The renewal of society requires a return to Islam.
4. Islamic law should be the only source of legislation in society.
5. Science and technology are accepted but they should be subordinated to Islamic beliefs.[2]

Muslim fanatics in the Arab world:

Muslim fanatics appeared for the first time in the twentieth century, during President Anwar al-Sadat's regime. In reaction to the Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel, many Muslims in Cairo and the Arab world from different ideologies, including fundamentalists, reformists, and nationalists considered President Sadat a betrayer. They rioted and criticized the agreement in the newspapers. They considered Camp David a betrayal and a symbol of disloyalty to all Arabs.

1 Esposito, John. Islam the Straight Path. Oxford University press. P.133. 1998.
2 Esposito, J. op, cit. p.165.

In return, President Sadat put many writers and members of the Brotherhood in prison. In retaliation, two Muslim fanatic groups appeared in Egypt at that time. One of them is called "al Takfir wal Hijra" (Excommunication and Emigration) and the other is called al-Jihad. The last group assassinated President Sadat. These fanatic groups were aggressive, militant, and bloody minded. They kidnapped, and murdered many civilians and tourists in Cairo. They attacked government institutions and foreign embassies.[1]

Muslim fanatics believe that present Muslim societies are corrupt and composed of unbelievers. They compare the modern Muslim society with that of pre-Islamic Arabia, a period of ignorance (Al-Jahiliya), disunity, and superstition. They assume that the only way to rebuild the Muslim society is to go back to the roots of Islam.

It is worth mentioning that the revolution in telecommunication has facilitated communication among fanatic groups and spread their ideas through the Internet and satellites.

The main principles of Muslim fanatics:
1. All Muslims must obey and follow God's law.
2. Since the legitimacy of a Muslim government is based on the Sharia, governments and individuals who do not follow Sharia are guilty and considered unbelievers. They are considered no longer Muslims but atheists. They deserve a holy war.
3. Opposition to illegitimate governments extends to the official Ulema, the religious establishment, because they are considered co-opted by the government.
4. Jihad against non belief and non believers is a religious duty.
5. Christians and Jews are regarded as unbelievers rather than "people of the Book" as mentioned in the Quran. They are seen as enemies of Islam.

These fanatics use Islam in politics, and they have carried out many illegal activities such as kidnappings, killings and stealing under the name of Islam.

1 Esposito, J. op, cit. p.168.

Fifth - Poverty and deprivation:

Many sociologists argue that there is a direct relationship between poverty and deviance,[1] and that when poverty is related to political goals, it changes into terrorism.[2] It is argued that terrorist actions always come from third world countries, and from lower classes in these societies. Many people believe that poverty and starvation are the main causes of terrorism. It is assumed that the misery of the third world is the fault of imperialism and the exploitation of developed countries of the developing countries. Imperialism has exploited the wealth and the economy of third world countries.

Poverty is a general phenomenon that exists all over the world. There is no country that does not have poverty. It is estimated that from 15-30 percent of the population in the Arab countries live under the poverty line. 22% of the population in Arab countries has an average annual income of one dollar per day and 52% has an average annual income of 2-5 dollars per day. [3]

In spite of that, I think that poverty is not the only factor leading to terrorism. Deprivation is also a factor. Hundred years ago, before the discovery of oil, most people in the Arabian Peninsula were poor. They could hardly find food, and they used to eat one meal a day. Many men were forced to migrate to Syria or Iraq looking for jobs. Nevertheless, crimes were very rare during that time, because most people were poor. Only Sheikhs and a few merchants had more wealth than the majority of the people.[4] Nowadays the gap between rich and poor has become wider. The rich have become richer, and the poor have become poorer. Class differences have become obvious and wider. With globalization

1 Jubara, Jubara and Ali, Al-Sayed. Social problems. Dar Al- Wfaa Ledunia Al-Tebaa Wal-Nasher. Alexandria. 2003 (Arabic

2 Jaber, Samiah. Deviance and Society. Dar Al- Mar'refah Al-Jame'ya . Egypt. 1998 (Arabic).

3 Abd Al-Rehem. Amal. Social indicators in the Arab World. Analytical Study.(Unpublished paper) (Arabic).

4 Al-Khateeb, Salwa. Bedouin Sedentarization in Saudi Arabia: Case Study of Al-Ghat Ghat Settlement .M.A Thesis . Dept. of Social Studies , King Saud University.1981 (Arabic)

and the expansion of the satellites, people in developing countries have become more aware of their poverty and of their needs.

Therefore, to conclude, I consider poverty, deprivation and frustration lead to aggression and this could lead to terrorism.

Sixth - Unemployment:

One of the potential factors in producing terrorism in the Arab world is uncontrolled demographic growth and the incapability of the Arab governments to find jobs for young generations. Among the regions with a high fertility rate are Yemen at 5.8 percent, Palestine at 5.7, Saudi Arabia at 5.2, Mauritania at 4.7, Sudan at 4.6, and Kuwait at 4.0.[1]

With high rates of fertility, many governments fail to find jobs for younger generations. In countries like Egypt, Morocco, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Syria, hundreds of thousands of young people graduate from universities each year. Among those young graduates, only half are lucky enough to find a job, and the percentage of those finding satisfactory jobs is even smaller.

The unemployment rate is very high in most developing Muslim countries. It is estimated that 20% (19 million) of the labor force in Arab countries are unemployed. The rate of unemployment differs from one society to another. In Mauritania, it is 29% among males and 42% among females. In Sudan, it is 12% among males and 24% among females, in Morocco; it is 15% among males and 22% among females. Unemployment rate is very high among youth in the Gulf countries. It is estimated 80% among youth in Kuwait and Qatar, 75% in Bahrain and 65% in Oman.[1]

Seventh - Lack of democracy:

Democracy gives individuals the chance to express themselves, to participate in decision making, and to be equal in front of the law. The absence of legal channels for people to express themselves in

1 Arab League Secretariat General, Economic Arab Report, 2003, P. 262, (Arabic).
2 Arab League Secretrait General, Op, cit, p. 173.

most Muslim countries forces individuals to use indirect or illegal channels to present their ideas or problems. Many Muslim societies do not have civil institutions that protect individuals' rights.

Eighth - Education:

Education is one of the main criteria that determine one's position in the labor force, and his/ her income. The educational system has helped in indirect way in producing terrorism. One of the significant educational problems in many Gulf countries is the unbalanced distribution of university graduates. Most students are concentrated in Arts, Social Sciences and Islamic studies, while fewer students are enrolled in Sciences.

There is a lack of balance between the educational system and the countries' development goals. Most schools, colleges and universities in developing countries do not prepare the student to enter the labor market and give him/ her skills he /she needs such as learning English language and computer skills. Also, the educational system does not help in motivating the student to think, analyze and criticize. Instead, it helps the student to memorize only. All these facts, help in increasing the rate of unemployment in most developing countries.

The important questions that may be raised here: Is Islam as a religion responsible for terrorism? And are Muslims terrorists by nature?

Of course not, for many reasons:

1. Islam, as all other religions, encourages virtue, mercy, honesty, and peace in all people. There is no religion that encourages people to be terrorists.
2. Terrorism is not an Islamic phenomenon. Terrorism is a general phenomenon that exist in many countries. As I mentioned before there are 370 terrorist organizations living in 120 countries. These organizations include neo-fascists and neo-Nazi groups who have been active in the United States, Canada, South Africa and Central and South America, Europe, and Af-

rikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) in South Africa. In Germany there are 75 extreme right wing groups with 65,000 activists. In the U.S., the Oklahoma bombing in 1995 was carried out by a Christian, and not a Muslim, even though quick accusations pointed fingers at Muslims.

3. Islam is always accused of being responsible for all Muslims' misbehavior, while Christianity and Jewish are not treated the same. If a Christian commits a terrorist attack, nobody will say "Christian terrorist" or "Jewish terrorist." But if any Muslim misbehaves, the whole nation of Islam will be accused of being terrorists.

4. Islam has existed for 1400 years and has spread all around the world. During all these years we never heard of terrorist organizations in any Muslim country. "Muslim terrorism" is a new phenomenon that appeared only in the last few years, as a result of certain political and economical factors.

5. We should not forget Islamic civilization and the scientific contribution it has made to the world in different subjects. We should not forget Muslim scientists such as Ibn Khaldun and his contribution in sociology, Ibn Sina in science and medicine, Ibn Rushd in philosophy and medicine, Ibn Al-Khawam Al-Bugdady and his contribution in mathematics. Abu Al-Abbas Ibn Al-Rumeyah and his contribution in pharmacology, El Zahrawi the father of surgery, Ibn Battuta the great traveler, Jabir Ibn Hayan in Mathematics,etc..[1] People always forget the positive aspects of Muslims and remember the negative ones only. Bad things are always generalized to all Muslims, but good things are limited to individuals only.

6. Nowadays, there are many Muslim scientists who are still contributing to the progress of all sciences such as Naguib Mahfouz and Ahmad Zeweel who won the Nobel Prize. And there are many Muslim scientists, philosophers and writers in many Western countries who are participating and serving humanity.

1 Mahjoob, Fatema. Islamic Encyclopedia. Madboli Bookshop. 1990 (Arabic)

The causes of terrorism are puzzling and confusing. It is widely believed that terrorism is a response to desperate actions in the face of intolerable conditions. Thus, the only way to remove or reduce terrorism is to deal with its sources. It is important to deal with the frustrations of the terrorists rather than to suppress terrorism by force only. Terrorism is not a violent action only. It has a certain ideology and goal that need to be faced. We cannot fight terrorism by military actions only, but with another ideology, especially, if terrorists obtain their ideology from certain interpretations of Islam. This way of thinking needs to be faced and discussed openly to correct terrorist concepts, ideas and beliefs.

I conclude by saying that Islam is not responsible for terrorism. There are different factors that contribute in spreading terrorism in the last few years in the world in general, and among Muslims in particular. of these factori the use of force against weak countries, interference in internal affairs of other countries, Palestine occupation, Afghanistan, injustice, poverty and deprivation, disrespect to human rights, intolerance, fanaticism, lack of democracy, unemployment, and the failure of the educational system to achieve its goals.

MOTIVES AND CAUSES OF

"GLOBAL TERRORISM"

Charles Saint-Prot

Terrorism lies at the centre of international concerns, the topic of numerous geopolitical studies. More than ever, the world has become prisoner to a word used to justify everything; a subjective epithet rather than an objective reality[1]. Though the word terrorism is one of the most commonly used terms in politics and the media, it remains difficult to define precisely.

The word itself is controversial. It is used especially to describe all that is detested, the embodiment of absolute evil. It serves to devalue, to demonize the adversary by giving him a negative image in order to legitimize a policy or a situation. This process of political demonology has a number of potential functions in both domestic and international politics. For example, it helps to stigmatize the enemy as sub-human and barbarous. Professor François-Bernard Huyghe points out that "use of the word terrorism is a struggle for legitimacy. Therefore it is a label that one puts on acts or groups that one wants to portray as being on the margin of society."

After the attacks against the Pentagon and New York City on 11 September 2001, George Bush declared War on Terrorism, as if terrorism represents a well-defined structure or ideology. In the logomachy of the Bush Administration, terrorism has become a substitute for Communism, a sort of mystical incarnation of Evil that the new Crusaders of Good must combat. The United States has simultaneously invented the expression "global terrorism." This only

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1 « A world ensnared by a word », par John V. Whitbeck, International Herald Tribune, 18 février 2004.

adds to the confusion since, as pointed out by American professor Noam Chomsky, "The term terrorism is restricted, in practice, to the terror that affects the US and its clients and allies"[1].

Use of the word terrorist can furthermore be a means of propaganda to serve as a mythical representation of an indeterminate enemy. Before the war against Iraq, the United States had made a list of "Terrorist States" that included very diverse countries with no links between them, no common denominator except that of displeasing the Administration in Washington.

We must therefore attempt to better define the notion of terrorism, to remember that terrorism is not a recent phenomenon, but instead has a long history; to stress that its motivations are varied and that nothing could be further from the truth than to assimilate it to this or that specific ideology or religion; and, finally, to reflect on the causes and motives of today's terrorism by asking ourselves: Is there really such a thing as global terrorism?

What is terrorism?

The difficulty with defining terrorism stems from the fact that it is an expression encompassing many very different realities. The word terrorism originates from the Latin "terror," which means fright, or dread. Terrorism is the action of terrorizing by spreading fear and dread. Beyond this, there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism. According to expert Walter Laqueur, "The only characteristic generally agreed upon is that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence."[2]

Defining terrorism has become a polemical and subjective undertaking. Texts on the subject proliferate and no standard work on terrorism can be considered complete. The definition most commonly agreed upon is "The systematic use of

1 Noam Chomsky, Hegemony or Survival, Metropolitan Books, 2003
2 The Age of Terrorism, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1987

terror, especially as a means of coercion, the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence against governments, public places, or individuals to attain a political objective." According to the European Union Commission, terrorism is considered to be "Offences which are intentionally committed by an individual or a group against one or more countries, their institutions or people with the aim of intimidating them and seriously altering or destroying the political, economic or social structures of those countries."

International law has never managed to define terrorism. It contents itself with denouncing precise crimes such as the hijacking or attacking of aircraft. International conventions such as that for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (15 December 1997) and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (8 December 1999) aim at cracking down on certain terrorist acts. The latter convention targets "Any … act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act."

In fact no definition has attempted to be more precise, everyone being free to define terrorism as they see fit. This is understandable from the fact that terrorism is not an ideology or a political philosophy. It is a means to an end. War, according to the Prussian theorist Carl von Clausewitz's famous dictum[1], is "A mere continuation of politics by other means." Much the same can been said of terrorism.

Behind any terrorist act, there is nearly always a strategy. No matter what form it takes, a terrorist act is rarely a spontaneous and gratuitous action. It is instead the deliberate use of violence

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1 De la Guerre, 1816-1818

for political ends. Terrorism has been used by political organizations with both right-wing and left-wing objectives, by nationalistic and ethnic groups, by revolutionaries and by the armies and secret police of governments. What motivates terrorists is spreading terror, either to intimidate a population (dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States, German bombing of London, United States bombings of Iraq), or to pressure or weaken a state. Terrorism is always sensational. The goal is to make an impression. With modern communications such as the internet and satellite television channels broadcasting around the world, terrorist acts are nowadays spectacles. Nearly the entire world watched live as New York's twin towers collapsed. Nobody witnessed the bombing of Hiroshima, which nevertheless resulted in 100 times more victims (more than 200,000 dead in a matter of minutes).

If coming up with a precise definition of terrorism is difficult, the only certainty is that terrorism is a phenomenon with many forms.

A multifaceted phenomenon

The word terrorism appeared for the first time in the late 18th century during the French Revolution, one of whose particularly dark periods was dubbed the Terror. This terror was conducted by the regime put in place by the most fanatical and extremist tendency among the revolutionaries, one of whose principle leaders was Robespierre. It is interesting that the first use of terrorism was by a state, a totalitarian and blood-thirsty tyranny that sought to use the "intimidation of [the regime's] enemies" as a means to govern. That intimidation was applied through a vast system of informants, violence, arbitrary imprisonment, and especially mass executions without trial of tens of thousands of people. Only the Nazi regime in Germany, the Soviet Union under Stalin, and Cambodia's Pol Pot would surpass the excesses of revolutionary France's Regime

of Terror. So the French Revolution, that has been described as a remarkable advance in the history of humanity, was in fact the first totalitarian regime of modern times. It inaugurated state terrorism, which remains one of the aspects of modern terrorism.

Another form of terrorism appeared during the 19th century. At the end of the American Civil War (1861-1865), some defiant Southerners formed a terrorist organization called the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate supporters of Reconstruction. Their actions did not involve the maintenance of power through oppression and intimidation, but instead of reverting to the most spectacular violence in order to sew panic throughout a society, to create a climate of insecurity to weaken or overthrow an existing regime.

The first appearance of subversive, ideological terrorism was the revolutionary attacks by Nihilists and Anarchists in Russia in the early 1880s, and by Anarchists in France, Italy, Austria, and other European countries in the 1890s, advocating terrorism as the spark to ignite revolution. This was the case, for example, with the bomb attacks by the French Anarchist, François Koenig Stein, aka Ravachol, the 1894 assassination of French President Sadi Carnot, the 1897assassination of Empress Elisabeth of Austria, and the assassination of the King of Italy in 1900. Anarchist terror would always border on banditism, as shown by the example of "Bonnot's Gang" (1911-1912), the leader of a band of thieves and murderers that called themselves Anarchists. A few years later, the Communist movement would use the same methods to take power. The same Communists that had used terrorism as a subversive tool against the Russian monarchy would later use state terrorism in order to remain in power. In a similar manner, the Zionism that largely used subversive terrorism in Palestine would later implement a policy of state terrorism following the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine.

A third form of terrorism, or described as such, appeared at the end of the 19th century. This included the actions of nationalist resistance groups fighting occupiers, for example against the occupying English troops in Ireland. During the 1930s, the Balkan conflicts gave birth to virulent terrorism, one of whose examples was the assassination in Marseille, France in October 1934 of Alexander of Yugoslavia and Louis Barthou, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, carried out by members of the Croatian Ustashi organization calling for the independence of their province.

The motivations of terrorism

So terrorism takes many forms. Confusion stems not from the definition of terrorism, but rather from its multitude of definitions. And a multitude of motivations go along with it. The world has known, and will know again, ideological terrorism (fascist or extreme left-wing revolutionaries), ethnic terrorism, sectarian and religious terrorism, Mafiosi terrorism, state terrorism, and more.

Revolutionary terrorism is the most constant form. It began in the 19th century and continued throughout the 20th. From 1968 until the early 1980s, terrorism was essentially the work of extreme left-wing groups: the Red Army Faction, or Baader-Meinhoff Gang (from the name of its leader, Andreas Baader), in Germany; Action Direct in France; the Cellules Communistes Combattantes in Belgium; numerous movements in Greece, Japan, and especially Italy, where the Red Brigades committed nearly 8,000 terrorist attacks in a decade resulting in more than 500 deaths, including the 1978 kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, President of Italy's main conservative political party. Numerous left-wing terrorist movements still exist today: the Shining Path in Peru, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the 17 November Movement and the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) in Greece, remnants of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, Marxist and other left-wing movements in Turkey, etc.

Neofascist terrorism in many ways resembles that of the extreme left. Very active in Italy during the 1970s, it continues in Latin America, in the United States with racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan or paramilitary groups comprising extremists like the one that committed the Oklahoma City bombing in April 1995 (166 dead), various neo-Nazi skinhead movements in England, Germany, Poland, and Israel, and, in Israel, fascist terrorist movements such as the Kahane Chai and the Kach group, one of whose members was the settler Baruch Goldstein, who committed the terrorist massacres at the Hebron mosque in 1995. Various Israeli settler groups regularly perpetrate terrorist acts against Palestinians.

Religious or sectarian terrorism is a plague to all religions. The Zionist movement began with terrorist acts in Palestine (against the indigenous Arabs and against United Nations representatives) and attacks in certain Arab countries, sometimes against synagogues in order to incite Jewish Arabs to come to Israel. Numerous other Jewish terrorist organizations outside of Israel exist: the Jewish Defense League in North America and Europe, the Betar, etc.

Christianity too has its religious extremist groups: the Aryan Nation, active in North America, where it increasingly associates with the militia movement; the fanatical Protestant movement in Northern Ireland; Catholic extremists in Bosnia. In Asia, religious and sectarian terrorist movements have developed: the Sikh groups Dal Khalsa and the Dashmesh Regiment, and the Hindu Shiv Sena movement in India; in Japan the AUM Shinri Kyo sect was one of the first to use a neurotoxin to perpetrate a terrorist attack (in Tokyo in 1995). A certain number of acts have also been committed around the world in the name of Islam, the best known being the 11 September 2001 attacks against New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C.

Ethnic separatism: Ethnic separatism continues to be an important motivating factor in several terrorist campaigns. Some of these crises have endured for many years: Northern Ireland, the Kurds (Turkey,

Iraq, Iran), the Spanish Basques (with the ETA terrorist movement), Armenians against the Turks to avenge the massacres of 1915-16. Others are relatively recent: the Uygurs in western China's Xinjiang region, Timor and Aceh in Indonesia, the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, ethnic wars in Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire. Separatism and irredentism, leading to terrorist acts, were also given new life after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Several nations currently ravaged by political violence were formerly part of the USSR or within the Communist Bloc. Examples include terrorist actions between Armenians and Azerbaijanis; Abkhazian and South Ossetian insurrections against Georgia; the Caucasus crises, particularly the Chechen revolt which has led to terrorist acts in Russia and in repressive actions against Chechen civilians; conflict in the former Yugoslavia, pitting Serbs against Croats and sparking terrorist acts on both sides; the Bosnia-Herzegovina war; and, finally, the Kosovo conflict in Serbia.

Mafiosi terrorism: Mafia groups, particularly those involved in the narcotics trade, do not hesitate to use terrorism against those states that fight them or attempt to limit their activities. These organizations often collaborate with groups practicing political or ideological terrorism. Moreover bandit gangs sometimes hide behind political demands, especially ethnic separatism, as used by Corsican groups.

State terrorism is present either through the sponsorship of terrorist acts by states against other states, as was the case with the former Soviet Union encouraging various terrorist groups in their struggle against Western countries and, for example, terrorist attacks organized by Iran against France during the Iran-Iraq war; or through a state's use of violence to such an extent that it can be called terrorism.

In particular, state terrorism manifests itself in:

- Police state practices against its own people to dominate through fear by surveillance, disruption of group meetings, control of the news media, torture, mass arrests, false charges and rumors, show trials, and summary executions. This form of state terrorism

characterized the Soviet Union under Stalin, Nazi Germany, China under Mao Zedong, the Red Khmers in Cambodia, North Korea, Iran under Khomeini, and Afghanistan under the Taliban;

-Military exercise maneuvers or war games conducted by one state in the vicinity of another state for the purpose of threatening the political independence or territorial integrity of that other state;

-The armed attack by the military forces of a state on targets that put at risk the civilian population residing in another state (e.g., the Israeli bombings of Gaza or villages in Lebanon; the United States bombings of towns in Iraq);

-The creation and support of armed mercenary forces by a state for the purpose of subverting the sovereignty of another state; assassination attempts and plots directed by a state towards the officials of other states, or national liberation movements, whether carried out by military strike, special forces units, or covert operations by "intelligence forces" or their third party agents;

-Disinformation campaigns by a state, whether intended to destabilize another state or to build public support for economic, political, or military force or intimidation directed against another state.

Today the United States and the state of Israel regularly practice state terrorism: the invasions of Grenada, Panama, and Iraq by the United States; Israeli attacks against the civilian populations of Lebanon and Palestine. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviets was also a form of state terrorism.

Wars of aggression and occupation of countries lead to the organization of resistance movements. Throughout history, the occupiers designate as terrorists the patriotic resistance groups in order to justify their repression. Thus the Germans who occupied France between 1940 and 1944 described as terrorists the French Resistants who rallied behind Charles de Gaulle. In like manner, the Russians called the Afghan guerrillas terrorists. Today, the Israelis and the United States designate the Lebanese, Palestinian, and Iraqi Resistants as terrorists. Resistance is a le-

gitimate struggle against an occupier, recognized by international law. In fact, it is the occupation of a country that constitutes a terrorist act, and not the struggle by the country's citizens to regain their liberty by any means at their disposal. In this respect, all objective observers recognize that resistance groups such as the Palestinian Hamas or the Lebanese Hezbollah have nothing to do with international terrorism.[1]

It is interesting that the various forms of terrorism, or so-called terrorism, often fuse together, with religious, ethnic, or nationalist demands presented side-by-side, reinforcing one another. In the same way, terrorist groups can collaborate even though they may not be pursuing the same political objectives. This is what has been described as the globalization of terrorism, greatly facilitated by the development of communications. In any case, terrorism is the monopoly of no ideology, religion, or cause. Terrorism is not an idea. It is a means, an arm, that has often been called the poor man's weapon or the weapon of the weak, but can also be a weapon of the cowardly. Given the fact that terrorism is nothing more than a method used by highly diverse individuals for highly variable objectives, it is ridiculous to try to make terrorism an enemy. The term "global terrorism" means nothing precise. On the contrary, terrorism is atomized, used for diverse ends by very different groups throughout the four corners of the world.

However, for the past few years, the multi-faceted nature of the terrorist phenomenon has tended to blur artificially into a single notion: that of "global terrorism," a sort of absolute evil that does not correspond to the much more complex reality. The expression global terrorism, which is supposed to be fought by the champion of "good," leads to a dangerous simplification. One cannot help but notice that these days many people quickly equate terrorism with Islam, and many speak of Islamic terrorism, or Muslim violence,

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1 cf Interview of the French anti-terrorist judge Jean-Louis Bruguiere, in Politique Internationale, été 2004.

etc. The fact that terrorist acts do not involve states, but instead are perpetrated by members of a web that is difficult to get a handle on and with agents in various parts of the world that take advantage of the ease of travel offered by the modern world, does not allow us to speak of a vast international conspiracy, or of a so-called "global" terrorism. This terrorism, which is undertaken by globalized networks, is in reality no different from the international terrorism that abounded during the 1970s, involving international networks of extreme left-wing cells. Put simply, the anarchic process of economic globalization makes this form of terrorism much easier today.

There have always been people that, at one time or other, manipulated religious or ideological beliefs in order to transform them into an element of combat, an element of terrorism and death. This phenomenon is well known. We lived it under Marxism, whose manipulation resulted in Stalin's terrorist regime and the death of millions. Extreme left-wing Marxist groups appeared as a result, becoming terrorist groups killing hundreds of innocent people. Far right-wing Christian terrorist groups in the United States, or right-wing Protestant groups in Northern Ireland, do the same, without anyone concluding that Protestants, any more than Catholics or Orthodox Christians, are intrinsically terrorists. So why be so quick to assimilate Islam with terrorism?

After the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the end of the Cold War, a single superpower believed it could manage world affairs by itself. Leaders in Washington spoke of a "New World Order" which, camouflaged under the label of globalization, translated into a dream of hegemony for the United States. Indeed, just because globalization has accelerated interactions through improved communications and information exchange does not mean that the world is condemned to live under the aegis of a single superpower that pursues only its own interests through any means available. This policy of hegemony, aimed particularly at monopolizing the wealth of raw material-producing countries (especially oil), has singled out Arab and Muslim countries. At the same time, the ultra

right-wing within the Bush Administration has decided to make Israel its strategic ally, which has resulted in giving a free hand to the Israeli regime's extremist policies. Under attack, humiliated, ridiculed, their land occupied, the Muslim people are gravely bitter, an emotional state which certain groups have channeled or exploited by manipulating and deforming Islam. But to transform this phenomenon into an Islamic threat is a giant leap that certain groups have hastened to make for purely political reasons. This is how the myth of an Islamic threat to the Western world was born.

The myth of the Islamic threat

This myth of the Islamic threat is fuelled by several causes. First of all is ignorance, or incomprehension. The idea of an Islamic threat, waved around by certain circles, is not new. Hassan Al-Banna noted already in the 1930s that "Westerners are very concerned with this new Islamic movement and see it as an eminent danger. Hostility and a confrontational attitude have been the reactions, for they see it as nothing more than the victory of the old regressive traditions, and the coming together of the 'barbarians' against the new civilized world. This is a profound illusion and a grave mistake, as well as being a misconception of evident truth."

Islamic revivalism has run counter to many of the presuppositions of Western liberal secularism and development theory, among them the belief that modernization means the inexorable or progressive secularization and Westernization of society. To the extent that Muslim societies refuse this Westernization and attempt, as is their legitimate right, to forge their own way towards progress while preserving their values and uniqueness, some conclude that Islam is an enemy capable of anything and everything. American professor John Esposito,[1] founding director of Georgetown's Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, addresses the loud claims of neoconservatives in America who claim that Islam itself, not just radical Muslims, is terrorist and in-

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1 The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?, Oxford University Press, 1995; What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam, 2002.

herently incompatible with the cluster of values which some pretentious Westerners call "Western" and "universal."

Then there is the fact that certain circles have deliberately chosen to make Islam a new enemy. This is a ploy to justify a hegemonic policy of intervention in the world. The US Administration, which wants to occupy the oil-producing regions, isolate Russia, slow down China's development, and influence rival European economies, has every interest in disparaging Islam and making it a global enemy in order to invade Muslim countries.

Furthermore, to disparage Islam provides a justification for its own policy, or that of its ally: neoconservative circles in the United States want to make Islam a threat in order to better justify the United States' alliance with Israel. For its part, the Zionist lobby encourages anti-Muslim and anti-Arab propaganda throughout the world, mainly a dishonest propaganda against Saudi Arabia. It puts its influence at the service of authors and researchers who copiously publish works tending to slander and caricaturize Islam and Muslim countries.

In fact, the United States has used the globalization of economic and information exchange to create globalization ideology which is nothing but camouflage for its desire to dominate the world. The scholar François-Bernard Huyghe, director of the French Observatory of Infostratégie, states that according to the ideology of the Bush administration "The enemy is single and global. It is necessary to make an all-out war on the Evil which threatens America and the rest of the so-called free world. From where the new doctrines of Global War On Terrorism, the preventive war that the United States must lead everywhere where they estimate that there is a danger to their interests. This ideology leads to the new concept of a right to intervene against any possible danger which it comes from a declared enemy or a possible rival in order to carry the offensive on the territory of the danger, the Arab and Muslim world, to destabilize bad régimes, etc."[1] .

It is global hegemony - imperialism - by the United States allied

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1 La quatrième guerre mondiale, Paris, ed. Le Rocher, 2004

to extremist Zionism. To hide this, the United States has invented the term global terrorism and, in order to give it substance, it has taken advantage of the crimes of a handful of black sheep (such as Osama Bin Laden) to create an enemy: Muslim global terror. But it is a mistake to assume that Islam is hostile and monolithic. In fact, there is great diversity in the Islamic world, and a diversity of ideas regarding Islamic resurgence.

History shows that terrorism has many forms and touches all religions, systems, and ideologies. By example, Saudi Arabia, who firmly fights against terrorism, criticized moves to portray terrorism as an exclusively Muslim phenomenon.[1] It is clear that crimes committed by a handful of criminals and misguided felons cannot justify incriminating a whole society or an entire culture. Reason must lead us to avoid assimilating the Muslim world with a handful of fanatics that hijack Islam for criminal ends. We must also make a distinction between terrorism and fundamentalist Islam, which is a political though as legitimate as any other. Islam never turned to terror before being attacked and threatened. So it is the causes of terrorism that must be understood if we want to eradicate this scourge that is used by some to create a clash of civilizations and enter into a vicious circle of endless wars between peoples.

Fighting the causes of terrorism

The fight against terrorism cannot limit itself to wars which furthermore are fought with murky objectives. Indeed, in what way can the invasion of Iraq, which was not a terrorist state, further the fight against terror? It has been proven that the invasion and occupation of Iraq have bred terrorism where it did not exist before! This occupation has fired the anger of the Arab and Muslim world.

How can we be ignorant of the immense anger felt by an Arab or Muslim when every day he hears on the radio that dozens of civilians, men, women and children have been killed by Israeli bombardments in Palestine, or by the American military in Iraq? And

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1 cf. L'Arabie saoudite à l'épreuve des temps modernes, « Etudes géopolitiques 3 », Paris, Etudes Géopolitiques-Idlivre, 2004

yet the international community appears unmoved. How can we underestimate the hatred that can invade people when they see international law trampled upon, often for decades? How can we dare to believe that this is the way to reduce factors leading to extremism in the Arab-Muslim world, if this world does not have the right to justice and respect? The hypocrisy and double standard of some Western governments is responsible for more hatred, anger, frustration, destabilization and war in the Middle East and the escalation of violence and terrorism around the world.

I fear that the short-sighted vision that is guiding the so- called war on terror, a vision that seems to rely on military options more than diplomacy and social change, may well prove to be counterproductive. Instead of eliminating terror, it may breed greater anti-American and anti-Western sentiment and lead to more bloodshed and global instability. We need to understand the historical, political, cultural and social factors that lead to these types of movements that we call terrorism.

We must above all reflect on the exact causes of terrorism and violence. We must overcome the temptation to search for a solution to long-simmering problems by rushing headlong into a sort of arms race that will result in global confrontation with the Muslim world without resolving any problems. On the contrary, in order to defuse the factors that have generated hatred of the West, and in particular of the United States, we must resolve the problems that affect the Arab-Muslim world. First of all, it is necessary to settle all outstanding international conflicts including Palestine and Iraq within the purview of ongoing efforts to eradicate terrorism, because these issues are serving as fuel for terrorists. This means to construct a durable and just peace in Palestine, with the creation of an independent and viable Palestinian state; cease interference in the internal affairs of Arab-Muslim countries; respect the independence and rights of these countries; stop looting their wealth; take into account not only the interest of the people but also their dignity and their identity. It is not Islam that leads to terrorism, but rather it is the injustices and egregious blows of which Muslim peoples have been the victims.

Contrary to the confrontational and imperialist view of the

world held by the United States, France, for example, has asserted continuously since General Charles de Gaulle that it is only through resolving the fundamental problems that we will avoid wars and violence of all kinds, including terrorism. Only then will adepts of violence no longer have any valid reasons for committing these acts. This is the price to pay for restoring a climate of confidence between peoples, and will promote a much-needed dialogue between civilizations.[1]

Certainly France is not saying that abiding by the United Nations charter and international law, or respecting human rights will eliminate the fundamental causes of all terrorist acts once and for all. Lunatics and extremists will still not disappear, but "many a conflict that feeds daily terrorism, many a situation that creates unbearable tensions over the long-run, will no longer generate murderous acts as desperate as they are horrible."[2]

In conclusion, we must remember that terrorism is not simply a modern-day phenomenon, but has a long history. In the West, many terrorist groups and organizations emerged to commit terrorist attacks long before 11 September 2001. It is dishonest to try to equate Islam with terrorism. Furthermore, it is wrong because it means denying the true causes of the problem and perpetuating the extremists' motivations.

That is why there remains much to do at the level of the international community, to study and alleviate the underlying causes of all forms of terrorism and violence. These causes can be found in poverty, frustration, injustice and desperation, leading certain people to sacrifice lives, including their own, in an effort to bring about radical change.

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1 Cf. Charles Saint-Prot, French Policy toward the Arab World, ECSSR, Abu Dhabi, 2003, in English or in Arabic (books@ecssr.ac.ae or www.etudes-geopolitiques.com). See also: Zeina el Tibi, la Francophonie et le dialogue des civilisations, Paris, L'Age d'homme, 2001 (translated in arabic: Dar al Moualef, Beyrouth, www.daralmoualef.com)

2 Ambassadeur André R. Lewin, Président de l'Association française pour les Nations unies, Le Monde, 25 septembre 2004.

THE WEST AND TERRORISM

(A brief retrospective and current trends)

Jangir Arasli

Violence runs through the entire history of mankind. It is inherent in the very nature of biological and, hence, social development. An eloquent testimony to the constitutional bias towards the violence is the historical chronicle, which says as follows: just 270 out of the last 3,500 years turned out peaceful, others went off in wars and armed conflicts. Standing out against the background of extreme forms of violence there is an utterly ominous phenomenon - terrorism. Brought into common use by Aristotle, the term, originating from ancient Greek "Terror," which initially meant a negative exaltation of theatrical audience, went through centuries of human history and finally has now transformed into the most horrific and all-embracing threat.

Hence, terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Undoubtedly, it started not on 11 September 2001. Yet, it has to be admitted that the re-configuration of the global system started with 9/11 developments. Aftershock effects of New York and Washington terrorist attacks echoed in a great variety of spheres. In particular, this involves incessant debates of statesmen, politicians, scholars, intellectuals and mass media over the following key issue: Is the present day terrorism a phenomenon attached to certain geopolitical regions worldwide, arising from an aggressive nature of a specific religion taken separately? Is it a factor of geo-cultural distinctions that generates and accelerates terrorism? Is terrorism an absolute rejection of traditional societies to globalization, westernization, cultural unification? Are paradigms by Samuel Huntington on inevitability of civilization-religion confrontation coming true?

I do not attempt to give an exhaustive reply to these truly global issues. Still, I endeavor, albeit concisely, and unbiasely, to trace back the history, current trends, directions and prospects of terrorism phenomenon as applied to the Western civilization area and, thus, identify its distinctive features in broader terms.

Historical background

Sources of the contemporary terrorism in the West are rooted in the second half of the nineteenth century with the emergence of group of states forming the functional core of the then world order. It was the said period in the history of European empires and North American states that contributed to the formation of the first groups, which saw terrorism as a tool to settle political, social, ethnic and confessional problems and frictions.

Currently interpreted as terrorism, the phenomenon has been whipped up for two particular reasons. The first came from the dynamism of the industrial revolution, impetuous industrialization of states. It was social stratification and conflicts, deformation of conventional social patterns that frequently motivated ideologically justifiable context of terrorist practices as radical means of resolving problems of individuals or institutions. It would be appropriate to note that social protest agendas are typical for all the significant terrorist organizations and groups of the reviewed period. The second reason for terrorism to spread in the functional system of the world policy came to be the growth of national self-consciousness, and radical nationalism as its derivative. Having for centuries-long been integrated and controlled by Rome, and later by succeeding empires, Europe and adjacent areas were populated in the nineteenth century by nearly 500 ethnic groups and sub-groups, which inevitably stirred up contradictions, especially against the background of consolidation of national states.

As a consequence, the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw first acts of terror aimed against higher

echelons of power, For example, the assassinations of the US presidents Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley, French president Sadi Carnot, King of Italy Umberto I, Queen Elizabeth of Austria-Hungary dozens of other representatives of the state establishment. Even worse, an act of terror, which led to the death of archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian-Hungarian throne, provided the trigger for the World War One.

Urgency of the issue temporarily came to naught in the first half of the twentieth century. Contributing to the fact that the state is a primary source of violence were two global war cycles (World Wars One and Two), Bolshevist terror in Russia and Nazi terror in Germany. Nonetheless, subsequently the situation radically changed. A deadlock of confrontation between the two superpowers and their satellite systems, known in history as Cold War, struggle of colonies for national liberation and emergence of new states, post-war chaos, highly explosive combination of unredeemed promises, unrealized expectations proved to be favorable nutrients for terrorism. The period from 1945 to 1990 may be termed as "incubation" of terrorism, its conception and headlong diffusion in its current multiform. Solitary categories of the phenomenon took shape during that period, like politically motivated terrorism (left-wing and right-wing), ethnically motivated terrorism (on the basic of national-liberation movements), and religiously motivated terrorism.

Politically motivated (traditional) terrorism, as an instrument of the weak, formed the basis of the phenomenon confronting the Western world during the Cold War. This fully applied to left-wing terrorism. An ideological crisis of the first and second post-war generations, disappointment of separate groups of intellectual elite of industrial states with template values of developing consumer societies led to the transformation of dissatisfaction, first, into hatred, then into vengeance through violence. May of 1968 in Paris came as a sort of chronological milestone. Outburst of student actions that shook European towns, blood and corpses in the streets,

smoke of burnt shops and overturned cars, psychologically accepta-
ble for reports from the Middle East or Congo, but not 'civilized'
Europe, inflicted a psychological trauma to the whole generation.
As for the USA, splitting society was the war in Vietnam when in
summer 1970, twenty terrorist attacks, on an average, occurred
each week in the state of California only. Some contemporaries of
these developments drew a simple and radical conclusion: vio-
lence, terror, sabotage, urban guerilla warfare were the only possi-
ble means of effective struggle against a dominant society. It was
these prerequisites, interspersed with global context of confronta-
tion between the East and the West, that accounted for shaping a
number of leftist organizations and groups, such as Red Brigades
(Italy), Red Army Faction (West Germany), Action Directe
(France), Combat Communism Cells (Belgium), First of October
Anti-Fascist Resistance Group (Spain), Revolutionary Organiza-
tion of 17 November (Greece), Weathermen and Revolutionary
Youth Movement (USA).

In the period of the Cold War, the political **terrorism of right
spectrum** was spread under the direct influence of collective per-
ception of 'the threat from the East' and militant anti-communism.
The West was quick in consigning the lessons of the Second World
War, joint struggle against Nazi Germany, to oblivion. A new ad-
versary- the USSR and socialist countries- came to be received as
absolute evil, total threat of the first degree, while left political or-
ganizations of the Western countries as their 'fifth column'. Direct-
ly contributing to the reanimation of national neo-fascist cells and
related formation of ultra-right terrorist and extremist groups, such
as Secret Armed Organization / OAS, Federation of National and
European Action (France), Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance
(Spain), New Order (Italy), Army of Liberation of Portugal, etc.,
were a militarist psychosis, permanent expectation of war, aspira-
tion to resist the 'Reds', later in the 1950s.

The West also proved to be unprotected against **ethnically mo-
tivated terrorism.** Note that the growth of national identities, fre-

quently in the extreme, violent forms, affected not only the Third world but developed countries as well. Northern Ireland became a unique model of eight centuries long history of insurgent movements and terrorism, driven by unsatisfied national aspirations and ambitions, which finally led to the creation of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). A number of other groupings sprang up in the second half of the twentieth century to combine ethno-political agendas and terrorist tactics, including Basque organization ETA (Spain), National Front of Liberation of Corsica (France), Quebec Liberation Front (Canada), the Black Panthers (USA) and so on.

As a whole, as the Cold War ended, terrorism had firmly established itself as an independent ideological-political category and a universally operational practice with its most diverse forms of manifestation, and turned from point-impulse into a mass one. As such, terrorism has first taken an epi-central position in the focus of the state and public opinion of the West as an independent and priority threat category, which requires enormous efforts and resources to contain and counteract.

Parameters shift

The disintegration of the USSR and the socialist system in 1989-1991 appeared to be not only the momentous event of the twentieth century, but also a starting point of unpredictable global dynamics. The two-polar system of world order ceased to exist following one of the parties' defeat in the Cold War (sometimes referred to as Third World War). However, no proclaimed and long-awaited peace has come. Illusion of 'the end of history', as optimistically insisted upon by American futurologist Francis Fukuyama, lasted not long. It was replaced by realization of the fact that humanity was now directly encountered with new, long-term, extremely dangerous threats and challenges that burst out of the "Pandora's Box".

It would be appropriate to note that the parameters of current motions with their truly tectonic nature are diverse. Noteworthy are

some of them: widening information 'eruption'; continuing scientific and technological revolution; expanding globalization process; deepening erosion of national sovereignty and lessening of traditional roles of states; growing upsurge in ethnic and religious identities; aggravating friction at the juncture of civilized platforms and rivalry between various civilization patterns; continuing revolution in military science; narrowing of planet's resource potential; intensifying environmental degradation all these factors, directly or indirectly, affect shaping a new outline of threats in the twenty first century, including terrorism.

When adjusted for present-day conditions, modern terrorism is concurrently undergoing self-modifications and large-scale changes. It has therefore to be recognized that the traditional 'classical' terrorism of the recent past is being ousted by the 'new wave terrorism', or the 'new generation terrorism'. Its distinctive features are as follows:

* Qualitative alternations in the contents (a strategy and a type of warfare);
* Invariable trend toward reproduction and intensification;
* New dynamics (fluid and mutable nature, convergence);
* Non-state actors' factor;
* Growing professionalization;
* Escalation of technological factor (weapons of mass destruction, techno-terrorism);
* Escalation of information factor (cyber-terrorism, psychoterrorism)

It would be difficult to identify strict and universal structuralization of terrorism with an allowance for present-day scope of the phenomenon. Yet, there are four basic components, inherent in any structural unit of a terrorist category, whether group, grouping, organization or movement. These are as follows:

* Ideas
* Leaders
* Finances
* Executives, or "foot soldiers"

Irrespective of the whole complex of political, economic, social, psychological, ideological, religious, distinctive features, two integral, basic symptoms remain to be typical to terrorism as a social and political phenomenon: violence on the part of non-state structures; justifiable motivation of the violence as means of attaining the ultimate goal. Note that the reproduction of the violence in terms of terrorism is carried out within the framework of a reserved spiral cycle. Its simplified formula is as follows:

violence -victims -avengers -violence

Thus, the point is about practically classical and insurmountable 'Catch 22' situation, which ensures the reserved cycle and, hence, an uninterrupted violence process.

Current dynamics

A segment of present-day terrorism, which originates directly in the **Western world**, is notable for some specific features, different from other geopolitical and civilization areas. Nowadays, there are no mass terrorist movements, or even big organizations and groupings in the West; rather, terrorism is a matter of restricted groups and separate individuals. Inconsistent with the mega-terrorism by its parameters notwithstanding, the 'Western' terrorism remains to be significant and dangerous even despite its low profile. Striking is its obvious decentralization and diffusion; it assumes more fluid, mutable and latent nature. A distinction between terrorism and political extremism is effaced; there is confluence with organized crime; independent functional categories, such as cyber-terrorism, are shaped. An attempt is made below to briefly consider major directions.

LEFT-WING TERRORISM: It may safely be conjectured today that the left spectrum of the political movement not only succeeded in surviving the collapse of the USSR and the socialist system, but also entering into the new upswing. Note that the crisis of communist ideas and elimination of external support sources late 1980s and early 1990s led to no disappearance of left political or-

ganizations in the West, nor depreciation of social equality and jus-
tice ideas among a considerable part of the population. According-
ly, topical, just slightly modified remains to be the problem of left
terrorism and regenerated leftist terrorist groups of different ideo-
logical trends (Marxism-Leninism, Maoism, Trotskyism, Gevar-
ism, etc.) as marginal entities of political process. Domestic prob-
lems (for instance, social-economic policy of the government) of
external irritating factors (for example, the US military presence)
are selected as a protest cause to commit acts of terror. A glaring
example is the Italian terrorist group Red Brigades- Combat Com-
munist Party, whose members resort to periodic (impulse) acts of
terror directed against governmental officials and state establish-
ments. Another motivation category was the Japanese group, Mid-
dle Core Faction, which periodically engaged in attacking US mili-
tary targets in Japan.

Anarchism with its one hundred and fifty years history also un-
dergoes changes as left political trend to assume again increasingly
violent character with an appropriate emphasis on up-to-date speci-
ficity, for example, acts of terror during December 2003- January
2004 through delivery of letter-bombs addressed to EU Commissar
Romano Prodi, and other European officials. Note that the acts of
terror were arranged by the Informal Anarchist Federation, com-
posed of a loose conglomerate of scanty Italian, Spanish, French,
German, Dutch and Belgian groups, protesting against the expan-
sion of European integration.

An insurgent movement of social-ethnic origin, the so-called
Zapatista National Liberation Front (FZLN), which sprang up earli-
er 1990s in the outskirts of the western world, Mexico, is a special
trend of the left political spectrum. A notorious term 'zapatizmo'
and related ideology formed the basis of the qualitatively new phe-
nomenon- **anti-globalist movement** (AGM). Today, anti-
globalism is closely associated with 'new lefts', the latest phenome-
non, which came as counterbalance to globalization. Being a trans-
national social and political movement with its own formal ideolo-

gist, such as Joze Bouvet, Noam Chomsky and "Subcommandante Marcos," AGM is involved in a wide range of protest activity: against the international financial (World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, World Bank) and political (UN) organizations, political line of leading states (Group - 7/8), for termination of environment degradation, protection of rights of ethnic minorities, writing off debts of the Third World countries, curtailment of US anti-missile defense, etc. Organizational format of the movement embraces trade union and student organizations, structures of human rights protection, anarchist, sectarian-religious, ecological profile, as well as consolidated ethnic communities of Third world natives. It is noted for essential decentralization, lack of single steering center, introduction of horizontal scheme of management, strict system of planning, coordination and exchange of information at transcontinental level (via Internet). AGM's primary activity is to arrange actions of protest times to the place and date of forums of international political and financial institutions. Note that these actions are accompanied as a rule with mass disturbances, clashes between protesters and police, damaging private property, etc. Preparation and conduct of these actions provide for organized movement of the people involved to great distances (transcontinental included), their well-timed concentration (placing at the expense of related local structures), preliminary reconnaissance on the spot, distribution of protection and attack means (helmets, shields, armored garment, gas-masks, respirators, sticks, truncheons), aggressive behavior in the places of mass gathering, intensive information-propaganda support in the mass media. Stages of this ambiguous movement over the past several years of its existence are clashes with the participation of tens of thousands of people in Seattle (1999), Davos, Washington, Prague, Nice (2000), Quebec, Goteborg and particularly Genoa (2001). No visible violation by AGM structures has been identified since 2002. However, it would be premature to speak about its transformation into a purely political movement. In this respect, the current factor of con-

verging a part of extremist groups of left political spectrum into AGM may add complementary violent elements and tendencies in the movement. However, it would be impossible to gain a full understanding of all the consequences of the process.

RIGHT-WING TERRORISM: Elimination of the communist threat did not result in removing the right-wing extremism phenomenon in the West and related terrorist manifestations, rather, it modified them. As distinct from earlier periods of the Cold War, anti-communism as a primary, annoying and mobilizing factor was superseded by ethnic, racial and religious xenophobia and hatred. For all that, essential distinctions became apparent in the specificity of right-wing terrorism / extremism in the USA and European countries.

Present-day United States is 'a granular society' that encompasses a great quantity of poly-vectorial interests and groups. This is a precondition for internal friction that leads to discomfort, irritation, radicalism and extremism sentiments. In turn, extremism in itself is a primary source, a precursor of terrorism. Hallmarks of the right-wing spectrum are fundamentalist organizations based on the Christian identity, organizations founded on white race supremacy and organizations of the militia type. Their ideological platforms are frequently intermingled and mixed to identify as follows: enmity and rejection of any form of higher governmental authority (concept of 'Zionist occupation government'); idea of selectiveness and racial supremacy of 'Anglo-Saxon nation'; idea of racial and religious 'purification' of America; upholding the rights of citizens to possess arms.

Relatively small, yet, the most active segment of American right-wing organizations is directly engaged in using violence to attain their goals. These involve groups like Aryan Nations, Aryan Republican Army, Idaho Patriots and tens of others, still operating or having already suspended their activity. Targets for their terrorist attacks, perpetrated with the use of firearms and improvised explosive devices, are local bodies of executive power, judges, law enforcement officers and other officials, establishments of other religions, representatives of other ethnic and racial groups. Another (main) part of the conglomerate of

American ultra-right organizations and groupings formally operates under the law or on its brink and is just periodically drawn into limited-scale violence. Nevertheless, it may well be considered as the second echelon of terrorism with its ideological-propaganda and financial incentives fully encouraged. Following the September 11 events, activities of this conglomerate have appreciably intensified, and show no signs of receding. Arms and ammunition reserves are being piled up and advocating of violence continues. The largest number of organizations of right-wing spectrum, amounting to the level of mass movement, are units of **citizen militias**. As of early 2004, there were 441 structural units in 50 states of the USA running to 50,000 members. All these formations are based on the pattern of regular military units, armed with sophisticated infantry weapons, rely on service regulations and manuals, and have training centers and camps. At least, 137 of these units maintain direct and permanent contacts with right extremism groupings, such as Aryan Nations and Ku-Klux-Klan. Note that activities of these units are conducive to the creation of pre-requisites to finally result in terrorist manifestations. It was not Islamic or left-wing extremism, but outwardly law-abiding white American Timothy McVeigh, a full war veteran, noted for his patriotism who committed the most destructive act of terrorism ever in the history of the USA long before the September 11 events. On April 19, 1995, he triggered an explosive device near a Federal building in Oklahoma-City, following which 168 died and above 500 wounded. The act of terror was committed due to McVeigh's anti-governmental views as member of one of the numerous right extremism groups.

Today's scope of US right extremism makes FBI officials to conclude that *"Violence on the part of domestic terrorists will keep on threatening the United States over the next five years"* (the FBI strategy paper extract).

The European wing of right extremism / terrorism is notable for its own distinctive features. It is actively converged with the **skinhead movement** based on a particular youth sub-culture and an independent form of self-organization. Native of Great Britain

in 1969, it is currently assuming the character of an international movement, extending to almost 50 countries worldwide. Current European neo-Nazi parties and groupings (such as National Democratic Party of Germany) dispose of latent combat structures based on groups of skinheads and groups of soccer club fans. Cited as example may be Combat Groups- 18 (Great Britain), Hammer-skins (Italy), Stormfront (Germany). These groups of modern extremist political continuity are periodically involved in committing low-intensity acts of violence directed against alien ethnic and racial elements. The problem is particularly critical in Germany, where arsons and attacks, caused by national and racial hatred, have been launched by members of youth extremist groups to result in the deaths of representatives of ethnic diaspora.

ETHNO-TERRORISM: At present the problem of ethnic terrorism has undergone no particular changes in the West as compared with earlier periods. So it will not be considered in detail. Despite common dynamics, root causes that gave rise to terrorism as derivative of Ulster, Basque or Corsica issues remained untouched. That's why terrorism based on ethnic separatist movements succeeded in maintaining its destructive significance. As exemplified by North Ireland, a partial resolution to the issue resulted in fragmenting the Irish Republic Army and forming hardcore groups, such as Real IRA and Continuity IRA, which stick to their terrorist tactics with simultaneous coalescence with organized crime structures. The same is true of loyalist paramilitary groups, including the Association of Ulster Defense and Loyalist Volunteer Forces.

A special emphasis has to be laid on the terrorism arising from the fusion of ethnic diasporas, firmly settled and integrated into western society. At the present stage, these diasporas are not engaged in violent activities in the places of their residence; yet, they maintain direct and permanent ties with terrorist groupings outside the West's geographical space. These include the Armenian (in contact with the Armenian Secret Army of Liberation of Armenia), Kurdish (Kurdish Workers Party), Tamil (Liberation Tigers of

Tamil-Eelam), Sikh (International Federation of Sikh Youth, etc.), Cuba (Alpha-66, etc.) and some other diasporas. Note that diaspora communities play an important role in fund-raising, political and propaganda support, personnel backfill of appropriate terrorist organizations.

RELIGION-MOTIVATED TERRORISM: The process, viewed by scores of contemporaries as a parallel crisis of world religions and theories of social secularization, is echoed in an unprecedented spreading and mushrooming of hundreds of post-modern totalitarian religious sects and cults, especially over the past decade on the threshold of the millennium. Their principal parameters are as follows: tough internal, vertical management; charismatic leaders disposed toward individual power; creation of isolated communities with militarized components of organizational structure and a high degree of inner mobilization; latent accumulation of firearms and ammunition; monopoly on truth; ability for mass manipulations, destabilization and alteration of consciousness; heightened susceptibility to internal violence, external aggression, human life sacrifices and collective suicides; criminal forms of penetration in various spheres of social and economic activity. Of particular danger, are doomsday cults orientated toward the Apocalypse. The latter is, to a greatest degree, exposed to violent manifestations with occasional forms of acts of terror. It is no mere coincidence that history's unprecedented mega-terrorist attack with the use of mass destruction weapons (gas attack in March 1995, Tokyo subway) was committed by the Japanese totalitarian sect Aum Shinrikyo *(author bases himself on the fact that both politically and economically Japan is a part of the Western world)*. Another violent episode, illustrative of totalitarian sects' danger, is a 51-day confrontation between law-enforcement agents and adepts of Branch Davidian group, in Waco, state of Texas, in April 1993, which ended with fierce armed resistance to the authorities and collective suicide, including women and children (81 died). These examples reaffirm that totalitarian sects, under certain circumstances and preconditions, are capable of instantaneously moving from the periphery to the epicenter of terrorist activity.

TERRORISM BY INDIVIDUAL: It should be noted that the single-issue motivated terrorism, made of separate citizens whose terrorist activity is carried out independently, outside of organizational structures, is largely a product of specific phenomenon of the western social consciousness. It is profound individualism of personality in the post-industrial societies that sharply contrasts with communality and collectivism, typical to traditional societies. In combination with various motives (asocial behavior, loss of life prospects, unsuccessful private life, psychic deviations), aggressive-depressed individualism imposed on different political, religious, economic programs and demands together with other accelerators finally result in activating negative energy and protest potentialities against a dissatisfied mode of life and related objects of hatred through committing acts of terror. Despite scarce resources, individuals with destructive modus vivendi, sticking to views identical to programs of terrorist and extremist groups and simultaneously beyond their organizational framework, are in position to covertly plan and then launch well-organized, destructive attacks.

Acts of terror, fraught with grave consequences, such as explosions and gun-firing at gatherings, taking of hostages from schools and kindergartens, hijacking are wide spread in the USA and in Europe of late. A classical example is Theodor Kachinsky case, a 'Unibomber' in voluntary self-isolation who for twenty years (from 1976 to 1995) had been distributing booby-trapped mail parcels to scholars and businessmen engaged in developing computer technologies and aviation. Sixteen acts of terror protesting against industrial society and ecology destruction tendencies led to three casualties and 23 wounded. In April 1999, Englishman David Copeland, hostile to ethnic and sexual minorities, blew up three home-made explosive devices in the pubs of London (three killed, 129 wounded). In autumn 2001, an unidentified US citizen arranged distribution of letters, stuffed with spores of anthrax, to American public offices (five dead). In autumn 2002, Americans John Allen Mohammed and Lee Malvo, famous "Washington snip-

ers", paralyzed life in the US capital through killing and wounding 13 people by sniper fire. In September 2003, Michailo Michailovich murdered Swedish Foreign Minister Anne Lind in a supermarket. These episodes, among others, are indicative of stability of social psychosis in the Western, particularly American, society of appearance of a particular model of behavior, derivative of actual devaluation of human life values, disseminating psychological depression and "culture of despair", which, to our thinking, are likely to develop further. That's why FBI documents on future strategy of struggle against terrorism stress that, "The most essential terrorist threat within the nearest five years remains to be an individual terrorist, a 'lone wolf'."

SPECIAL INTEREST-BASED TERRORISM: Based on unique interests, this form of terrorism is a specific product of the western mode of life. Many representatives of consumer societies with their social and economic problems bearing no serious nature and lack of the necessity to perpetually struggle for survival, dispose of time and financial resources enough to address problems which are of top priority, in their opinion. Given the case, marginal and fringe groups are shaped to use violence for attaining their goals. These, in the first turn, are eco-terrorists and pro-life activists.

Eco-terrorism: is represented by Earth Liberation Front (ELF), Animals Liberation Front (ALF) and Animals Rights Militia (ARM). Protest against any forms of exploitation and damage to the environment and animals is echoed in setting fire to research laboratories, offices of pharmaceutical and cosmetic firms using materials of organic origin, attacks on researchers and other criminal actions. These actions result in damaging human health and multi-million financial losses. There is also a tendency toward merging these groups into a transnational community, operating in the USA, Canada, Great Britain and other European countries. Difficulties of its identification and suppression arise from essential decentralization of these groups, which actively employ tactics of 'autonomous leaderless units' (ALU).

Pro-life activists:, rallied around idee fixe, social psychopathy, opposing artificial pregnancy interruption, actively extrapolate violence through low-profile terrorism. Purely of American origin, the phenomenon sprang up as far back as in the 1970s. Suffice it to say that in 1982-1984 there were identified 220 acts against clinics and physicians, practicing abortion, including 89 bomb attacks and arsons. Over the 1994-1998, six were killed and eight wounded, largely in the states of Georgia and Florida, following the acts of terror by pro-life activists. At the same period, a certain pro-life activist committed five assassination attempts in the state of New York and in Canada.

Thus, the special interest-based terrorism remains to be an independent component within the framework of terrorist threat with its pronounced western specificity.

CYBER-TERRORISM: It has to be kept in mind that the effect of global information space and technotronic civilization formation that gave a powerful impetus to the human progress, has had a negative impact as well. Cyber-terrorism and its derivative, cyber-crime, which arose on the basis of political and criminal motivations, group or individual asocial behavior, are the gravest up-to-date challenges to the highly developed post-industrial societies. The methods of cyber-terrorism / cyber-crime of today include unauthorized access to computer networks through breaking into security codes, re-programming, disturbances in server operations, disruption of portals, raising of own slogans or demands, covert interception or deletion of information from hard disks, financial frauds, and resultant from all of these threats to information, physical and financial security. Means of network invasion, used by cyber-terrorism perpetrators, are diverse: computer viruses and worms, logic bombs, Trojan horses, sniffing programs. The activities of cyber-terrorists include impulse decentralized actions or goal-oriented (both short- and long-term) campaigns. Their targets are as follows: international organizations (targets of anti-global and anti-military movement entities, participants of various armed

conflicts), supreme bodies of executive and legislative power, economic institutions or universities (targets of political and social forms of protest), social and non-governmental organizations (targets of religious and ethnic forms of hostility and hatred) and banking structures (targets of criminal activity entities).

Of the greatest danger in terms of cyber-terrorism are actions aimed against facilities of critical infrastructure including command posts of nuclear forces, management systems of nuclear power stations, dams, industrial facilities, air traffic control and banking systems. It should be noted that information resources of the US armed forces, numbering 2,000,000 computers, 100,000 local networks and about 10.000 information systems, are monthly subject to 750 hacker attacks, a part of which attains their goals, disturbs communication, navigation, space intelligence systems, targeting systems and logistic support. Their dynamics by years is as follows: 1994 saw just 225 unauthorized accesses, while 1999 - 22,144 unauthorized accesses. Some of these attacks were launched by interested structures of various states, though. However, it should not be forgotten that the crisis of 1998, titled 'Solar Sunset', sparking panic in the Pentagon (first ever faced with mass computer DOS-attack with blaming Iraq as guilty party), proved to be actions of a single Israeli hacker. Imminent danger of cyber-terrorism for the very fundamentals of post-industrial information societies of the West is corroborated by two episodes: in May and June 2002 British and Austrian hackers succeeded to independently break into codes of strategic nuclear forces command and control systems and the center of space intelligence of the US armed forces.

ORGANIZED CRIME: Transnational organized crime (TNOC) is a shadow phenomenon, an immediate product of widening and deepening globalization. As a matter of fact, TNOC as financial sponsor and resource base is an integrated component of modern terrorism. Indicative of forms and scope of merging mechanism are specific data, which reaffirm that an overwhelming majority of currently operating terrorist structures are concurrently perpetrators of organized crime.

The latter involves profile spheres as follows: illicit drugs trafficking; illegal arms, ammunition and material smuggling; human trafficking; counterfeit production, etc. Funds gained are legalized through money laundering and then allocated for support of terrorist activity.

Statistics illustrate of parameters the present-day organized criminality. It is estimated annual global turnover is $700 billion, which amounts to not less than 5% of aggregate world gross product. Cyber-criminality in the United States alone, causes yearly damage worth $5 billion. Above 500,000 women are engaged in the sex industry in European states, which makes it possible to earn Euro 13 billion a year. Of particular importance is an illegal drug turnover with its $400 billion illegally gained funds. It would be entirely safe to say that nowadays the drug-factor has transformed into the most dangerous and topical threats of global importance. Millions of drug addicts, sharp rise in street crime and the number of HIV / AIDS victims, social instability, billions worth economic losses, deviation from priority efforts - such are realities that threaten present and future societies. An eloquent testimony to the indisputable fact that organizational structures of terrorist profile control all three segments of drug-cycle - production, transit and sales are the results of the analysis of the situation in all three basic hotbeds of drug production -'Golden Crescent' (South Asia), 'Golden Triangle' (South-Eastern Asia) and 'Silver Triangle' (Latin America). In doing so, local groupings like Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) or Burmese 'Army of United Wa State (UWSA) are primarily operating on production sites, while final destination and transit distribution junctures are located in the West and regulated by criminal communities, many of which are, although based along ethnic lines, firmly integrated into the western system. It is this mutually supplementary pattern of terrorism and organized criminality symbiosis that makes it truly transnational and international.

CONCLUSION

Thus, I have attempted to present in a condensed form major trends and patterns of present day terrorism conformably to the Western civilization area. As is seen, the facts sufficed to infer that

terrorism, to judge by its roots and nature, is not an exclusive, typical, say, only for the Islamic or the Third world (Global South) as a whole; it is characteristic either of the West, like other geopolitical regions of the planet. No civilization enjoys immunity against terrorism. As a matter of definition, terrorism is a crime against humanity, which recognizes no borders, nor has national or religious identity.

The prospects are indeed bleak. Terrorism has become an integral part of mankind's critical stage of development, characterized by multiple imposition of diverse risks and threats. It was, is and will regretfully be existent, while there are reasons that give further rise to the phenomenon. No ways to resolve the problem are available. No final triumph is possible, similar to the triumph over sickness, hunger, poverty and drugs. At least, in the nearest future until a global system of management, currently missing, will be created. For these reasons, the author titled his last book as 'Terrorism: Yesterday, Today and Forever'. The only way out of the impasse is a containment of the terrorism, its ousting to the periphery of global process. The crux of the process might be expressed in the words of American professor McKenzie: 'This is the war that cannot be won, and the one that may not be lost'. Note that its scales, forms, ways and geographical areas are likely to change perpetually. Invariable is the very fact of the war.

In considering the above stated, terrorism is a global challenge to the WHOLE of humanity, and it would be crucial to withstand it through applying joint efforts only, avoiding any dividing boundaries along civilization-religious lines.

HISTORY OF TERRORISM AND
TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE WEST

Tim Kennedy

A Brief History Of U.S. Legal Responses To Domestic Terrorism

"[Terrorism is] the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, or is furtherance of political or social objectives."

28 Code of United States Federal Regulations, Section 0.85

Since its founding, the United States Government has enacted laws that severely limit civil freedoms in order to defend itself from perceived threats of external and internal terrorism.

For example, in 1798, Congress passed a trio of laws- the Alien Act, the Alien Enemies Act and the Sedition Act- that empowered the U.S. Government to imprison or deport anyone guilty of treasonable activity, including the publication of "any false, scandalous and malicious writing." The three acts were an attempt by the U.S. Government to quell criticism from hardcore British loyalists who harshly questioned the ruling leadership.

Twelve years later, public outcry over the constitutionality of these laws lead to their repeal.

Over the next 200 years, the U.S. Government would create dozens of additional measures to counter perceived terror threats that it later withdrew- often because these laws were determined to be illegal.

Within this historic cycle of stepped up and relaxed legal constraints on U.S. civil liberties lies a dilemma that goes to the very

heart of how Americans define a "democratic society": How does a nation dedicated to protecting the liberties of the individual also fulfill its duty to protect itself from the threat of anarchy?

Today, this dilemma particularly resonates amid a rising chorus of protest from civil libertarians and political conservatives who accuse the U.S. Government of using the USA Patriot Act - which was passed by Congress with virtually no debate just 45 days after the September 11, 2001 terror attacks - to erode essential American freedoms and liberties.

A survey of the many U.S. laws intended to protect Americans from terror and subversion reveals a remarkable history of domestic terror. It also exposes the history of a conflicted political psyche that has repeatedly struggled - and continues to wrestle - with the validity of the democratic precept that the best way for a government to sustain its internal security is to ensure the unrestrained freedom of its people to speak freely and associate with anyone they choose.

This democratic ideal was best defined 160 years ago by French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville in his ground-breaking study of American culture and politics, Democracy in America: "Liberty offers a security against dangers of another kind; in countries where associations are free, secret societies are unknown. In America there are numerous factions, but no conspiracies."

"The dilemma of balancing the internal security of a country and the civil liberties of its citizens is not unique to the post-9/11 world," says Bruce Fein, a Washington-based constitutional and international lawyer. "The nature of a free government requires a balance between the exercise of power to suppress anti-social conduct and the avowed protection of freedom and liberty. This is what makes a democracy different from a tyranny: by not instilling fear in the population to prevent them from saying or doing something that is contrary to conventions."

Post-Revolution Racism and Bigotry

The U.S. legal system evolved significantly during the 100 years that followed the American Revolution (1776-1783). While encourag-

ing settlement of the country's western frontier, lawmakers were hard-pressed to ensure that the civil rights of American Indians were not violated. Indians regarded settlers as trespassers; settlers resented anyone standing in their way. This divide between the two cultures resulted in angry clashes that became increasingly frequent and violent.

Indians were not the only minority perceived by some Americans as a threat to the nation's internal security. Immigrants, particularly new arrivals from China and Ireland, were often targeted for discrimination and attack.

The Ku Klux Klan has one of the best-known advocates of using violence against immigrants and African-Americans. Founded in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866 by a group of disillusioned Confederate veterans of the American Civil War (1861-64), the Klan soon spawned hundreds of vigilante groups throughout the southeastern United States that reached a peak membership in 1870. Klan members terrorized African-American communities and their white supporters with lynchings, cross-burnings and other forms of violence and intimidation.

After experiencing several decades of decline, Klan support surged in 1915 when the organization refocused its hatred at immigrant Jews and Roman Catholics. Membership in the Klan peaked again in the late 1940s when African-Americans began to press for increased civil rights.

Initially, the legal response to Klan violence was handled at the state and local level. But with enforcement spotty, the U.S government intervened, dispatching agents of the newly created Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) who were armed with legislation (see 1918 Sedition Act, below) that made it a Federal offense for an organization to engage in a "radical political conspiracy within the United States."

Rise of American Anarchists

The early struggle for workers rights at the beginning of the 20th Century was frequently marked by violence. Businesses targeted by organized work stoppages often responded with brutality; this served to further radicalize many workers. These angry workers were easily swayed by labor organizers from Europe

who advocated Anarchism - the use of bombs, guns and other forms of violence as a means to achieve their economic goals.

One of the most infamous American Anarchists of this era was Leon Czolgosz, a son of Polish immigrants who shot and killed President William McKinley (1843-1901) while the president was visiting the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Czolgosz claimed his actions were justified because McKinley "was the enemy of good working people."

Though there was no connection between Czolgosz and the American labor movement, Congress reacted to the McKinley assassination by passing the Alien Immigration Act of 1903; a measure intended to stifle labor activists, who were commonly referred to as "Anarchists." The Alien Immigration Act of 1903 prevented the entry of Anarchists into the United States, while also facilitating the deportation of anyone judged to be an Anarchist. The Act also led to the creation of secret FBI files relating to immigrants residing in the United States.

Following the First World War (1914-1918), American society became particularly fearful of the Anarchist movement. Inflation, high unemployment, labor unrest, race riots, and a sensationalist news media fanned the flames of hatred that burned though this so-called "Red Scare."

Spurred into action by rising public apprehension, Congress passed in 1918 an updated version of the 1798 Sedition Act. The 1918 Sedition Act made it a crime to "utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States."

One of the first to be prosecuted under the 1918 Sedition Act was Eugene V. Debs, a former presidential candidate, who received a prison sentence of ten years for "voicing anti-war sentiments." When Debs appealed his case to the U.S. Supreme Court, court justices ruled in the Government's favor, reasoning, "Congress has the power to enact legislation that, under ordinary circumstances, might not be acceptable, when forced by a clear and present danger."

"Sustaining civil liberties, even in the best of times, is a balancing

act. In times of threat that weight tends to come down on the side of national security," says Peter Earnest, a former CIA operations officer who now serves as Executive Director of the International Spy Museum in Washington, DC. "Unfortunately, there are often elements within some security measures that may well impede civil liberties. I think this is something that we should expect at times like this."

Activities by American Anarchists reached their zenith in June 1919, when radicals mailed bombs to the residences of 34 prominent business and political leaders, including the Washington home of U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, the nation's top prosecutor.

Palmer reacted to the attacks swiftly: armed with enforcement powers vested in him by the 1918 Sedition Action, he launched a series of "Palmer Raids" that lead to the imprisonment of 6,000 suspected Anarchists and Communists, 249 of whom were deported. Many persons swept up by the Palmer Raids were arrested without warrants; others were denied basic civil rights such as legal representation or a court trial. Palmer was eventually summoned to appear before Congress to justify his unlawful actions and was convicted for "improperly using government funds."

Communist Red Scare

The Palmer Raids, though later judged illegal, did not abate the Red Scare. By the 1930s, the American Communist Party was a large but relatively benign presence on the U.S. political landscape with its membership numbering in the thousands.

Late in the decade, however, political conservatives perceived a leftward political movement among workers employed by the Federal Works Progress Administration (WPA), a government-funded public works program, and laid the blame on "Communist rabble-rousers." WPA workers were accused of intimidating staff members, pressuring clients and using public funds for political purposes. To counter this, on August 2, 1939, Congress passed the Hatch Act, a law designed to "prevent pernicious political activities," primarily by regulating the relationship between federal agencies and political organizations.

The Smith Act of 1940 (sometimes known as the Alien Regis-

tration Act) was an additional legal measure created by Congress to counter a perceived threat by left-leaning political groups. The Smith Act made it a Federal crime for any person to "knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States." Thirty years later, in 1971, the Smith Act was repealed on the grounds that it was unreasonable to arrest and detain an American citizen for "merely contemplating the commitment of a crime."

Near the end of World War II (1939-1945), Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin- then a military ally of the United States and Great Britain- bitterly criticized his American political brethren for failing to meet their "commitment to the worldwide Communist revolution."

Responding promptly to Stalin's stern admonition, the American Communist Party ousted its moderate leadership in 1944, and instituted more militant policies. The escalation in rhetoric and threats prompted the U.S. Government to arrest and imprison key leaders in the Party. In 1950, Congress passed the Subversive Activities Control Act, a piece of legislation that declared, "There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origin and practice, is a worldwide revolutionary movement whose purpose is- by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups, espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and other means- to establish Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world." The Subversive Activities Control Act also authorized creation of a "Subversive Activities Control Board" which investigated "un-American activities" of numerous citizens, not all of which were Communists or terrorists.

In 1954, Congress passed the Communist Control Act, a legal maneuver that officially barred the American Communist Party from participating in the national political process. The Communist Control Act was later judged unconstitutional on the grounds that it punished an identified group, yet failed to identify the activities it was intended to prohibit.

Although the Communist Control Act excluded the Party from the American politics, it did not prevent Communists and their sympathiz-

ers from infiltrating political parties. The infamous Communist "witch hunts," led by U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957), were sanctioned, in part, by the Subversive Activities Control Act and Communist Control Act. McCarthy's actions, which included televised hearing before a Senate committee he chaired, were later discredited.

"In dealing with the Communist party during the Cold War, an attempt was made to make a distinction between people advocating change and those advocating change and a willingness to undertake violent action to bring it about that change," says Peter Earnest, whose museum features an exhibit, "The Enemy Within," that explores terrorism in the United States. "There were a lot people who wanted to change society, but it was those who wanted to resort to violence that were considered unacceptable."

Militant Anti-War and Civil Rights Protesters

By the mid-1960s, several militant organizations began to use armed violence as a means to achieve their political goals. Notable among these militant groups was the Black Panther Party, which advocated armed self-defense and violent action in order to "improve life for poor urban Blacks."

More militant members of the Black Panthers eventually founded a spin-off organization called the Black Liberation Army (BLA). The BLA robbed banks and committed assaults and fire-bombings. It killed a total of 200 law enforcement officers throughout America in the name of a revolution "to resist white oppression, racism, and the economic exploitation of Backs."

Another organization that advocated the use of violence as a means of achieving their political ends was the Weather Underground, a group whose "Weathermen"- several hundred radical young men and women- tried to spark a socialist revolution in America during the 1960s and 1970s.

Outraged by the Vietnam War and racism in America, the Weathermen battled police in the streets, bombed two dozen buildings (including the U.S. Capitol), freed Dr. Timothy Leary, a drug

abuse advocate, from prison; and issued communiqués that were re-printed in publications ranging from the New York Times to so-called "counterculture" newspapers.

Violent acts by the Weather Underground were frequently tied to actions by the U.S. government that the radical organization deemed unacceptable. For example, in May 1970, the Weathermen bombed the Washington headquarters of the U.S. National Guard shortly after National Guard troops fired into a group of students protesting the war in Vietnam at Kent State University; in 1973 the Weather Underground bombed the Latin American offices of International Telegraph and Telephone (ITT) shortly after it was revealed that the CIA had supported the overthrow of Chilean president Salvadore Allende (1903-1973).

With groups like the BLA and Weather Underground lending a violent edge to civil rights and antiwar protests, the FBI responded with a counter-militant measure called CONTELPRO. CONTELPRO, a loose acronym for "counter protest," was created to prevent violent actions by radical left- and right-wing groups. But many of CONTELPRO's tactics - unauthorized wiretaps, forged correspondence and covert searches - actually incited violence from the very groups it was trying to suppress. When these illegal measures were found out by the news media, public outrage forced the FBI to disband the organization and severely restrict subsequent investigations of domestic groups.

Violent Militias and the Bombing at Oklahoma City

On April 19, 1995, the world was shocked by the devastating bomb blast that destroyed the Murrah Federal Office Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Bombing investigators initially focused on the possibility that the perpetrators were Arab extremists, given the fact that the attack, both in scale and the type of explosive used, resembled the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center that had been committed by a radical Islamic sect. Within days, however, a new suspect began to emerge: the American right-wing

militia movement.

The perpetrators of the Oklahoma City bombing- Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols- believed that they were at war with the U.S. Government. According to McVeigh, the government violated the Constitution and its guaranteed freedoms. McVeigh believed that people were entitled to use violence against this "illegal system and its agents," arguing that innocent victims of any violence directed at the Government are merely "collateral damage."

At this time, McVeigh's beliefs were echoed by many of America's far-right, anti-government civilian militias. Shadowy and heavily armed, militias are a relatively recent phenomenon in America's political right. United in their passionate distrust of the Federal establishment, militias regard the U.S. Government as a repressive and conspiratorial bureaucracy that imposes all manner of strictures on its citizens ranging from unfair taxes to repressive gun laws.

The militia movement began to take on momentum in the early 1990s when the U.S. Government began to impose restrictions on the sale and ownership of firearms, particularly a 1994 law that banned the importation of semi-automatic weapons and required a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a pistol.

Another issue that "radicalized" many American militias was the August 1992 killing of several militia members during an FBI assault at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and the FBI's April 19, 1993, siege of the Waco, Texas compound of the Branch Davidians, a militant Christian religious sect, that claimed the lives of 74 people.

Motivated by the bombings at Oklahoma and the World Trade Center, Congress passed the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, a measure that added new criminal penalties - including the possibility of execution - for perpetrators of acts of terror targeted at U.S. citizens.

American Terrorism in the Post-9/11 World

Membership in militias and hate groups had begun to decline at the beginning of the 21st Century, but interest suddenly surged af-

ter the September 11, 2001 terror attacks on the United States.

"9/11 shook up American society, even its militias," says James Lide, a historian at History Associates, a firm based in Rockville, Maryland, that conducts historic research and analysis for Fortune 500 companies and the U.S. Government. "Many of these groups saw 9/11 as a clarion sign as something being wrong with the United States. There were even conspiracy theorists who speculated that the government was involved, and there are other militias who thought it was an example of how the government had grown weak."

Typing the words "American militia" in any Internet search engine will yield tens of thousands of results, often with direct links to Web sites for militias such as Southern Sons of Liberty, First Amendment Exercise Machine, Iron Guard, Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Texas League of the South, and the High Desert Militia of South California. In addition to containing inflammatory language about the U.S. Government and minority groups, these sites frequently contain instructions on how to construct bombs or how to create weapons of mass destruction.

Local, state and Federal law enforcement officials routinely monitor these Internet sites, but the U.S. Government has resisted calls by the public and political leaders to impose legal restrictions on what can be posted on these Web pages.

"From my perspective, a Web site that professes hatred is no different, in terms of civil liberties, from a person standing on a street corner handing out pamphlets or talking on a bullhorn," says attorney Bruce Fein. "The dividing line between freedom of speech and criminal activity is incitement. If you urge others to commit crimes of violence, that's not freedom of speech; that is being complicit in an act of criminal violence."

Surveying the history of legal measures that have been imposed on suspected domestic militants- and, very often, soon after repealed- Fein believes democratic societies ultimately benefit when they sustain a climate that permits people to speak freely and to freely associate in large numbers.

"One of the major benefits of free speech is that it enables people to voice dissent and disgruntlement in a way that is not violent, and can

reduce tensions that might erupt later on into revolutionary fervor or rioting," Fein notes. "On the other hand, speech can be utilized as it was by Adolf Hitler to create a tyranny and destroy democracy.

"Free speech, in this sense, is not invariably therapeutic," adds Fein. "It can also be turned against democracy. The difficulty that faces a government that is a constitutional or 'democratic' state is how to know when the climate that exists for free speech has crossed the line from being therapeutic and emotionally beneficial to being destructive and tyrannical."

During the American Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln struggled with this very issue when faced with strong dissent from political opponents. When Lincoln took the bold step of closing several opposition newspapers and deporting political opponents who sympathized with Confederate secessionists, he justified his actions by saying: "What is the benefit of our citizens having the right to speak freely if they no longer have a nation in which they can exercise these freedoms?"

Today, there are many observers who argue that several of the legal measures taken by the United States Government since 9/11 are excessive and - as with many past government reactions to perceived threats - may eventually prove to be unfairly restrictive to rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

"I share most of the criticism that's leveled against what I would term the over-reactive elements of the U.S. response to 9/11," says historian James Lide. "From my perspective, this over-reaction by the Government is a natural reaction to this kind of event. When there is a dramatic and poignant act of terror that has a huge impact, the Government feels itself under enormous pressure to do something. They invariably respond in a way that is completely out of proportion to the event. As a result, the response sweeps up a lot of innocent people. This is terrible and it's horrific. All we can do is try to learn something each time this cycle happens, and hope get better at it."

PART TWO

9/11 AND THE CAMPAIGN
AGAINST TERRORISM

TERROR AND JUST RESPONSE

Prof. Noam Chomsky

September 11 will surely go down in the annals of terrorism as a defining moment. Throughout the world, the atrocities were condemned as grave crimes against humanity, with near-universal agreement that all states must act to "rid the world of evildoers," that "the evil scourge of terrorism" - particularly state-backed international terrorism- is a plague spread by "depraved opponents of civilization itself" in a "return to barbarism" that cannot be tolerated. But beyond the strong support for the words of the US political leadership- respectively, George W. Bush, Ronald Reagan, and his Secretary of State George Shultz[1]– interpretations varied: on the narrow question of the proper response to terrorist crimes, and on the broader problem of determining their nature.

On the latter, an official US definition takes "terrorism" to be "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious, or ideological in nature...through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear"[2]. That formulation leaves many question open, among them,the legitimacy of actions to realize "the right to self-determination, freedom, and independence, as derived from the Charter of the United Nations, of people forcibly deprived of that right..., particularly peoples under colonial and racist regimes and foreign occupation..." In its most forceful denunciation of the

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1 Bush cited by Rich Heffern, _National Catholic Reporter_, Jan. 11, 2002. Reagan, _New York Times_, Oct. 18, 1985. Shultz, U.S. Dept. of State, _Current Policy_ No. 589, June 24, 1984; No. 629, Oct. 25, 1984.

2 _US Army Operational Concept for Terrorism Counteraction_, TRADOC Pamphlet No. 525-37, 1984.

crime of terrorism, the UN General Assembly endorsed such actions, 153-2 [1].

Explaining their negative votes, the US and Israel referred to the wording just cited. It was understood to justify resistance against the South African regime, a US ally that was responsible for over 1.5 million dead and $60 billion in damage in neighboring countries in 1980-88 alone, putting aside its practices within. And the resistance was led by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, one of the "more notorious terrorist groups" according to a 1988 Pentagon report, in contrast to pro-South African RENAMO, which the same report describes as merely an "indigenous insurgent group" while observing that it might have killed 100,000 civilians in Mozambique in the preceding two years[2]. The same wording was taken to justify resistance to Israel's military occupation, then in its 20th year, continuing its integration of the occupied territories and harsh practices with decisive US aid and diplomatic support, the latter to block the longstanding international consensus on a peaceful settlement[3].

Despite such fundamental disagreements, the official US definition seems to me adequate for the purposes at hand[4], though the

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1 Res. 42/159, 7 Dec. 1987; Honduras abstaining.

2 Joseba Zulaika and William Douglass, _Terror and Taboo_ (New York, London: Routledge, 1996), 12. 1980-88 record, see "Inter-Agency Task Force, Africa Recovery Program/Economic Commission, _South African Destabilization: the Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid_, NY, UN, 1989, 13, cited by Merle Bowen, _Fletcher Forum_, Winter 1991. On expansion of US trade with South Africa after Congress authorized sanctions in 1985 (overriding Reagan's veto), see Gay McDougall, Richard Knight, in Robert Edgar, ed., _Sanctioning Apartheid_ (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990).

3 For review of unilateral US rejectionism for 30 years, see my introduction to Roane Carey, ed., _The New Intifada_ (London, New York: Verso, 2000); see sources cited for more detail.

4 It is, however, never used. On the reasons, see Alexander George, ed., _Western State Terrorism_ (Cambridge: Polity-Blackwell, 1991).

disagreements shed some light on the nature of terrorism, as per-
ceived from various perspectives.

Let us turn to the question of proper response. Some argue that
the evil of terrorism is "absolute" and merits a "reciprocally abso-
lute doctrine" in response[1]. That would appear to mean ferocious
military assault in accord with the Bush doctrine, cited with appar-
ent approval in the same academic collection on the "age of terror":
"If you harbor terrorists, you're a terrorist; if you aid and abet ter-
rorists, you're a terrorist- and you will be treated like one." The
volume reflects articulate opinion in the West in taking the US-UK
response to be appropriate and properly "calibrated," but the scope
of that consensus appears to be limited, judging by the evidence
available, to which we return.

More generally, it would be hard to find anyone who accepts
the doctrine that massive bombing is the appropriate response to
terrorist crimes- whether those of Sept. 11, or even worse ones,
which are, unfortunately, not hard to find. That follows if we adopt
the principle of universality: if an action is right (or wrong) for oth-
ers, it is right (or wrong) for us. Those who do not rise to the mini-
mal moral level of applying to themselves the standards they apply
to others- more stringent ones, in fact- plainly cannot be taken seri-
ously when they speak of appropriateness of response; or of right
and wrong, good and evil.

To illustrate what is at stake, consider a case that is far from the
most extreme but is uncontroversial; at least, among those with
some respect for international law and treaty obligations.

No one would have supported Nicaraguan bombings in Wash-
ington when the US rejected the order of the World Court to termi-
nate its "unlawful use of force" and pay substantial reparations,
choosing instead to escalate the international terrorist crimes and to

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1 Strobe Talbott and Nayan Chanda, introduction, _The Age of Terror: Amer-
ica and the World after September 11_ (New York: Basic Books and the
Yale U. Center for the Study of Globalization, 2001).

extend them, officially, to attacks on undefended civilian targets, also vetoing a Security Council resolution calling on all states to observe international law and voting alone at the General Assembly (with one or two client states) against similar resolutions. The US dismissed the ICJ on the grounds that other nations do not agree with us, so we must "reserve to ourselves the power to determine whether the Court has jurisdiction over us in a particular case" and what lies "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States"- in this case, terrorist attacks against Nicaragua[1].

Meanwhile Washington continued to undermine regional efforts to reach a political settlement, following the doctrine formulated by the Administration moderate, George Shultz: the US must "cut [the Nicaraguan cancer] out," by force. Shultz dismissed with contempt those who advocate "utopian, legalistic means like outside mediation, the United Nations, and the World Court, while ignoring the power element of the equation";"Negotiations are a euphemism for capitulation if the shadow of power is not cast across the bargaining table," he declared. Washington continued to adhere to the Shultz doctrine when the Central American Presidents agreed on a peace plan in 1987 over strong US objections: the Esquipulas Accords, which required that all countries of the region move towards democracy and human rights under international supervision, stressing that the "indispensable element" was the termination of the US attack against Nicaragua. Washington responded by sharply expanding the attack, tripling CIA supply flights for the terrorist forces.

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1 Abram Sofaer, "The United States and the World Court,"U.S. Dept. of State, _Current Policy_, No. 769 (Dec. 1985). The vetoed Security Council resolution called for compliance with the ICJ orders, and, mentioning no one, called on all states "to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions of any kind against any state of the region." Elaine Sciolino, _NYT_, July 31, 1986.

Having exempted itself from the Accords, thus effectively undermining them, Washington proceeded to do the same for its client regimes, using the substance- not the shadow- of power to dismantle the International Verification Commission (CIVS) because its conclusions were unacceptable, and demanding, successfully, that the Accords be revised to free US client states to continue their terrorist atrocities. These far surpassed even the devastating US war against Nicaragua that left tens of thousands dead and the country ruined perhaps beyond recovery. Still upholding the Shultz doctrine, the US compelled the government of Nicaragua, under severe threat, to drop the claim for reparations established by the ICJ[1].

There could hardly be a clearer example of international terrorism as defined officially, or in scholarship: operations aimed at "demonstrating through apparently indiscriminate violence that the existing regime cannot protect the people nominally under its authority," thus causing not only "anxiety, but withdrawal from the relationships making up the established order of society"[2]. State terror elsewhere in Central America in those years

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1 Shultz, "Moral Principles and Strategic Interests,"April 14, 1986, U.S. Dept. of State, _Current Policy_ No. 820. Shultz Congressional testimony, see Jack Spence in Thomas Walker, ed., _Reagan versus the Sandinistas_ (Boulder, London: Westview, 1987). For review of the undermining of diplomacy and escalation of international state terror, see my _Culture of Terrorism_ (Boston: South End, 1988); _Necessary Illusions_ (Boston: South End, 1989); _Deterring Democracy_ (London, New York: Verso, 1991). On the aftermath, see Thomas Walker and Ariel Armony, eds., _Repression, Resistance, and Democratic Transition in Central America_ (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000). On reparations, see Howard Meyer, _The World Court in Action_ (Lanham, MD, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), chap 14.

2 Edward Price, "The Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Terrorism," _Comparative Studies in Society and History 19:1_; cited by Chalmers Johnson, "American Militarism and Blowback," _New Political Science_ 24.1, 2002.

also counts as international terrorism, in the light of the decisive US role, and the goals, sometimes frankly articulated; for example, by the Army's School of the Americas, which trains Latin American military officers and takes pride in the fact that "Liberation Theology...was defeated with the assistance of the U.S. Army"[1].

It would seem to follow, clearly enough, that only those who support bombing of Washington in response to these international terrorist crimes- that is, no one- can accept the "reciprocally absolute doctrine" on response to terrorist atrocities or consider massive bombardment to be an appropriate and properly "calibrated" response to them.

Consider some of the legal arguments that have been presented to justify the US-UK bombing of Afghanistan; I am not concerned here with their soundness, but their implications, if the principle of uniform standards is maintained. Christopher Greenwood argues that the US has the right of "self-defense" against "those who caused or threatened...death and destruction", appealing to the ICJ ruling in the Nicaragua case. The paragraph he cites applies far more clearly to the US war against Nicaragua than to the Taliban or al-Qaeda, so if it is taken to justify intensive US bombardment and ground attack in Afghanistan, then Nicaragua should have been entitled to carry out much more severe attacks against the US. Another distinguished professor of international law, Thomas Franck, supports the US-UK war on grounds that "a state is responsible for the consequences of permitting its territory to be used to injure another state"; fair enough, and surely applicable to the US in the case of Nicaragua, Cuba, and many other exam-

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1 SOA, 1999, cited by Adam Isacson and Joy Olson, _Just the Facts_ (Washington: Latin America Working Group and Center for International Policy, 1999), ix.

ples, including some of extreme severity[1].

Needless to say, in none of these cases would violence in "self-defense" against continuing acts of "death and destruction" be considered remotely tolerable; acts, not merely "threats".

The same holds of more nuanced proposals about an appropriate response to terrorist atrocities. Military historian Michael Howard proposes "a police operation conducted under the auspices of the United Nations...against a criminal conspiracy whose members should be hunted down and brought before an international court, where they would receive a fair trial and, if found guilty, be awarded an appropriate sentence." Reasonable enough,though the idea that the proposal should be applied universally is unthinkable. The director of the Center for the Politics of Human Rights at Harvard argues that "The only responsible response to acts of terror is honest police work and judicial prosecution in courts of law, linked to determinate, focused and unrelenting use of military power against those who cannot or will not be brought to justice"[2]. That too seems sensible, if we add Howard's qualification about international supervision, and if the resort to force is undertaken after legal means have been exhausted. The recommendation therefore does not apply to 9-11 (the US refused to provide evidence and rebuffed tentative proposals about transfer of the suspects), but it does apply very clearly to Nicaragua.

It applies to other cases as well. Take Haiti, which has provided ample evidence in its repeated calls for extradition of Emmanuel

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1 Greenwood, "International law and the `war against terrorism'," _International Affairs_ 78.2 (2002), appealing to par. 195 of _Nicaragua v. USA_, which the Court did not use to justify its condemnation of US terrorism, but surely is more appropriate to that than to the case that concerns Greenwood. Franck, "Terrorism and the Right of Self-Defense," _American J. of International Law_ 95.4 (Oct. 2001).

2 Howard, _Foreign Affairs_, Jan/Feb 2002; talk of Oct. 30, 2001 (Tania Branigan, _Guardian_, Oct. 31). Ignatieff, _Index on Censorship_ 2, 2002.

Constant, who directed the forces responsible for thousands of deaths under the military junta that the US was tacitly supporting (not to speak of earlier history); these requests the US ignores, presumably because of concerns about what Constant would reveal if tried. The most recent request was on 30 September 2001, while the US was demanding that the Taliban hand over Bin Laden[1]. The coincidence was also ignored, in accord with the convention that minimal moral standards must be vigorously rejected.

Turning to the "responsible response," a call for implementation of it where it is clearly applicable would elicit only fury and contempt.

Some have formulated more general principles to justify the US war in Afghanistan. Two Oxford scholars propose a principle of "proportionality": "The magnitude of response will be determined by the magnitude with which the aggression interfered with key values in the society attacked"; in the US case, "freedom to pursue self-betterment in a plural society through market economics," viciously attacked on 9-11 by "aggressors...with a moral orthodoxy divergent from the West." Since "Afghanistan constitutes a state that sided with the aggressor," and refused US demands to turn over suspects, "the United States and its allies, according to the principle of magnitude of interference, could justifiably and morally resort to force against the Taliban government"[2].

On the assumption of universality, it follows that Haiti and Nicaragua can "justifiably and morally resort to" far greater force against the US government. The conclusion extends far beyond these two cases, including much more serious ones and even such minor escapades of Western state terror as Clinton's bombing of the al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan in 1998, leading to "several tens of thousands" of deaths according to the German Ambas-

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1 _NYT_, Oct. 1, 2001.
2 Frank Schuller and Thomas Grant, _Current History_, April 2002.

sador and other reputable sources, whose conclusions are consistent with the immediate assessments of knowledgeable observers[1]. The principle of proportionality therefore entails that Sudan had every right to carry out massive terror in retaliation, a conclusion that is strengthened if we go on to adopt the view that this act of "the empire" had "appalling consequences for the economy and society" of Sudan so that the atrocity was much worse than the crimes of 9-11, which were appalling enough, but did not have such consequences[2].

Most commentary on the Sudan bombing keeps to the question of whether the plant was believed to produce chemical weapons; true or false, that has no bearing on "the magnitude with which the aggression interfered with key values in the society attacked", such as survival. Others point out that the killings were unintended, as are many of the atrocities we rightly denounce.

In this case, we can hardly doubt that the likely human consequences were understood by US planners. The acts can be excused, then, only on the Hegelian assumption that Africans are "mere things," whose lives have "no value," an attitude that accords with practice in ways that are not overlooked among the victims, who may draw their own conclusions about the "moral orthodoxy of the West".

One participant in the Yale volume (Charles Hill) recognized that 11 September opened the second "war on terror". The first was declared by the Reagan administration as it came to office 20 years earlier, with the rhetorical accompaniment already illustrated; and "we won", Hill reports triumphantly, though the terrorist monster was only wounded, not slain[3]. The first "age of terror" proved to be

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1 Werner Daum, "Universalism and the West," _Harvard International Review_, Summer 2001. On other assessments, and the warnings of Human Rights Watch, see my _9-11_ (New York: Seven Stories, 2001), 45ff.

2 Christopher Hitchens, _Nation_, June 10, 2002.

3 Talbott and Chanda, _op. cit._

a major issue in international affairs through the decade, particularly in Central America, but also in the Middle East, where terrorism was selected by editors as the lead story of the year in 1985 and ranked high in other years.

We can learn a good deal about the current war on terror by inquiring into the first phase, and how it is now portrayed. One leading academic specialist describes the 1980s as the decade of "state terrorism," of "persistent state involvement, or 'sponsorship,' of terrorism, especially by Libya and Iran." The US merely responded, by adopting "a 'proactive' stance toward terrorism". Others recommend the methods by which "we won": the operations for which the US was condemned by the World Court and Security Council (absent the veto) are a model for "Nicaragua-like support for the Taliban's adversaries (especially the Northern Alliance)". A prominent historian of the subject finds deep roots for the terrorism of Osama Bin Laden: in South Vietnam, where "the effectiveness of Vietcong terror against the American Goliath armed with modern technology kindled hopes that the Western heartland was vulnerable too"[1].

Keeping to convention, these analyses portray the US as a benign victim, defending itself from the terror of others: the Vietnamese (in South Vietnam), the Nicaraguans (in Nicaragua), Libyans and Iranians (if they had ever suffered a slight at US hands, it passes unnoticed), and other anti-American forces worldwide.

Not everyone sees the world quite that way. The most obvious place to look is Latin America, which has had considerable experience with international terrorism. The crimes of 9-11 were harshly condemned, but commonly with recollection of their own experiences. One might describe the 9-11 atrocities as "Armageddon", the research journal of the Jesuit university in Managua observed,

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1 Martha Crenshaw, Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, David Rapoport, _Current History_, _America at War_, Dec. 2001. On interpretations of the first "war on terror" at the time, see George, _op. cit._

but Nicaragua has "lived its own Armageddon in excruciating slow motion" under US assault "and is now submerged in its dismal aftermath," and others fared far worse under the vast plague of state terror that swept through the continent from the early 1960s, much of it traceable to Washington. A Panamanian journalist joined in the general condemnation of the 9-11 crimes, but recalled the death of perhaps thousands of poor people (Western crimes, therefore unexamined) when the President's father bombed the barrio Chorillo in December 1989 in Operation Just Cause, undertaken to kidnap a disobedient thug who was sentenced to life imprisonment in Florida for crimes mostly committed while he was on the CIA payroll. Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano observed that the US claims to oppose terrorism, but actually supports it worldwide, including "in Indonesia, in Cambodia, in Iran, in South Africa,...and in the Latin American countries that lived through the dirty war of the Condor Plan," instituted by South American military dictators who conducted a reign of terror with US backing[1].

The observations carry over to the second focus of the first "war on terror": West Asia. The worst single atrocity was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which left some 20,000 people dead and much of the country in ruins, including Beirut. Like the murderous and destructive Rabin-Peres invasions of 1993 and 1996, the 1982 attack had little pretense of self-defense. Chief of Staff Rafael ("Raful") Eitan merely articulated common understanding when he announced that the goal was to "destroy the PLO as a candidate for negotiations with us about the Land of Israel,"[2] a textbook illustra-

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1 _Env_o_ (UCA Managua), Oct.; Ricardo Stevens (Panama), NACLA _Report on the Americas_, Nov/Dec; Galeano, _La Jornada_ (Mexico City), cited by Alain Frachon, _Le Monde_, Nov. 24, 2001.

2 For many sources, see my _Fateful Triangle_ (Boston: South End, 1983; updated 1999 edition, on South Lebanon in the 1990s); _Pirates and Emperors_ (New York: Claremont, 1986; Pluto, London, forthcoming); _World Orders Old and New_.

tion of terror as officially defined. The goal "was to install a friendly regime and destroy Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Liberation Organization," Middle East correspondent James Bennet writes: "That, the theory went, would help persuade Palestinians to accept Israeli rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip"[1]. This may be the first recognition in the mainstream of facts widely reported in Israel at once, previously accessible only in dissident literature in the US.

These operations were carried out with the crucial military and diplomatic support of the Reagan and Clinton administrations, and therefore constitute international terrorism. The US was also directly involved in other acts of terror in the region in the 1980s, including the most extreme terrorist atrocities of the peak year of 1985: the CIA car-bombing in Beirut that killed 80 people and wounded 250; Shimon Peres's bombing of Tunis that killed 75 people, expedited by the US and praised by Secretary of State Shultz, unanimously condemned by the UN Security Council as an "act of armed aggression" (US abstaining); and Peres's "Iron Fist" operations directed against "terrorist villagers" in Lebanon, reaching new depths of "calculated brutality and arbitrary murder," in the words of a Western diplomat familiar with the area, amply supported by direct coverage[2]. Again, all international terrorism, if not the more severe war crime of aggression.

In journalism and scholarship on terrorism, 1985 is recognized to be the peak year of Middle East terrorism, but not because of these events: rather, because of two terrorist atrocities in which a single person was murdered, in each case an American[3]. But the victims do not so easily forget.

This very recent history takes on added significance because leading figures in the re-declared "war on terror" played a prominent part in its precursor. The diplomatic component of the current

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1 Bennet, _NYT_, Jan. 24, 2002.
2 For details, see my essay in George, _op. cit_.
3 Crenshaw, _op. cit._

phase is led by John Negroponte, who was Reagan's Ambassador to Honduras, the base for the terrorist atrocities for which his government was condemned by the World Court and for US-backed state terror elsewhere in Central America, activities that "made the Reagan years the worse decade for Central America since the Spanish conquest," mostly on Negroponte's watch[1].

The military component of the new phase is led by Donald Rumsfeld, Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East during the years of the worst terrorist atrocities there, initiated or supported by his government.

No less instructive is the fact that such atrocities did not abate in subsequent years. Specifically, Washington's contribution to "enhancing terror" in the Israel-Arab confrontation continues. The term is President Bush's, intended, according to convention, to apply to the terrorism of others.

Departing from convention, we find, again, some rather significant examples. One simple way to enhance terror is to participate in it, for example, by sending helicopters to be used to attack civilian complexes and carry out assassinations, as the US regularly does in full awareness of the consequences. Another is to bar the dispatch of international monitors to reduce violence. The US has insisted on this course, once again vetoing a UN Security Council resolution to this effect on 14 December 2001. Describing Arafat's fall from grace to a position barely above Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein, the press reports that President Bush was "greatly angered [by] a last-minute hardening of a Palestinian position...for international monitors in Palestinian areas under a UN Security Council resolution"; that is, by Arafat's joining the rest of the world in calling for means to reduce terror[2].

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1 Chalmers Johnson, _Nation_, Oct. 15, 2001.
2 Ian Williams, _Middle East International_, 21 Dec. 2001, 11 Jan. 2002. John Donnelly, _Boston Globe_, April 25, 2002; the specific reference is to an earlier US veto.

Ten days before the veto of monitors, the US boycotted- thus undermined- an international conference in Geneva that reaffirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied terrotries, so that most US-Israeli actions there are war crimes- and when "grave breaches," as many are, serious war crimes. These include US-funded Israeli settlements and the practice of "wilful killing, torture, unlawful deportation, wilful depriving of the rights of fair and regular trial, extensive destruction and appropriation of property...carried out unlawfully and wantonly"[1].

The Convention, instituted to criminalize formally the crimes of the Nazis in occupied Europe, is a core principle of international humanitarian law. Its applicability to the Israeli-occupied territories has repeatedly been affirmed, among other occasions, by UN Ambassador George Bush (September 1971) and by Security Council resolutions: 465 (1980), adopted unanimously, which condemned US-backed Israeli practices as "flagrant violations" of the Convention; 1322 (Oct. 2000), 14-0, US abstaining, which called on Israel "to abide scrupulously by its responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention," which it was again violating flagrantly at that moment. As High Contracting Parties, the US and the European powers are obligated by solemn treaty to apprehend and prosecute those responsible for such crimes, including their own leadership when they are parties to them. By continuing to reject that duty, they are enhancing terror directly and significantly.

Inquiry into the US-Israel-Arab conflicts would carry us too far afield. Let's turn further north, to another region where "state terror" is being practiced on a massive scale; I borrow the term from the Turkish State Minister for Human Rights, referring to the vast atrocities of 1994; and sociologist Ismail Besikci, returned to prison after

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1 Conference of High Contracting Parties, _Report on Israeli Settlement_, Jan.-Feb. 2002 (Foundation for Middle East Peace, Washington). On these matters see Francis Boyle, "Law and Disorder in the Middle East," _The Link_ 35.1, Jan.-March 2002.

publishing his book *State Terror in the Near East*, having already served 15 years for recording Turkish repression of Kurds[1]. I had a chance to see some of the consequences first-hand when visiting the unofficial Kurdish capital of Diyarbakir several months after 9-11. As elsewhere, the crimes of September 11 were harshly condemned, but not without memory of the savage assault the population had suffered at the hands of those who appoint themselves to "rid the world of evildoers," and their local agents. By 1994, the Turkish State Minister and others estimated that 2 million had been driven out of the devastated countryside, many more later, often with barbaric torture and terror described in excruciating detail in international human rights reports, but kept from the eyes of those paying the bills. Tens of thousands were killed. The remnants- whose courage is indescribable- live in a dungeon where radio stations are closed and journalists imprisoned for playing Kurdish music, students are arrested and tortured for submitting requests to take elective courses in their own language, there can be severe penalties if children are found wearing Kurdish national colors by the omnipresent security forces, the respected lawyer who heads the human rights organization was indicted shortly after I was there for using the Kurdish rather than the virtually identical Turkish spelling for the New Year's celebration; and on, and on.

These acts fall under the category of state-sponsored international terrorism. The US provided 80% of the arms, peaking in 1997, when arms transfers exceeded the entire Cold War period combined before the "counter-terror" campaign began in 1984. Turkey became the leading recipient of US arms worldwide, a position it retained until 1999 when the torch was passed to Colombia, the leading practitioner of state terror in the Western

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1 For some details, see my _New Military Humanism_ (Monroe ME: Common Courage, 1999), chap. 3, and sources cited. On evasion of the facts in the State Department Human Rights Report, see Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, _Middle East and North Africa_ (New York, 1995), 255.

hemisphere[1]. State terror is also "enhanced" by silence and evasion. The achievement was particularly notable against the background of an unprecedented chorus of self-congratulation as US foreign policy entered a "noble phase" with a "saintly glow," under the guidance of leaders who for the first time in history were dedicated to "principles and values" rather than narrow interests[2]. The proof of the new saintliness was their unwillingness to tolerate crimes near the borders of NATO- only within its borders, where even worse crimes, not in reaction to NATO bombs, were not only tolerable but required enthusiastic participation, without comment.

US-sponsored Turkish state terror does not pass entirely unnoticed. The State Department's annual report on Washington's "efforts to combat terrorism" singled out Turkey for its "positive experiences" in combating terror, along with Algeria and Spain, worthy colleagues. This was reported without comment in a front-page story in the New *York Times* by its specialist on terrorism. In a leading journal of international affairs, Ambassador Robert Pearson reports that the US "could have no better friend and ally than Turkey" in its efforts "to eliminate terrorism" worldwide, thanks to the "capabilities of its armed forces" demonstrated in its "anti-terror campaign" in the Kurdish southeast. It thus "came as no surprise" that Turkey eagerly joined the "war on terror" declared by George Bush, expressing its thanks to the US for being the only country willing

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1 Tamar Gabelnick, William Hartung, and Jennifer Washburn, _Arming Repression: U.S. Arms Sales to Turkey During the Clinton Administration_ (New York and Washington: World Policy Institute and Federation of Atomic Scientists, October 1999). I exclude Israel-Egypt, a separate category. On state terror in Colombia, now largely farmed out to paramilitaries in standard fashion, see particularly Human Rights Watch, _The Sixth Division_ (Sept. 2001) and Colombia Human Rights Certification III, Feb. 2002. Also, among others, Me'dicos Sin Fronteras, _Desterrados_ (Bogota' 2001).

2 For a sample, see _New Military Humanism_ and my _A New Generation Draws the Line_ (London, NY: Verso, 2000).

to lend the needed support for the atrocities of the Clinton years- still continuing, though on a lesser scale now that "we won." As a reward for its achievements, the US has funded Turkey to provide the ground forces for fighting "the war on terror" in Kabul, though not beyond[1]. Atrocious state-sponsored international terrorism is thus not overlooked: it is lauded. That also "comes as no surprise." After all, in 1995 the Clinton administration welcomed Indonesia's General Suharto, one of the worst killers and torturers of the late 20th century, as "our kind of guy." When he came to power 30 years earlier, the "staggering mass slaughter" of hundreds of thousands of people, mostly landless peasants, was reported fairly accurately and acclaimed with unconstrained euphoria. When Nicaraguans finally succumbed to US terror and voted the right way, the US was "United in Joy" at this "Victory for US Fair Play," headlines proclaimed. It is easy enough to multiply examples. The current episode breaks no new ground in the record of international terrorism and the response it elicits among the perpetrators. Let's return to the question of the proper response to acts of terror, specifically 9-11.

It is commonly alleged that the US-UK reaction was undertaken with wide international support. That is tenable, however, only if one keeps to elite opinion. An international Gallup poll found only minority support for military attack rather than diplomatic means[2]. In Europe, figures ranged from 8% in Greece to 29% in France. In Latin America, support was even lower: from 2% in Mexico to 16% in Panama. Support for strikes that included civilian targets was very slight. Even in the two countries polled that strongly supported the use of military force, India and Israel (where the reasons were parochial), considerable majorities opposed such attacks. There was, then, overwhelming opposition to the actual policies, which turned major urban concentrations into "ghost towns" from the first moment, the press reported.

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1 Judith Miller, _NYT_, April 30, 2000. Pearson, _Fletcher Forum_ 26:1, Winter/Spring 2002.

2 http://www.gallup.international.com/terrorismpoll-figures.htm; data from Sept. 14-17, 2001.

Omitted from the poll, as from most commentary, was the anticipated effect of US policy on Afghans, millions of whom were on the brink of starvation even before 9-11. Unasked, for example, is whether a proper response to 9-11 was to demand that Pakistan eliminate "truck convoys that provide much of the food and other supplies to Afghanistan's civilian population," and to cause the withdrawal of aid workers and a severe reduction in food supplies that left "millions of Afghans...at grave risk of starvation," eliciting sharp protests from aid organizations and warnings of severe humanitarian crisis, judgments reiterated at the war's end[1].

It is, of course, the assumptions of planning that are relevant to evaluating the actions taken; that too should be transparent. The actual outcome, a separate matter, is unlikely to be known, even roughly; crimes of others are carefully investigated, but not one's own. Some indication is perhaps suggested by the occasional reports on numbers needing food aid: 5 million before 9-11, 7.5 million at the end of September under the threat of bombing, 9 million six months later, not because of lack of food, which was readily available throughout, but because of distribution problems as the country reverted to warlordism[2].

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1 John Burns, _NYT_, Sept. 16, 2001; Samina Amin, _International Security_ 26.3, Winter 2001-02). For some earlier warnings, see _9-11_. On the postwar evaluation of international agencies, see Imre Karacs, _Independent on Sunday_ (London), Dec. 9, 2001, reporting their warnings that over a million people are "beyond their reach and face death from starvation and disease." For some press reports, see my "Peering into the Abyss of the Future," Lakdawala Memorial Lecture, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, Nov. 2001, updated Feb. 2002.

2 _Ibid._, for early estimates. Barbara Crossette, _NYT_, March 26, and Ahmed Rashid, _WSJ_, June 6, 2002, reporting the assessment of the UN World Food Program and the failure of donors to provide pledged funds. The WFP reports that "wheat stocks are exhausted, and there is no funding" to replenish them (Rashid). The UN had warned of the threat of mass starvation at once because the bombing disrupted planting that provides 80% of the country's grain supplies (AFP, Sept. 28; Edith Lederer, AP, Oct. 18, 2001). Also Andrew Revkin, _NYT_, Dec. 16, 2001, citing U.S. Department of Agriculture, with no mention of bombing.

There are no reliable studies of Afghan opinion, but information is not entirely lacking. At the outset, President Bush warned Afghans that they would be bombed until they handed over people the US suspected of terrorism. Three weeks later, war aims shifted to overthrow of the regime: the bombing would continue, Admiral Sir Michael Boyce announced, "Until the people of the country themselves recognize that this is going to go on until they get the leadership changed"[1]. Note that the question whether overthrow of the miserable Taliban regime justifies the bombing does not arise, because that did not become a war aim until well after the fact. We can, however, ask about the opinions of Afghans within reach of Western observers about these choices- which, in both cases, clearly fall within the official definition of international terrorism.

As war aims shifted to regime replacement in late October, 1000 Afghan leaders gathered in Peshawar, some exiles, some coming from within Afghanistan, all committed to overthrowing the Taliban regime. It was "a rare display of unity among tribal elders, Islamic scholars, fractious politicians, and former guerrilla commanders," the press reported. They unanimously "urged the US to stop the air raids," appealed to the international media to call for an end to the "bombing of innocent people," and "demanded an end to the US bombing of Afghanistan." They urged that other means be adopted to overthrow the hated Taliban regime, a goal they believed could be achieved without death and destruction[2].

A similar message was conveyed by Afghan opposition leader Abdul Haq, who was highly regarded in Washington. Just before he entered Afghanistan, apparently without US support, and was then captured and killed, he condemned the bombing and criticized

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1 Patrick Tyler and Elisabeth Bumiller, _NYT_, Oct. 12, quoting Bush; Michael Gordon, _NYT_, Oct. 28, 2001, quoting Boyce; both p. 1.

2 Barry Bearak, _NYT_, Oct. 25; John Thornhill and Farhan Bokhari, _Financial Times_, Oct. 25, Oct. 26; John Burns, _NYT_, Oct. 26; Indira Laskhmanan, _BG_, Oct. 25, 26, 2001.

the US for refusing to support efforts of his and of others "to create a revolt within the Taliban." The bombing was "a big setback for these efforts," he said. He reported contacts with second-level Taliban commanders and ex-Mujahiddin tribal elders, and discussed how such efforts could proceed, calling on the US to assist them with funding and other support instead of undermining them with bombs. But the US, he said, "is trying to show its muscle, score a victory and scare everyone in the world. They don't care about the suffering of the Afghans or how many people we will lose"[1].

The plight of Afghan women elicited some belated concern after 9-11. After the war, there was even some recognition of the courageous women who have been in the forefront of the struggle to defend women's rights for 25 years, RAWA (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan). A week after the bombing began, RAWA issued a public statement (Oct. 11) that would have been front-page news wherever concern for Afghan women was real, not a matter of mere expediency. They condemned the resort to "the monster of a vast war and destruction" as the US "launched a vast aggression on our country," that will cause great harm to innocent Afghans. They called instead for "the eradication of the plague of Taliban and Al Qaeda" by "an overall uprising" of the Afghan people themselves, which alone "can prevent the repetition and recurrence of the catastrophe that has befallen our country...." All of this was ignored. It is, perhaps, less than obvious that those with the guns are entitled to ignore the judgment of Afghans who have been struggling for freedom and women's rights for many years, and to dismiss with apparent contempt their desire to overthrow the fragile and hated Taliban regime from within without the inevitable crimes of war.

In brief, review of global opinion, including what is known about Afghans, lends little support to the consensus among West-

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1 Interview, Anatol Lieven, _Guardian_, Nov. 2, 2001.

ern intellectuals on the justice of their cause.

One elite reaction, however, is certainly correct: it is necessary to inquire into the reasons for the crimes of 9-11. That much is beyond question, at least among those who hope to reduce the likelihood of further terrorist atrocities.

A narrow question is the motives of the perpetrators. On this matter, there is little disagreement. Serious analysts are in accord that after the US established permanent bases in Saudi Arabia, "Bin Laden became preoccupied with the need to expel U.S. forces from the sacred soil of Arabia" and to rid the Muslim world of the "liars and hypocrites" who do not accept his extremist version of Islam[1].

There is also wide, and justified, agreement that "Unless the social, political, and economic conditions that spawned Al Qaeda and other associated groups are addressed, the United States and its allies in Western Europe and elsewhere will continue to be targeted by Islamist terrorists"[2]. These conditions are doubtless complex, but some factors have long been recognized.

In 1958, a crucial year in postwar history, President Eisenhower advised his staff that in the Arab world, "The problem is that we have a campaign of hatred against us, not by the governments but by the people," who are "on Nasser's side," supporting independent secular nationalism. The reasons for the "campaign of hatred" had been outlined by the National Security Council a few months earlier: "In the eyes of the majority of Arabs the United States appears to be opposed to the realization of the goals of Arab nationalism. They believe that the United States is seeking to protect its interest in Near East oil by supporting the _status quo_ and opposing political or economic progress...." Furthermore, the perception is accurate: "our economic and cultural interests in the area have led not

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1 Ann Lesch, _Middle East Policy_ IX.2, June 2002. Also Michael Doran, _Foreign Affairs_, Jan.-Feb. 2002; and many others, including several contributors to _Current History_, Dec. 2001.

2 Sumit Ganguly, _Ibid_.

unnaturally to close U.S. relations with elements in the Arab world whose primary interest lies in the maintenance of relations with the West and the status quo in their countries..."[1]. ˙

The perceptions persist. Immediately after 9-11, *The Wall Street Journal*, later others, began to investigate opinions of "moneyed Muslims": bankers, professionals, managers of multinationals, and so on. They strongly support US policies in general, but are bitter about the US role in the region: about US support for corrupt and repressive regimes that undermine democracy and development, and about specific policies, particularly regarding Palestine and Iraq. Though they are not surveyed, attitudes in the slums and villages are probably similar, but harsher; unlike the "moneyed Muslims," the mass of the population have never agreed that the wealth of the region should be drained to the West and local collaborators, rather than serving domestic needs. The "moneyed Muslims" recognize, ruefully, that Bin Laden's angry rhetoric has considerable resonance, in their own circles as well, even though they hate and fear him, if only because they are among his primary targets[2].

It is doubtless more comforting to believe that the answer to George Bush's plaintive query, "Why do they hate us?," lies in their resentment of our freedom and love of democracy, or their cultural failings tracing back many centuries, or their inability to take part in the form of "globalization" in which they happily participate. Comforting, perhaps, but not wise.

Though shocking, the atrocities of 9-11 could not have been entirely unexpected. Related organizations planned very serious terrorist acts through the 1990s, and in 1993 came perilously close to blowing up the World Trade Center, with much more ambitious plans. Their thinking was well understood, certainly by the US in-

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1 For sources and background discussion, see my _World Orders Old and New_, 79, 201f.
2 Peter Waldman et al., _WSJ_, Sept. 14, 2001; also Waldman and Hugh Pope, _WSJ_, Sept. 21, 2001.

telligence agencies that had helped to recruit, train, and arm them from 1980 and continued to work with them even as they were attacking the US. The Dutch government inquiry into the Srebrenica massacre revealed that while they were attempting to blow up the World Trade Center, radical Islamists from the CIA-formed networks were being flown by the US from Afghanistan to Bosnia, along with Iranian-backed Hizbollah fighters and a huge flow of arms, through Croatia, which took a substantial cut. They were being brought to support the US side in the Balkan wars, while Israel (along with Ukraine and Greece) was arming the Serbs (possibly with US-supplied arms), which explains why "unexploded mortar bombs landing in Sarajevo sometimes had Hebrew markings," British political scientist Richard Aldrich observes, reviewing the Dutch government report[1].

More generally, the atrocities of 9-11 serve as a dramatic reminder of what has long been understood: with contemporary technology, the rich and powerful no longer are assured the near monopoly of violence that has largely prevailed throughout history.

Though terrorism is rightly feared everywhere, and is indeed an intolerable "return to barbarism," it is not surprising that perceptions about its nature differ rather sharply in the light of sharply differing experiences, facts that will be ignored at their peril by those whom history has accustomed to immunity while they perpetrate terrible crimes.

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1 Aldrich, _Guardian_, 22 April, 2002.

SEPTEMBER 11 : THE MESSAGE, THE FEAR AND THE RULE OF LAW

Prof. Xenophon Contiades

September 11 and the mass media influence on "construction" of history.

In his book "La tiranía de la comunicación", Ignacio Ramonet criticizes the way in which the media choose to project or to pass over in silence a piece of news, by mentioning as his main example the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, when the Hutus annihilated almost one million Tutsis. However, the most critical point is not whether a piece of news is projected, but the way in which this is actually done. Whether an invisible type of censorship is imposed upon this piece of information and, especially, whether information will be used in order to practice an indirect type of propaganda, which always excludes true information, depends exactly on the way that a fact is presented. According to Ramonet, as well as according to Jean Baudrillard in his book entitled "La Guerre du Golfe n'a pas eu lieu", the First Gulf War in 1991 is a typical example of "invisible censorship", since, although it was covered through scores of images, it functioned as a true propaganda.

It is obvious that an event as important as the terrorist attack of September 11 in New York and Washington could have done nothing else but to monopolize for a long time the attention of mass media. The image of the burning Twin Towers of the World Trade Center could have been a scene from a science fiction movie. It is natural that an abominable terrorist act in the world's most powerful city, the city-symbol of American power, which cost the lives of more than 3000 innocent people, would overshadow any other news. The character-

ization of such an act can only have one dimension: It was an act which causes horrifying disdain, an atrocious crime which totally disregarded human life, one that was planned and executed by fanatics, who aimed both at terrifying the citizens of a country who had never experienced an outside attack in its territory and at proving that this global superpower is not invincible.

The terrorist attack of September 11 offered to the mass media an image of huge symbolic power which could effectively influence the collective conscience in an incomparable, submissive way, especially since this terrorist attack undoubtedly constituted a landmark-event for world history, not only because it challenged in a horrifying directness the invincibility of the American empire, but also because it provided a reason for the start of a new series of wars, as well as for changes within all countries of the western world. Historical comparisons can only be made in regard to the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, which led to World War I. Also in regard to the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, which led to the declaration of war by the U.S.A. against Japan. Additionally, in regard to nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which sealed the end of World War II, but were, in reality, strongly connected to the beginning of another war, that is the Cold War of nuclear terror. Nowadays, September 11 is being put forth by many as the event which symbolizes the beginning of a new world war, in which Western and Islamic world are the two enemies, an opinion that comes as an affirmation of Samuel Huntington's theory about the clash of civilizations.

Nevertheless, whether an event will decisively affect the flow of world history and the intensity with which this might happen does not depend neither on the number of victims, nor on material damage connected to this event. This

can also be proved by the afore-mentioned historic examples. On the contrary, it mainly depends on the symbolic power that this event embodies, on the way that it is being given substance in the collective sub conscience of people of the world, on the place it overtakes in history, especially in relation to everything that preceded and everything that followed and, eventually, on the interpretation that is being given. In a period of time when dissemination of information all over the world is barraging and mass media influence more than ever before the shaping of collective conscience -and this happens with grosso modo common methods and images for the whole world, giving specific meaning to events or, according to another version, exercising propaganda based on specific, violent acts is much more effective than it ever was in the past. It would be worthwhile mentioning another parameter in the way which the media choose, in order to project issues of great importance like terrorism. The media are selective not only in the level of which terrorist acts they tend to present in a stronger, impressive way, but also on the level of actually defining what terrorism is. Obviously, this is even more important, since they affect the formation of common opinion, namely they convince people about the seriousness of certain political situations in certain parts of the world, while at the same time they passed silently serious violations of human rights which take place elsewhere.

The mass media do not just offer a simple and accurate transmission of reality. By intervening between the source of information and the reception by the final audience, they make choices and judgments, they put emphasis, and they proceed to characterizations. This means that, in the end, the way that reality is put forward is nothing but fabrication. The closeness that this fabrication has to reality is a matter that the average reader, listener and spectator are not, in most of the cases, in a

place to judge. The ascertainment itself that mass media choose among a several events the ones that they will project, defining at the same time the space and the time that they will dedicate, as well as the judgments that they will accompany them with, is enough to support the opinion that reality and, on another level, history itself are, at the end of the day, to an important extent, fabricated by the mass media.

According to historian Marc Ferro, the wider the dissemination of knowledge is, the stricter becomes the control on f history. However, the way that events are projected through the mass media forms a fabrication of reality, which, to an important extent, influences the formation of history. Supposedly if the genocide in Rwanda were projected by the mass media in a different way, the fate of sub-Saharan countries would have possibly varied too. In the same way, if September 11, as an event of importance, were not interpreted by the mass media in coherence with a long series of other events, which the Western mass media have been adopting for many years now, maybe the future of the world would have had a different turn.

September 11 and the creation of internal and external enemies

The mass media in the Western world presented the terrorist attack of September 11 in a way that strengthened two main perceptions that existed before this event in the collective sub conscience. To begin with, it caused the strengthening, not to say taking off, of phobic syndromes of contemporary western societies, the so-called risk societies. In a risk society, which German sociologist Ulrich Beck analyzed to a great depth in his "Risk Society", insecurities and uncertainties emerge on every step of the way: starting from the risks related to infectious diseases and nutrition chain and arriving to environmental destruction, nuclear power and the risks from usage of new technologies, biotechnology included. The risk society phe-

nomena, such as international terrorism, provoke the setting off of phobic syndromes. This is only natural, since these insecurities are instinctively related to peoples' ability to protect their own lives. This fear prevails over any other reasonable thought concerning the need to protect other individual and social goods. This fear is the one which, in the end, opens the way towards violation of all fundamental values of human civilization. It is self evident that protection of human rights and respect for international law lose ground in collective conscience when they are compared with the fear of exposing human life. Often fear leads to citizens' renouncement of their own freedoms' guarantees, in order to achieve security that they pursue both for themselves and for the ones close to them.

The inhuman spectacle of the terrorist attack of September 11 and the way that it was projected by the mass media caused panic and functioned towards the direction of restricting both human rights protection and judicial control of the implementation of measures taken against terrorism. The overall result, as philosopher Zygmunt Bauman notes in his book entitled "Globalization, The Human Consequences," is the self-reproduction of fear. Employment with personal security inflates and covers with a deep shade all other reasons a citizen has to be worried about. So, the governments feel relieved, Bauman notes. After all, how spectacular governmental measures are seem to be more important than how effective they truly prove to be, not to mention that the opposition to these measures, to fundamental values of contemporary democracies is not even an issue anymore.

The second trend that was reinforced by the way that mass media presented the inhuman terrorist attack of September 11 was the racist manifestations against Arab world. Like leading American scholar Gore Vidal notes in his book entitled "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace," the American mass media

have engaged since many years now in an effort to demonize the Muslim world. This effort is further fortified by the image of Arabs that is systematically been promoted by Hollywood films, only to end up in President Bush's undisguised statements that "we are good and they are evil". Demonizing the Islamic world is further and more intensely maintained by the mass media, especially since, after the Soviet Union collapsed, a new enemy, after Nazism and Communism, is being looked for by the U.S.A. The theoretical background behind the creation of an external enemy had already been expressed by Samuel Huntington since 1993, but the realization of the idea that the Western world had actually been involved once more in a world war needed the attack of September 11 and its systematic projection by the mass media as a tangible proof of the clash of civilizations.

Right after September 11 a new witch-hunt began. Like Alain Gresh, Chief Editor of "Le Monde Diplomatique" notes, a big part of both Western and Muslim public opinion is keen on believing that the conflicts which took place during the last three years are actually an expression of the clash of civilizations. The extreme social inequalities, the contradictions between North and South, rich and poor, privileged and excluded are underestimated and replaced by the differentiation between "us" and "them". The Islamic world becomes a visible, tangible factor of risk which fires extreme racist behaviors within the frightened risk societies of the Western world. This paranoia is further provided by certain groups of fanatics, which embody the negative image of the Islamic world which is being promoted by the supporters of the Clash of Civilizations theory, namely those who refer to "evil power" and manage to divide, in this way, the whole world into two sides. From this point of view, September 11 is being used as an evident indication of the validity of a new cultural criterion of deciding between friends and enemies.

Legitimizing state terrorism through fabricated media reality

The real purpose of the systematic projection of September 11 terrorist attack by the mass media in a way that phobic syndromes in Western risk societies were maintained and the image of Muslim countries as an external enemy was nurtured would be an interesting question to ask. The answer to this question would be that the two afore-analyzed trends, namely reinforcement of insecurity and demonizing of the Muslim world, are strongly connected with specific political choices of the U.S.A government, whose planning and implementation had already begun long before the attack of September 11. These are political choices concerning both the internal organization of the state and the foreign affairs policy.

September 11 was the excuse which was used within the U.S.A and also in many European states and justified the imposition of important restrictions on personal freedoms. By promoting security as the main priority, regulations, which remind of a police state, are enacted, protection of private life loses ground, guarantees relating to procedure which aim at protecting the accused are being limited, unbelievable conditions and prerequisites related to immigration legislative framework are being posed and the establishment of special army committees is being introduced in cases of terrorism. The well-know Patriot Act (Uniting and Strengthening America to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001), which was enacted only one and a half month after the attack against the Twin Towers was characterized by many prominent legal scientists in the U.S.A and in Europe as a breach of democratic rule of law. Additionally, the European Union proceeded with the Framework Decision concerning fight against terrorism (L 190, 8.7.2002) to the settlement of European arrest warrant and to the strengthening of Europol's competences detrimental to the role of national states' power. Moreover, in

June 2003 agreements on extradition and legal assistance in criminal matters between U.S.A and European Union were signed in Washington. These agreements entail the retreat of rights of critical importance and freedoms of European Union citizens.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the measures taken against terrorism which widened the repressive interventions of criminal law detrimental to personal freedoms made their first appearance after September 11. The terrorist attack in Manhattan only constituted the justifying reason to extend these measures, suspending the habeas corpus. Important restrictions of personal freedoms had already been imposed with Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act after the bomb attack in Oklahoma in 1995. Similar legislative settlements, which concerned not only terrorist acts, but, also any type of criminal act, had also been introduced in European Union countries during the 1990s. Therefore, it can be said that September 11 was used as an alibi, in order to justify policies of excessive criminalization, of suffocating surveillance of social behaviors and of restriction or violation of human rights. Undeniably, the terrorist attacks in Manhattan, as well as the attacks in Madrid, in Jakarta, in Bali and elsewhere indicate the need to take measures against terrorism. However, the cultivation of uncontrollable phobic syndromes by the mass media allowed the imposition of measures which violate human rights and tend to convert Western democracies into police states. It is also important to mention that financing war expenses was based on retrenchment in social policy expenses and on usage of social security reserve funds.

Besides the fact that within the U.S.A. and many European states the construction of a phobic reality by the mass media legitimized the imposition of a police state, on the level of foreign policy September 11 was used as a justifying reason for utter transgression of international law. The prominent Ger-

man philosopher Jurgen Habermas indicated that the Bush government took advantage of the atrocity of September 11, in order to provoke a systematized insecurity through the methodic propaganda of mass media and to proceed to preventive military interventions and undisguised violation of human rights. The U.S.A along with their allies proceeded to use violence against territorial integrity and political independence of other states, flagrantly violating the United Nations Charter. Invasion of Afghanistan and of Iraq was not the first time that the U.S.A. trespassed international law. There are quite a few similar examples, the most recent being the attack by the U.S.A. against Serbia in 1999 without permission from the UN Security Council. In April 1999 the NATO assembly in Washington had stated the dogma that it has the right of military intervention, even without UN permission, in countries where human rights are considered to be violated. Based on this dogma, preventive military intervention is legitimized whenever it serves American interests. The whole world is subject to the American criminal law system and national states are merely treated as instruments of this whole system, which they are obliged to obey, threatened by the use of military force.

All this shows that the imposition of "New Order" had abolished international public order long before September 11. The preventive war policy was afterwards further fortified by a propaganda which focused on September 11, and also by a campaign of false information concerning the possession of nuclear weapons in Iraq. After all, the U.S.A.'s external interventions and internal settlements were based on twisting of reality by the mass media which aimed at the exaltation of phobic syndromes and of anti-Muslim rage. September 11 was used in order to legitimize in the collective conscious of Western citizens violations of national constitutions and of international law, which would have, by no means, been tolerated under other circumstances.

Subversion of one-sided way of thinking about September 11

American intellectual Noam Chomsky writes in his book entitled "Power and Terror" that the terrorist attack of September 11 is classified as a historic event not because of its extent or because of its atrocity, but mainly because of the identity of its victims. He is implying that similar atrocities have taken place more than once in contemporary world history, also with multiple victims, the only difference being that they did not affect the territory of the American superpower and they did not have American citizens as their victims. One could also mention another criterion according to which September 11 takes its place among the important historic events mentioned earlier. With the help of systematic propaganda, September 11 was the pretext that caused or justified variable violations of human rights and of international law which had multiple victims and destructive consequences for the fundamental values on which legal civilizations of all contemporary democracies are based.

Of course, this propaganda was not left unanswered. Prominent scientists and intellectuals in the U.S.A. and in Europe were straight-out opposed to the usage of September 11 as a wooden horse which would enable the imposition of a global police state, with the excuse of fighting terrorism. It was pointed out that preventive wars, additional police measures or limitation of citizens' individual rights are not the right means to confront terrorism with. On the contrary, the policies that the U.S.A. government has adopted during the last three years both in internal and external affairs further fortify anti-Americanism and encourage the silent supporters of fanaticism and of conflicts. The war in Iraq has already cost the lives of more than 15,000 Iraqis and of 1,000 Americans, while this bloodshed does not seem to be leading to any prospect of peace in the region.

The protest movement against the choices of the Bush government is opposed to a warlike answer to terrorism and supportive of a democratic and pluralistic response, which would engage in an effort to build, not walls, but bridges among civilizations. In other words, a response which would be based on respect for international public order and for human rights, on international cooperation for the solution of long-continued violations of international law, like in the cases of Palestine and of Cyprus, on confronting poverty and suffering of people in both developing and developed countries, on collaboration for environmental protection and rational exploitation of natural resources -let us not forget that, on an international level, administration of water resources is estimated to constitute within the next years the main reason for disputes. It is also of great importance to abandon the dogma that there is only one type of sustainable development, as well as only one widely-accepted model of democratic organization of state. The export of models from West to the Muslim world that is taking place and the effort to impose these models without taking into consideration the cultural differences and the history of these countries is condemned to failure and it certainly hinders international cooperation and dialogue among civilizations. Like British philosopher John Gray mentions in his book entitled "Al-Qaeda And What It Means To Be Modern", chaos will be the only result of this effort to deliver American values to Middle East countries.

The protest movement in the U.S.A. and in Europe was greatly assisted in its effort to proceed with a democratic response to international terrorism and to avoid terror-lust also by the American Supreme Court, which pronounced four months ago two judgments of great importance, in the cases of Rasul et al. against George Bush and Hamdi et al. against Rumsfeld. The Supreme Court judged by a majority that the detained in Guantanamo were deprived of their basic constitu-

tional rights. As per its judgment the Supreme Court put special emphasis on the fact that even during times of war it is necessary that "values that this country considers invaluable are not brought down". The American government's effort to circumvent a series of constitutional rights was condemned by the Supreme Court's two judgments and it was manifested that there are still many guarantees for the maintenance of rule of law. The seriousness of these judgments can be further understood if one takes into consideration the fact that the Supreme Court set up a barrier against the violent transgression of human rights in a period of time when the mass media's systematic propaganda had led to the big majority of American citizens believing that they are constantly and seriously threatened inside and outside of their country.

Except from the powerful protest movement and the reactions coming from the inside of the American political scene, the condemnation of the Bush government's choices by an institution with the validity of Supreme Court is a fact of great importance. Equally important is UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's condemnation of Iraq's invasion by the U.S.A. In one of his speeches at the UN General Assembly (21/9/2004), in the presence of 64 Presidents of states and 25 prime ministers, among whom was President Bush, the Secretary General mentioned the tortures that American soldiers inflicted on Iraqi detainees as a characteristic example of shameless and systematic violation of international law. Just like UN Secretary General emphasized, any country which proclaims to be functioning according to the rule of law on the inside, needs to respect the same rules in relation to other countries and this goes vice-versa.

Despite all these, the phobic syndromes which are instigated by the majority of the mass media in the U.S.A. and, to a lesser extent, in Europe remain vigorous. September 11 is still promoted as a message of collision and not as a motivation to

initiate systematic collaboration among different cultures. For his part, UNESCO Director General Koichiro Matsuura has stated, all civilizations are equally worthy of respect. Nowadays, there is an urgent necessity to construct brand-new networks of cooperation and communication between different cultures. The message put forward after September 11 cannot and should not be the declaration of a new series of destructive wars, but, first of all, the terrorist's ethical isolation, which can be achieved through policies which respect international law and human rights and promote international collaboration and human value in every part of this world. These policies need to begin by revising American politics in Palestine and in Iraq. Like Oliver Roy, Research Director of National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS) of France points out in his book entitled "Les illusions du 11 Septembre", it is due to the policies that the U.S.A. has adopted in these two countries that Osama Bin Laden enjoys some popularity in the Arab world. Even though terrorists should be confronted with police measures, terrorism itself as a phenomenon can only be coped with through policies that will promote peace, international cooperation, humanitarian values and social solidarity.

COMBATING TERROR IN THE WORLD

Dr. Ismat Abdul Maguid

Washington has overburdened the world with its war on terror. Media attacks on the Arab and Islamic world, instigated by Zionist elements, have intensified. The situation makes it imperative that the Arab world should formulate a strategy to rectify the image tarnished by the media. Arab civilization includes the Muslims and the Christians alike in our region.

US President George Bush committed a blunder soon after the September 11 incidents. When describing these terrorist attacks he called for waging a crusade against those who engineered them. Thus, he gave the problem a religious feature setting the Christians and the Muslims against each other, though later he retracted his statement and withdrew his words.

Terrorism, in its present day surge, owes its origin to planning, financing and training by the United States of the fighters of Afghanistan after the Russians occupied their country. At that time, the US was in pursuit of its reprehensible objective of gaining supremacy over the Soviet Union. It started training certain groups for realizing this objective. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States was no longer in need of those fighters and lost its control of those straying groups of fighters. After the downfall of the Soviet Union, the US as a superpower, had no better alternate enemy than the Arab and Islamic world, in view of the huge resources it owns, particularly the oil wealth. Therefore, it started treating it with arrogance at the behest of extremist Jewish elements like AI-PAC, with its headquarters in Washington.

The world was shocked by those thoughtless vehement attacks and allegations that spread deep hatred between different peoples, and widened the gulf between them.

However, we must differentiate between the US administration and the American public, a section of which sympathizes with the Arabs and their rights. A clear evidence of this sympathetic attitude can be witnessed in the demonstrations that took place in Washington on October 26 and 27, 2002. The proceedings of honoring former US President Jimmy Carter with the Nobel Prize and the references made in the ceremony to the current American behavior show the huge difference between Carter, the peace lover, and Bush. A state, puffed up with its strength may come to entertain the illusion that it can force its will with its weapons. But, despite the fact that we do not underestimate its power, we know that power is not the only means for achieving objectives. The best proof is the quagmire of Iraq the US has fallen in.

Humanity has suffered much from terrorism in different phases of its existence even though terrorism assumed different forms in different times. In the old days Caravans, in deserts and ships in oceans were the targets of terrorism. As a result, entire populations moved from one place to another, and slavery is the best evidence to establish this fact.

With the advancement of technology, attacks on airplanes are freely and frequently made by groups of people who want to impose their will on others by taking passengers as hostages and dictating their terms on the other party.

Then comes the media terrorism. Media terrorists, through open skies, started forcing their views and opinions on others. They use their experience to spread the views that suit them and brand opposing thoughts as reactionary and backward ideas.

If this dangerous race of terrorism, whose magnitude and ingenious planning are growing day by day, continues between big states, then the future of humanity is in danger. If the opponents of terrorism used the media and modern technology for attacking Islam and blaming all evils on the religion, then with the passage of time the terrorists acquired the technology

and used it in attacking some targets. The most heinous of these attacks has been the Sept.11, 2001. The attack was made on the land of America, which was considered by the Americans to be beyond the reach of terrorism. This, however, has been used as justification for attacking Iraq.

We condemn the incidents of Sept. 11 in the US and at the same time we condemn the terrorist acts being committed in the Arab World. Every day we watch through multi-media channels the terrorist acts committed in Palestine, Iraq, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, etc. America waged war on Iraq after the terrorist attacks on two skyscrapers in New York, claiming the Iraqi link with the terrorists. It justified the attack on Iraq by charging that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, while it had been proved conclusively that Iraq had no such weapons. At the same time we see on the same channels that whole houses are blasted, innocent people are killed, trees are cut down, lands are made barren and occupied. The same channels bring to our eyes the funerals of martyrs in Palestine and Iraq. What is presented through these channels is the best evidence of the double standard followed in the policies of the superpower.

We have read a lot about the commentary of the West on terrorism and their attempts at blaming it on Arabs and Muslims. When we read the material published in the Western press or the reports of their experts, we find that in their explanations and commentaries they exploit the Sept.11 incidents. With this, new elements have been invented for putting pressure on Islamic countries and terrorizing the states that lie in the Middle East. It has become a common practice that a particular religion is blamed for any act that is against the wishes of the West, even though the act is purely legal and done in defense of the homeland. It is said that a Muslim terrorist has done this, while in the case of other religions the act of terror is ascribed to terrorists without any reference to their religions.

They tend to forget that Islam enjoins upon Muslim to pursue peace and to show tolerance. The word Islam itself has been derived from Salam that signifies peace.

Allah says, ".... If anyone slew a person - unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land - it would be as if he slew the whole people". (5:32). This proves that Islam respects all forms of life.

This aspect is related to the high morals preached by our religion which also deals with other aspects of human life. This civilized approach led many people who were appalled by the attacks on Muslims in the aftermath of the incidents of Sept.11 by the Western media to turn to read the Qur'an. They found that they had been wrong and were appalled to note that they had fallen under the influence of the aggressive campaign launched against Islam by the media. Many therefore rushed to embrace Islam. It is said that the sale of the copies of the Qur'an and books of commentary on it increased considerably after September 11. Then we saw the demonstrations, in support of the Palestinians and in protest against Iraq's occupation, spreading all over the world.

Western technology shows us everyday the disgusting and loathsome practices the Iraqis and other Arabs are being subjected to in prisons like Abu Ghuraib, at the hands of the occupation forces or by others but with the connivance of these forces. But in this case they went beyond such actions of torture and shifted the responsibility for them to the victims themselves. They asserted that the causes of all the troubles were the youth who blast themselves in defense of their homeland. Can they imagine the pain and anguish a young man or girl might feel while undertaking such an action? These are the youth who grew under the yoke of hateful imperialism that beset their land, demolished their homes and deprived them of their livelihood. They are perpetually surrounded by tanks and inspection patrols. Their belongings are constantly being

searched and even the bank accounts of the Palestinians are not spared and are seized in broad daylight while the world has become a silent spectator.

Many countries rush help and relief to the victims of natural calamities but they have closed their eyes to the calamities the Palestinians have been suffering from for the last fifty years. Are the Palestinians left with a way out of this suffering? The Israelis are justified in their actions as long as we are living in our scattered islands with no one able to see beyond his nose. We have to unite our ranks and improve our conditions.

I vividly remember the days when Egypt and Israel were engaged in a war of attrition in the early seventies. This war was not painful and injurious for Israel alone but for Egypt also; of course, there was a big difference in tactics and targets. While Egypt attacked directly and ceaselessly the Israeli troop concentrations in the occupied Sinai desert, Israel hit the military and non-military targets indiscriminately in Egypt.

While Egypt insisted on the liberation of its occupied lands, the Israeli reactions reflected its insistence on expansionism and further occupation of other countries lands, showing its obstinacy and vileness.

At that time, I was the head of the Public Information Authority. The government, as it was its policy, refrained from broadcasting the news of Israeli attacks in consideration of the feelings of the Egyptian public. But I held the view that those attacks should be exposed, particularly those made on innocent civilians. In February 1970, Israeli planes attacked a civilian factory in the Abu Za'bal area causing heavy losses. Seventy workers were killed and 69 others were injured. It was a painful tragedy, but Israel claimed that it had hit a military target.

I succeeded in convincing the authorities and visited the site accompanied by journalists and representatives of news agencies who recorded the effects of the massacre. We re-

leased illustrated bulletins and cinema pictures, which exposed the gory attack perpetrated by Israel.

On April 2, 1970, Israel attacked a children's school in Bahr Al-Baqar and killed 31 students of the school and injured 26 others. This tragedy had an international repercussion and world conscience reacted bitterly. This savagery of Israel was widely condemned by the world community. This attack on the school, however, proved a turning point in the Israeli attitude: attacks on mainland Egypt stopped.

The present day situation has changed all the concepts known since long. Today anyone who defends the honor of his homeland is in an abyss, when honor and jihad have been mixed up with terrorism and crime. On the other hand, those who attack and occupy lands justify their criminal acts by claiming that they are striving to spread democracy and liberate the people, and claim that their actions do not aim at subjugating them. Though the modern technology and satellites are laying bare to us the falsity of this claim, yet statements after statements are calling us to accept the situation and absolution of the wolf of the blood of the son of Jacob. Does combating terrorism mean combating lawful resistance against occupation?

The term of New Middle East has appeared on the scene. With this, changes are being imposed on us from outside the Arab World. In this process the legal and cultural fabric of the area is being disregarded. The point that each region has its own legal and cultural frame, which may or may not suit the other is being ignored. It is also neglected that the Arab League was one of the first international organizations which in the conference of its ministers of interior and justice concluded the first agreement to combat terrorism on a global level.

Many Arab countries suffered from the phenomenon of terrorism and President Hosni Mubarak was one of those who

first called, in the early nineties, to hold an international conference for combating terrorism. But unfortunately his call went unheard.

In the summit of 2001 in Beirut, Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdulaziz came up with a collective peace initiative with Israel on conditions that no one can say they were unjust or biased. It was hoped that this peace initiative would open a new chapter in mutual relations. This was the first summit held after the addition of a supplement to the Charter of Arab League in 2000. The initiative was likely to extinguish the flame of war that had been burning for the last fifty years and which had killed a great number of people and rendered many others homeless. But what was the reaction? A demand for more. Then came the recommendations of the Mitchel Committee, then the Tennet plan and then the Zenny Project. Then, last but not the least, came a road map, which was accepted by the Palestinians. But we all were taken aback by the construction of the isolating wall. This all happened in full view of the world. We have recently started hearing some voices being raised, although timidly and diffidently to stop these inhuman practices. These pressures which are, day by day, turning into clashes of interest have created in the region, an anarchic situation. These pressures have resulted in terrorism and led to increased suicidal attacks by the youth of the region who had not experienced, in their life anything except coercion and the looting of their property. The situation has left them with no hope for the future. While they are busy solving a problem they find themselves facing a more complicated one. All this has put the Arab citizens of the region in a complicated situation. Moreover, the economic pressures of life are encumbering them day after day. The prevailing conditions are not allowing them to think about innovation and development, which has, today, become synonymous with prosperity, and which has made the fortune of other societies.

They are talking about democracy and it seems that only their countries are entitled to it. Democracy calls for discarding all forms of injustice and it is applicable to man anywhere in the world. His right to live does not deprive him of his right to his special culture and he is required to respect other cultures and religions. No culture in particular can impose its hegemony over other cultures and induce us to ignore the negative aspects of such a hegemony. A right view calls for an understanding endowed with equality, mutual respect and participation in the affairs of the nation, preserving its culture, with no regard to the power of the others or their military might or their material wealth. The old imperialist view still prevails in our region, which ought to be resisted. Efforts should be made to set up a democratic system, which may guarantee the rights of man, rather the rights of humanity at large as called for by all heavenly religions.

They are talking about democracy forgetting their huge resources, which help them in spying on other countries through space, violating the basic rights of an ordinary citizen. In the US we witness a sort of highhanded attitude towards any one entering that country. Their airports are a witness to that. An investigation through high-tech equipment is not enough, and they called for taking photographs and fingerprints. In Britain, a former minister admitted that she and others had heard the recordings of private discussions of some of the British citizens. Even Kofi Annan was not spared and his office in the UN was not an exception. Did they think that their technology would not be discovered by others belonging to the third world. Three years have passed after the incidents that shocked the entire world and which were taken as excuse to wage war on Afghanistan and then on Iraq. Some people were under the illusion that these wars would end terrorism. But if we examine the situation thoroughly we will find that terrorism is expanding rather than shrinking, to say nothing of the

Palestinian problem which is getting more and more complicated day after day. This complication is in addition to the feelings of anxiety and concern about what the future has in store, particularly in the US. They are measuring the averages of growing terrorism in different colors. Their assessments change every few days with new information reaching them through various sensitive channels. The public perception there is waiting with anxiety for these changes.

Terrorism has kept many from traveling and has put a burdensome pressure on various means of transport and insurance. It led banks to take stringent actions and impose restrictions on many kinds of transactions. Many charitable organizations have been affected by these rigorous measures that curtailed their sources of income. This, in turn, hampered their ability to discharge their functions and resulted in the fall of employment opportunities. This, consequently, affected the world economy.

Instead of spending huge funds on weapons of mass destruction, it is of crucial importance to spend these funds on bridging the gap between the rich and the poor in the world. This will reduce unemployment and depression. which lead people suffering therefrom to join terrorist networks and extremist elements with an aim to destroy the imperialism which is oppressing millions of people. These millions are trying to get rid of this imperialism but they are not successful.

Therefore every country should conduct a thorough research on its intelligence organizations which direct their governments into taking important decisions. The latest example is the erroneous and concocted information, which became the basis for the decision of waging war on Iraq.

We have to correct the concept of Jihad before non-Arabic speaking people and non-Muslims. Most of them use it to attach the term of terrorism to Muslims, and are quite unaware of the real purport of Jihad. They should be encouraged to un-

derstand the real meaning of Jihad before rashly using the word in a different sense. In fact it signifies any noble act done with the object of attaining the pleasure of Allah. Particularly its use in the Qur'an is closely linked with striving in the way of Allah. This is the noblest target a man can seek and in this context it is totally out of place to apply it to a terrorist act.

It is necessary that a commission be set up constituted of international experts on human rights to examine and investigate the causes of terrorism and violence. The root cause is the occupation of lands by force and violation of human rights. Imposition of the UN resolutions on some and sparing others is the dirtiest example of double standards. Tens of resolutions have been adopted by the world body asking Israel to take such and such steps, but Israel blatantly ignored them. It is continuing its inhuman practices against the Palestinians and is trying to convince the world opinion that its occupation of the Palestinian lands is justified and legal. Its disgraceful treatment of the Palestinians is based on American support, particularly the support that America extended near the presidential elections when the US president was in dire need of the Jewish votes.

The biggest manifestation of terrorism in the world is the existence of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, or threatening to use them. The biggest threat is their likely falling into unsafe hands, which may cause havoc, the consequences of which only Allah knows. This is in addition to the large sums of money being spent in this field. These resources could have been spent for the welfare of humanity. It goes without saying that violence may be imposed but peace cannot be forced.

Let us not forget to point to the developments in Sudan and the dangerous situation that may emerge as a result of the pressures being exerted on the people and the government of Su-

dan by creating problems in Darfur. These problems are being planned and created by elements opposed to Sudan and other Arab States.

In conclusion, let me refer to the inter-faith dialogue between Islam and Christianity as well as to the East-West dialogue. These dialogues will bring the two cultures close to each other and will highlight the positive points in the two civilizations instead of bringing to light the negative axes. These dialogues should be undertaken by prominent personalities who command the respect of the two sides.

Peace cannot be achieved without justice and without giving everybody what is due to him. Without this the world will remain at the threshold of unprecedented ruin and destruction. Therefore, we call upon peace lovers and those who are motivated by good intentions to find solutions to long standing disputes and to bring justice to the oppressed.

WESTERN CAPRICIOUSNESS AND TERRORISM:

A PARTIAL TALLY OF THE TOLL

Dr. John Duke Anthony

The Western-led approach to the war on terrorism has been capricious from the outset. The consequences have never been cost-free. Had this not been the case, the war would have produced far fewer opposite results than what the war's strategists had in mind. Instead, and ironically, Western counter-terrorism pronouncements, policies, and actions have increased terrorist violence against Western and Western-affiliated targets.

Indeed, none of three overarching purposes for which the war has been waged - a reduction in the frequency, extent, and costs of terrorism and counter-terrorism alike- has been achieved thus far. To be sure, some whose interests in waging the war on terrorism are focused quite differently disagree. But as I will indicate, the evidence in this case is overwhelming.

What is more, the victims in the war against terrorism have hardly been limited to those killed or maimed by bombs and bullets. They include victims in numerous other categories. Among these, many are intricately linked to what contributes to the productive material and emotional well-being of large swaths of humanity. The complexity and diversity of such cases pose immense challenges to those who would assess terrorism's costs. Even so, however difficult the efforts to determine the cost of these further damages, it is important that an attempt be made to do so, for they, too, are among the casualties of terrorism and of efforts to counter it.

Among these additional categories of victims are tourism, industrial and other economic infrastructure, and replacement and reconstruction of damaged equipment and facilities. Also included among

those hurt severely are East-West student and faculty exchanges, the international transportation, medical and health care service sectors, and the prospects for retaining, let alone increasing, the levels of foreign direct investment in other countries' development.

Collectively, these areas of human endeavor are hardly synonymous with idle enterprise. Their employees number in the tens of millions. Moreover, the fact that the damage to these other sectors often occurs far from where the principal act of violence took place is instructive. It illustrates how the impact of acts of terrorism and counter-terrorism is often worldwide. And these are but a few of the terrorism-related categories in which the losses, calculated monetarily and conservatively, amount to trillions of dollars.

Terrorism and innocence, ignorance, and arrogance run amok

Much of the damage that terrorism and counter-terrorism inflicts upon people and inanimate assets, such as the ones cited and innumerable others untold, has been the result not of individual or group malevolence. If only this were true, the challenge, certainly in the cases of terrorism as opposed to counter-terrorism, would consist mainly of undaunted persistence in hunting down and prosecuting the perpetrators together with devising and implementing schemes to prevent their recurrence.

Rather, in this instance, what unfortunately contributes mightily to acts of terrorism, on one hand, and to efforts to counter terrorism, on the other, is often something entirely different. It is varying degrees of Western pomposity, pontification and self-conceit. These attributes are more often than not manifested by the more powerful Western party to a conflict in which terrorism and counter-terrorism are involved. Not surprisingly, this is one among other reasons why the effort to persuade world leaders to address the foreign policy roots and related causes of terrorism remains so elusive.

Western insistence that the challenge is otherwise to be expected. It may pull the wool over the eyes of many of their fellow Westerners, if no one else. But the question is for how long. An ex-

ample is the 2004 American elections. In that instance, several credible polls revealed a depth of American disbelief that observers the world over found hard to fathom. It proved that numerous statements by President Bush and other U.S. officials made no dent in the belief of millions of U.S. voters, despite any supporting evidence, that Saddam Hussein was behind the 9/11 terrorist attacks and that Iraq had an ongoing operational relationship with Al-Qaeda.

Elsewhere in the world, few others to date have been as naïve and gullible. In short, the degree of innocence, ignorance, and arrogance run amok among high-ranking Western leaders and rank and file followers alike is riding high. Its effect on critical thinking people everywhere is one of incredulity. This alone has been a key factor in the rise and staying power of terrorism since before and after 9/11.

In this regard, the phrase in a popular song about how little things mean a lot is especially apt. Indeed, this is particularly the case when Western acts of counter-terrorism are viewed up close through the eyes of its victims. One dramatically egregious illustration has to do with a common weekly ritual that occurs throughout the Middle East. In this one, brides and grooms, together with their parents and guests, gather at outdoor wedding parties. They do so to celebrate the joining in matrimony of man and wife, and the intertwining of the fortunes and destinies of two families. The event itself marks a celebrated milestone in life. It has been considered hallowed and sacrosanct since time immemorial.

On such traditional occasions, the atmosphere is always euphoric, the milieu receptive. The timing is always propitious for the male guests to fire their rifles into the air in honor of a joyous moment. It is an occasion that, for most mortals, comes but once in a lifetime. But many of these events in Afghanistan and Iraq, since the war against terrorism was launched, have become nightmares.

The reasons have had to do with a different form of terrorism that is Western in origin and implementation. The context is one of

ill-informed, inexperienced, and under-trained Americans flying overhead. What happens is that they have frequently mistaken such celebratory rifle shots into the sky as hostile fire. In response, they have dropped their bombs on the guests. They have emptied their weapons on those beneath them who but moments before were dancing with one another and having the time of their lives.

Or take another example. Pause for a moment to ponder what has happened at the American prison facilities at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Many, if not most of the American interrogators of prisoners incarcerated there, are hardly babes in the woods. Each one is familiar to varying degrees with the legal opinions regarding interrogation procedures. They could hardly be otherwise, for indeed the views with which they are familiar emanated from within the White House and the U.S. Defense Department.

In this regard, in the aftermath of 9/11, a narrowly defined but official American consensus has postulated an unusual interpretation of a facet of international law that pertains to the behavior of nations in times of war. Shortly after the United States invaded Afghanistan in 2002, high-ranking American officials opined that the 1949 Geneva Convention as extended to combatants would not apply. Never mind that the United States, and to a disproportionate degree the leaders of the new State of Israel established in 1948, were leading activists in support of the Convention's enactment.

Many professed not to know what to make of this. The response was not long in coming. For terrorists, the American interpretation was like manna from heaven. The ensuing anger at the many abuses of prisoners that followed at the hands of U.S. interrogators made for far easier recruiting, training, and inspiration by anti-Western terrorists. Supporters of Al-Qaeda swelled in numbers to a greater extent than what would otherwise have been the case.

In Iraq, to the contrary, the legal approach to counter-terrorism was declared from the outset to be different. Yet in substance and practice, it proved to be just as bad if not worse. There, where an unexpected massive insurgency was mounted against the U.S.-led occupation, it

was stressed that the 1949 Geneva Conventions would indeed apply. Even so, various military police, intelligence personnel, and interrogators involved in the torture scandals uncovered at U.S.-administered prisons there were hardly of one mind as to what they were allowed and not allowed to do to the many Iraqis that American-led armed forces had arrested, imprisoned, and entrusted to their care.

What ensued was a tragedy of monumental proportions. Indeed, a year later, from a country that prided itself on a system of governance that extolled its systems of justice and the rule of law as being among its finest achievements, something quite unexpected occurred. What resulted before the Western altar of accountability was not what one would have predicted.

Rather, what transpired was seen by many the world over as little more than a token of official admonitions, imprisonments, demotions in rank, forfeitures of pay, and summary dismissals- this de minimus response to a series of morally and legally outrageous abuses captured on film.

Disseminated and viewed worldwide, the pictures of man's inhumanity to man dealt a body blow to the legacy of previous generations of American educators, doctors and nurses that had lived and worked in Arabia and the Gulf. It was these individuals, not geologists, investment bankers, diplomats, or soldiers who- before oil, before air conditioning, before aviation, before paved roads, before hospitals- had labored in Bahrain, Kuwait, Iraq, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates to help build a reservoir of goodwill towards the United States throughout the entire region.

What is clear with regard to what happened in Guantanamo, Cuba, on one hand, and Iraq, on the other, is the same. It is how high-ranking U.S. officials behaved at a time of exceptional stress coupled with their minimal knowledge and understanding of the people and cultures with which they were dealing. It is known that high-ranking American defense officials leaned hard on the interrogators. They urged them to cull whatever useful information they could from the prisoners in their custody.

In the pressure cooker that is an apt description for any war in process, U.S. officials were relentless in pushing the American interrogators to the limit. They demanded that the interrogators extract from prisoners any actionable intelligence that might possibly relate not only to the insurgencies then taking place in Afghanistan and Iraq, but, also, anything that might be linked to potential terrorist actions elsewhere.

Given the context in which few of the prisoners were Christian or Jew and most were Muslims, it is not hard to understand how some interrogators could infer they had a green light to do whatever was necessary to extract information. The effect that such policies and positions that violated the spirit and the letter of the Geneva Conventions have had on the recruitment of anti-Western terrorists is limited only by the imagination.

What is no less difficult to comprehend is how unmonitored Western interrogators could have thought that by doing their duty as they understood it, they would be impervious to any adverse consequences. Yet in thinking thus, they were on reasonably solid ground. Indeed, as virtually every terrorist and anti-terrorist leader has taken note, among the most senior officials in the American military chain of command on whose watch these atrocities occurred, none to date has been held accountable.

These and innumerable other acts of Western ignorance and arrogance in the war against terrorism, to say the least, have been costly. They have had the effect of pouring additional fuel on the already existing rage of many against the United States and those Western and other countries that have supported Washington's counter-terrorism policies. To conclude otherwise would be an exercise in wishful thinking.

Terrorism and western imperial quests for hegemony

The costs of capriciousness in terms of Western approaches to terrorism and counter-terrorism can be calculated in still other ways. Unrelenting Arab and Islamic anti-Americanism and opposition to other Westerners, and even Easterners deemed complicit in

the implementation of U.S. Mideast policies, has been an enormous expense. Taking into consideration the resultant steady dissolution of goodwill towards the United States is an additional way in which the toll can be tallied.

Inside the United States and the European Union, the wages of waywardness have also been high. The rising anger and alienation of untold number of people of Middle Eastern descent at how Western governments in many cases have come to treat them since 9/11, although elusive of arithmetic in terms of dollars and cents, is a cost that may yet prove to be incalculable to Western interests in the long term.

In the past three years, the human and civil rights of many in this category have, in numerous cases, been curtailed through racial profiling and Islamophobia, the new catchall phrase for cultivating fear of "The Other...Those...Them."

Within Western intelligence and law enforcement agencies, many since 9/11 have hung their heads in shame. And with reason, for they arrested people upon concluding that their Arabic name, the texture of their hair, the pigmentation of their skin, the way in which they enunciated their words, seemed to be grounds enough for arrest and questioning on grounds of suspicion that they might have some connection with terrorism.

Yet to the legitimate anger of those incarcerated for such reasons, the suspicions that prompted such action have repeatedly been proven warranted only in the rarest of cases. Indeed, among the many thousands that have been brought in for questioning or arrested and imprisoned for lengthy periods there are many against whom no formal charges were filed. Moreover, only a tinier than minuscule percentage of the total has been convicted of any offense at all. Of these, the number convicted for anything having to do with terrorism is only a few.

Still another price of the capricious Western approach to terrorism and counter-terrorism has been the numerous assassinations and ongoing physical intimidation of Afghani and Iraqi leaders. These, in their

sense of patriotism as they defined it and understood it to be, on one hand, and the need to feed their families, on the other, opted to join forces with the U.S.-led coalitions that occupy those countries.

In doing so, it is not surprising that many of these police and soldiers' fellow countrymen perceived these Afghanis and Iraqis not as leaders, let alone patriots, but, rather, as collaborators. As such, they were viewed as little more than Afghani and Iraqi variants of World War Two's Vichy French and Norway's Quislings-the Western invader and occupier's Fifth Columns and Trojan Horses for bringing an insurgency to heel.

In this, there is nothing new under the sun. A similar phenomenon has existed for far longer in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories. There, various terrorist groups have claimed credit for taking the lives of many that, in the eyes of their fellow Palestinians, were suspected or were caught in the act of collaborating with the occupation authorities.

There, being waved through a checkpoint ahead of others by an Israeli guard at a checkpoint in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel is not always interpreted as an innocent act. It can been seen as a death warrant by those less favored who, upon viewing such preferential treatment of one of their fellow citizens, suspect, rightly or wrongly, that the individual was waved through as a reward for her or him being a collaborator.

To be sure, in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq, most of the citizens in both countries have expressed gratitude to Westerners for their having put an end to Taliban rule and the brutal reign of Saddam Hussein. Such appreciation, however, has been more than offset by these very citizens' ensuing hatred for their respective occupiers' policies.

In this context, clearly one of the most egregious and far-reaching American mistakes in Iraq could have been avoided. It was the U.S. chief administrator's decision to dismiss not just the top echelon of those who had served as policemen and soldiers during the reign of Saddam Hussein, but virtually every one of them. The result hardly needs explication or elaboration.

The decision needlessly and irresponsibly left more than a million Iraqi breadwinners instantly unemployed and unable to make ends meet. What is worse, these individuals, collectively, were responsible for providing the livelihoods of millions more. A policy decision more likely to have increased and inspired the anti-Western terrorists as a direct result would be hard to imagine.

Other unwarranted slights and indignities that foreigners have brought about to the people of Afghanistan and Iraq are masked by thousands of faceless statistics. This is because the Western occupiers have chosen, as a matter of policy, not to compile such numbers or, if surreptitiously they have, they have gone out of their way to ensure that such information is not publicly known.

The case in point is the Western policy of counting only the number of their fellow Westerners who have died or been wounded in battle. In contrast, no one knows how many Afghans and Iraqis have been killed and wounded. Yet it is not Western countries' national sovereignty, political independence, and territorial integrity that, in the name of freedom, democracy, and human rights, has been trampled underfoot but, rather, Afghanistan and Iraq's. It is the lands and destinies of the latter, not the former, that, in the name of countering terrorism and as a result of having invaded and continuing to occupy both countries, Westerners now control.

To say that the Western counter-terrorism policies have been costly in such elemental terms as empathy, dignity, and a reference to and reverence for life without regard to nationality, religion, ethnicity, or one's station in society, is to understate the reality. Regardless of the rationales offered in defense of such a policy by Western military commanders in the field, there is no denying that such policies from the beginning have been judged from an entirely different perspective by indigenous leaders in Afghanistan and Iraq alike.

These are on solid ground in seeing such a policy for what they believe it is. They see it as devoid of compassion. They equate it also with minimal respect for what, after all, are no more and no less than their fellow human beings who seek mainly to be free in their own lands.

In the case of Iraq, much of the disbelief associated with Eastern critics of the Western war on terrorism is rooted in what, to many Iraqis, is a palpable lack of Western credibility. Going on two years after the fact, a large number of Iraqis, for example, find it hard to believe that the United States and other Western countries mobilized and deployed tens of thousands of troops, and expended billions of dollars in treasure, solely to rid the country of a brutal dictator and bring freedom to the Iraqi people.

A large number of Afghans, too, look askance at the newly ascendant Western strategic footprint in Afghanistan and nearby countries. They believe they have more than ample reason to be skeptical of the stated reasons why a Western-coalition has implanted its armed forces so firmly in the country. Many buttress their suspicions of true Western intentions in light of the still uncertain export routes for Central Asian oil, for which the United States and other countries have expressed an interest in constructing a network of pipelines through Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Eastern acknowledgement of Western countries' ongoing insatiable thirst for long term access to Middle Eastern energy resources is one thing. Eastern admission of Afghanistan and Iraq as desirable strategic military platforms from which to counter any and all competitors, on the other hand, is something else.

Not surprisingly, many Afghans and Iraqis feel they have ample reason to believe that both Western objectives are at play. Accordingly, leaders of both countries believe that far more than the mere quest to extract a measure of revenge for the 9/11 terrorist attacks, or to discover and destroy Baghdad's alleged weapons of mass destruction, motivated the United States to topple the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's regime in Baghdad.

Afghans committed to charting their own destiny see no reason why they should be forced to accommodate the designs of Westerners or anyone else to alter geography. As such their views legitimately clash with those of the Western occupiers that have replaced the Taliban and the country's previous occupiers, Moscow's Red Army.

Viewed from this perspective, Western policies which imply that prevention of a recurrence of terrorism related to Afghanistan, on one hand, and to Iraq, on the other, necessitates an ongoing occupation of both countries are, in the view of Afghanis and Iraqis alike, contradicted by logic and experience. Any in doubt, patriotic Afghanis and Iraqis suggest, need only consult the Afghan and Iraqi specialists not in Washington, but rather, London or Moscow for a second opinion.

The extent to which Western viewpoints in these matters have done little to surmount Afghani and Iraqi mistrust and lack of confidence, in short, amounts to a Western self-inflicted wound. Taken as a whole, the costs of unnecessarily antagonizing Afghanis and inflaming the sentiments of Iraqis amount to still another entry in the column of damage done as a result of the West's capricious approach to terrorism and counter-terrorism.

Not least among the body blows resulting from a Western propensity to shoot itself in the foot, and a related capacity to reload faster than others, is the incredulity in Eastern eyes stemming from the Western, mainly American, fanfare accompanying the alleged transfer of national sovereignty to Afghanistan and Iraq in 2004.

That the de facto situation in both countries, at the time and subsequently, suggests the opposite has been especially costly. As to why, one need only tabulate the toll in terms of the degree to which the nature and substance of the acts themselves insulted many Afghanis and Iraqis' intelligence and sullied the image and reputation of the West in general with regard to their stated values and ideals.

Afghani and Iraqi disbelief that the Western powers meant what they said with regard to having transferred sovereignty to the Afghani and Iraqi people is rooted in what many perceive to be the reverse of what Western spokespersons would have the world believe. In the case of Iraq in particular, it flies in the face of the 14 military bases that the United States is building in the country in accordance with American standards and specifications.

The disbelief, in addition, stems from innumerable reports that the U.S. Defense Department intends to remain in Iraq, and to use

the military bases it is constructing there as a platform and contingency for potential American interventions elsewhere in the Mideast for at least ten years.

If all of this seems like science fiction in terms of how it could drive anyone to commit what would otherwise be mindless acts of terrorism, one need only consider the implications of the situation that the United States and its Western allies have created in Iraq in reverse. One need only envision, for example, that an Asian coalition headed by the People's Republic of China has invaded and occupied the United States. Imagine, if only for a moment, that China and its Asian allies' stated aims, prior to the invasion, were to "liberate" the American people from whoever happened to be the incumbent in the White House. Imagine further that an additional stated purpose was to introduce to the American people Asian economic practices and systems of governance.

Picture this whilst also viewing the construction throughout the United States of a dozen Chinese military bases, each one to Chinese specifications and for use by China's armed forces as a platform for possible future intervention elsewhere in North, Central, or South America. Try also to empathize with what would likely happen to those hapless Americans who audaciously refused to stop their vehicles at a check point when Chinese military policemen shouted at them in Chinese to halt or be shot dead.

Try to figure out what is running through the minds of the Americans that have been freed of their American president. Picture the Chinese occupiers, military and civilian alike, several times a day having to rely upon Americans who speak and understand a little Chinese to direct them as to where they might find a bathroom or, should they happen to get lost, how to find the way back to their barracks.

Then ask how, if at all, the American people, grateful as they might be with their newfound freedom, thanks to their Chinese liberators, would likely react differently, if at all, than those that have been liberated in Afghanistan and Iraq, on the one hand and those

that, for far longer, have yet to taste freedom in the Israeli-occupied territories belonging to the Palestinians, on the other.

In all of the foregoing, an awareness of the consequences of American capriciousness with regard to its approach to terrorism and counter-terrorism is nothing if not instructive. In this regard, the case of Afghanistan is as indicative as any of the extent to which the road to hell, as the saying goes, is paved with good intentions. There, for example, not even Americans will deny that the recurrence of terrorism in many areas outside the capital of Kabul stems in large measure from the patent inability of the Western occupying forces to curb the drug trade.

For all the Western stated goals of curbing the international drug trade, it is an indisputable fact that opium cultivation in Afghanistan and the profits from its sale to the United States and elsewhere that wind their way to terrorists in Latin America, North America, and yes, Afghanistan and Iraq, since the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of the country, are at an all-time record high.

Little wonder that the drug trade is conducted in front of the very eyes of the Western occupying forces in Afghanistan. Little wonder that the revenue which results is part and parcel of the staying power for large number of terrorists in and linked to the region.

But this does not even begin to tell the story. The roots of this phenomenon, one that makes a mockery out of much that passes for truth in Western labeling in the war on terrorism, goes much deeper.

To a far greater extent than many are aware, much of the rising anti-Americanism of recent years is rooted in the deceitful manner in which the United States and other countries, from late 1979 onwards, insisted on labeling- and portraying to the outside world-those Afghanis that, with America's unstinting support, would bring the Red Army to its knees.

A pivotal turning point in the Western war against terrorism, and the waging of the counter-terrorism campaign, was reached soon after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It was then that Washington agreed that Afghanistan's numerous and well-armed

drug lords and war lords would henceforth not be called drug lords and warlords. Rather, they would be called something entirely different, something noble. They would be called what few, if any of them, had ever been called before. Given the objective at hand, it mattered little, if at all, that those who had known them well and long would have regarded their new titles as one of the best jokes of the year if not all time.

To wit: Western leaders, with Americans in the forefront, decided that the drug lords would henceforth be called mujahidin, a religiously endowed title that, in this instance, meant "righteous resisters." In Western eyes, if the world could be led to believe that this is exactly what the drug lords actually were, it was reasoned that this would be all to the good.

From a Western strategic military perspective, like nothing else, the decision to assign such lofty nomenclature to the drug lords cum war lords- to this day Afghani President Hamid Karzai prefers to call them "regional leaders"- had the desired effect. It helped persuade both Westerners and large numbers of Muslims from all over, including the likes of Osama Bin Laden and many who in time would become his lieutenants, to come and join them.

For the better part of the next decade, Western advisers would be intimately involved at every step of the way in a war that pitted American-trained terrorists against their Soviet-trained counterparts. Not until 1988 did the war that began with the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan finally come to an end. From the cauldron of that lengthy war and the aftermath of this intensive and extended capricious Western involvement in terrorism as well, came the terrorists and their recruits from elsewhere that forcibly commandeered the aircraft that struck America with such force on 9/11.

That so few Westerners are aware of how this came to be is belittled and dismissed by some as too much to expect or request of people unaccustomed to being interested in, let alone keen to understand, the reasons for much of the world's folly that occurs. But others are of a different view. The reason that the combination of

innocence and ignorance in this regard lies at the root of much that is, in the eyes of actual and would-be terrorists, is seen as Western arrogance. Among terrorism analysts, not surprisingly, it is often as much this trait among Westerners, and among Americans especially, as anything else, that antagonizes and provokes such a violent response from Easterners when all their efforts at dialogue and understanding are perceived to have fallen upon deaf ears.

Context, background, perspective

With this much as context, background, and perspective, yet additional costs stemming from the way in which many Westerners have approached terrorism have been the consistency in which Westerners have failed thus far to win the hearts and minds of a sufficient number of Afghanis and Iraqis, let alone, for a far longer period, the Palestinians.

Worse has been a Western inability to register even a degree of meaningful progress in this regard that offers any prospect of enduring. In the case of Iraq in particular, not least among the reasons has to do with specific measures that were designed to benefit Westerners and others that even supporters of the occupation acknowledge that Iraqis themselves would likely never vote for.

What the measures amount to, in the eyes of their critics, is a thinly disguised strategy to devastate various aspects of a county's makeup in order to remake it according to one's, in this case the West's, liking. One example is the Western occupying authorities' unilateral determination to allow foreign businesses to purchase as many of the country's non-oil assets as possible. A second example is the authorities' plans to lower the Iraqi corporate tax to a mere 15%.

A third example is the extent to which the authorities have placed American and other Western "advisers" into virtually every Iraqi ministry. The arrangement was structured so that the Iraqi ministers would be beholden to these advisers for a broad range of authority, especially with regard to the awarding of contracts and payment for goods purchased and services performed.

These are but a few examples that many Afghanis and Iraqis cite in support of the view that the real objectives of the Western coalition's occupation of their countries are as much at odds as in accordance with the officially stated intentions.

Nearer to the truth, in the eyes not just of large numbers of Afghanis, Iraqis and many others the world over, is the following. It is the unstated goal, apparent to all but a few before the first Western soldier crossed the border into Afghanistan and Iraq, of transforming these two previously sovereign and politically independent Islamic countries into de facto American cum Western protectorates.

It has been in reaction to the overwhelming superior force they had to face, on the one hand, and in their refusal to submit to such designs, on the other, that an unanticipated number of citizens have taken up arms against the Western occupiers and their local accomplices in Iraq. It is for the same reasons that an unanticipated number of Afghanis have refused to surrender their arms to the Western occupiers and their indigenous collaborators in Afghanistan.

In this light, it is not surprising that those in both countries that have vowed, upon pain of death, not to be colonized or fall prey to Western dominance have been routinely labeled by Western leaders as terrorists. Certainly, in the eyes of the many Westerners that occupy significant positions of importance in both countries, those that have taken up arms against them have signaled their willingness in the face of overwhelmingly superior Western firepower and military technology, if need be, to use terror and any other means to deny victory to the occupational forces and their foreign and domestic allies.

In explaining the rationale for their willingness to employ violence against the Western occupiers, including those foreign and local civilians among their contractors and interrogators, Afghanis and Iraqis appear to be of one mind with regard to their strategic goals. These are to do whatever, in their minds, is necessary to persuade the occupiers that they are not about to fall prey again to a self-serving and internationally concerted gambit to deny them their destiny as they define it. In this regard, their oaths are the flip side of the same

coin so often cited by President Bush in the aftermath of 9/11: "I will do whatever is necessary to defend the United States [read: Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestine] and to protect the interests of the American [read: Afghani, Iraqi, and Palestinian] people."

Terrorism through the rear view mirror and front windshield

All this in the space of less than three years. All this in the aftermath of 9/11. All this despite the fact that, with the dust and debris of 9/11 not yet settled, hundreds of millions the world over mourned for the Western country that suffered its worst terrorist violence since the Japanese attack on Pearl harbor in December 1941.

All this for the stated purpose, as perhaps only the most capricious among Western leaders would have the world believe, in the name of seeking to implant in the Muslim countries they have occupied the virtues of some of the Western world's loftiest concepts and values.

To wit: all this for the stated reasons of advancing the cause of freedom, liberation, and political pluralism. All this, supposedly, to enhance the prospects for democracy, the expansion of human rights and civil rights, transparency, the rule of law, open markets, privatization, private enterprise, and elections taking root not only in Afghanistan and Iraq but in Palestine and elsewhere in the region as well.

Rebutting such rhetoric and puncturing its pretensions is not an easy task. One reason is that, for many non-Westerners, many of the ideas and ideals emanating from the wordsmiths in Washington, London, Canberra, Warsaw and elsewhere are not exactly lacking in appeal. To the contrary, for people that have seldom if ever experienced most or in many cases any of these values in practice, their allure must not be underestimated: it is powerful.

The formation of more than 100 Iraqi political parties to compete in the country's elections hold in January 2005 is a case in point. The large turnout for the fall 2004 elections in Afghanistan is another. The unbridled eagerness among Palestinians, who held elections in Jan. 2005 and selected a successor to Yasir Arafat is yet another.

Even so, a large number of analysts the world over view the lofty rhetoric of the Western occupiers of Afghanistan and Iraq, and of the Israeli colonizers/settlers of Palestine, as carefully crafted fig leaves for something quite different. Stripped of its high-sounding idealism, the occupiers' eloquence, in the eyes of its critics, is akin more to avarice than altruism.

It is in this context that critics insist on the importance of removing the camouflage from so many of the repeated Western statements that relate to the war on terrorism. When this is done, what one sees is quite different. Despite pronouncements and comments by Western government officials, media moguls, and political pundits to the contrary, the true objectives behind the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the blind American official support extended to whatever Israeli government is in power, in the eyes of anti-Western critics, lies elsewhere.

From the perspectives of nonviolent dissidents and others among those committed to ensure the West's failure, what is equally if not more at play is nearer the reverse of what Western foreign policy makers claim to be the case. In this view, it is that the U.S., foremost among its allies, is engaged in an unbridled quest to enhance yet further its already existing dominance in the Mideast as a whole.

Seen from the vantage point of those who assign little credibility to official Western pronouncements, the overriding reason in the case of Iraq and the surrounding region is that it is rich in natural resources. Among specialists, no one denies that by far the most valuable of these resources are those that drive the engine of the largely Western industrial economies and underpin the prospects for the world's future economic growth.

These resources are coveted not only by U.S. corporations and investors. They are also eyed by America's commercial competitors and any number of potential adversaries. The reasons are clear: success or failure in controlling these resources could spell the difference between strategic and economic advance or regression for a 21st century world that already shows signs of nations being

locked into increasingly intense competition for access to the Mideast region's vast but finite and depletable energy deposits.

In all of this, the largely Western-driven cultivation and accentuation of fear- most particularly in the United States and elsewhere where the degree of previous trepidation was little or next to none- has left a deep and abiding footprint. The resultant fear has become a defining attribute of the war on terrorism and its counter-terrorism response.

For the foreseeable future there are likely to continue to be two sides to this phenomenon. One has to do with the extent to which Americans and other Westerners traveling to and living and working in the Mideast, in the event their countries remain wedded to status quo policies towards the region, will feel they have reason to be fearful of potential acts of terrorism.

Aligned to this group are Iraqis, Palestinians, and Syrian Arabs, together with Afghanis, Iranians, Israelis, and others. Among all three groups, there already exists a level of foreboding that has no equivalence in the past half century.

In the case of Westerners alone, one of the continuing results of the capricious Western approach to terrorism is the legitimate apprehension of being identified or mistaken by someone indigenous to the region as an American, Australian, British or Polish subject.

The grounds for such fears are not imagined. They are real. To cite only a few examples, it is what has caused many in the region, out of fear that they might be thought to have one of these four nationalities, to refer to themselves as Canadians or New Zealanders.

But such heightened anxieties and their accompanying discomforts among Westerners and those seen to be their accomplices in the wars of counter-terrorism are as nothing in comparison to those that live on the other side of this divide in terms of the phenomenon of fear.

This other side can be viewed in terms of the palpable price that, as one among other consequences of ruinous Western policies towards the Arab and Islamic world, those indigenous to the region who happen overwhelmingly to be Muslims nowadays bear.

Among the latter, countless thousands have paid the ultimate price: for their refusal to be colonized, they were killed. In their wake lie countless widows, widowers, and orphans. Still greater numbers bear the costs associated with having been maimed for life.

Neither of these summings of account on the altar of political violence has occurred in a vacuum. In the eyes of critics, both are linked to the formulation and execution of no end of duplicity in Western policies that have repeatedly and needlessly provoked much of the terrorism, and the excesses of counter-terrorism, that have occurred.

It is not only that both categories of violence show little if any sign of early, let alone lasting, abatement. And it is not only that, for this reason, they are certain to remain issues of vital concern to the world as a whole.

It is also that each category remains rooted in Western policies anchored in profound degrees of arrogance and a lack of knowledge and understanding of Middle Eastern cultures, heritages and values. And, in addition, it is that each category, far from being wrapped in the garb of righteousness, remains enshrouded in thinly veiled and difficult to deny Western quests for strategic advantage and economic gain- quests that for reasons of being strategically unsound, economically wasteful, and morally bankrupt, were problematic to begin with.

THE CAPRICIOUS WESTERN
CONCEPT OF TERRORISM

Wolf R. Schwippert

Introduction

The expression 'terrorism' is inflationary, used not only by politicians and the media in the Western world, but also in the Middle East.

This is particularly so after September 11, 2001, when the twin towers of the New York World Trade Center were targeted and destroyed. The result was that, originating from the US but spreading rapidly in Europe and elsewhere, the word 'terrorism' was in everyone's mind. Any attack, any blast or explosion, was seen as 'terrorism'. Moreover, any movement against any authority was endangered to be titled a 'terrorist group'.

But was that new? Have there not been similar tendencies prior to 9/11? An example is Israel. Any attack from the side of Palestinians would be called a 'terrorist act'. In the 1970s, aircraft hijackings were always called that, due to the absence of an international, non- Arab - awareness about the political struggle of the Palestinians to achieve an independent state. Once acknowledged by some governments through the recognition of the PLO, such countries did not call the PLO terrorist, but rather a national movement. Similar scenarios may be traced in the struggle of the ANC in South Africa against the former apartheid regime. The list of such groups is indeed long.

Drawing the line between terrorism and liberation struggle is crucial and, if it comes to different cultures, it is sometimes answered in different ways.

I'm seeking to analyze   the definition of 'terrorism' in the West,

in particular in Germany and shall outline the reasons, why such definition cannot easily be accepted in other regions of the world, in particular in Arab and Muslim countries.

What is 'terrorism'?

Discussing 'terrorism' requires clarifying what one is talking about, using the term 'terrorism'.

The perception of 'terrorism' in the US

The United States, broadly speaking, up to the 1980s did not have a major problem of terrorism. There were just a few bombings and attacks in the last century, some of which were not "terrorist", that is, the perpetrators did not have a political background. The Ku Klux Clan pursued some acts, which might be considered criminal-in character than terrorist. The most Political attacks in the 197s and 1980s by Puerto Rican groups. "Islamic terrorism" started around the 1990s in New York with the first bombing at the New York World Trade Center and attacks against US facilities outside US territory and culminated domestically with the attack of 9/11. Therefore one may summarize that the US own experience with terrorism is more a problem faced by it in other countries being involved in military operations rather than domestic problems.

In general, researchers share the common view, that there does not exist a commonly agreed upon definition of terrorism. Therefore any definition reflects a nation's own experience and any definition can be challenged by the experience of others. Nevertheless, governments tend to try to give a sort of official definition.

The term "terrorism" by official definition used by the US Navy means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

The term "international terrorism" means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.

The term "terrorist group" means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism. The

U.S. government has employed this definition of terrorism for statistical and analytical purposes since 1983.

Some authors clearly point out that after the decline of the Soviet Union also the West would have been in need of a new enemy. Such an enemy was required to uphold security, military power etc. Ethnic conflicts arose. That was helpful, but not visible, i.e. not to be marketed in public. But the West needs public opinion; otherwise governance will be impossible. Therefore a real enemy had to be created. And that is, as it looks, Islam and certain persons, like Osama Bin Laden, Zarqawi and Zawahiri. Such individuals gain importance as masterminds of international/ "Islamic" terrorism, most likely exceeding the real importance and influence of such individuals by far.

The traditional definition of 'terrorism' in Germany

The definition of the term 'terrorism' in Germany is: A terrorist group is a political group trying to destabilize a government by posing a threat to society and causing the government to impose harsh measures, which are in principle unconstitutional.

This would be then the first step in undermining a political system to be overthrown. Germany's experience with terrorism is the experience with its former Red Army Fraction (RAF). RAF in the 1970s as a militant leftover of the 1968 movement, targeted high ranking representatives of the social, economic and political system of the then West Germany. Economic leaders, politicians and representatives of the judicial system were victims of deadly attacks. It caused at the time the imposition of tougher laws to crack down on terrorist groups. Similar scenarios could be traced in Italy, where also some leftist political groups chose to become violent applying a similar strategy. All such movements were motivated by a mixture of an anti-capitalist movement combined with frustration over a lack of cleaning up social structures after World Wars I and II. The movement was supported by the world being divided into a capitalist and a socialistic world, i.e. the two big blocks at the time dominated by the US on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the

other.

Such superpowers controlled- or in a softer expression: influenced-a good part of the countries on this planet. Governments all over the globe were to be counted belonging to one or the other block. Entire Europe had been divided, Germany having constituted maybe the most illustrative example as a divided country of two independent states, the Federal Republic of Germany belonging to the capitalist hemisphere and the German Democratic Republic under Soviet influence, as a result of World War II. Korea shares this fate until now.

Terrorism as seen under international law

Under international law there is no agreed upon definition of terrorism although the matter is old.

Already the League of Nations (predecessor of the United Nations established in 1919 and existing until 1939) tried in 1937 to define terrorism and drafted a definition that however had not been approved at the time.

"All criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public".

United Nations resolution language is:

"1. Strongly condemns all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, wherever and by whomsoever committed;

2. Reiterates that criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them". (GA Res. 51/210 Measures to eliminate international terrorism)

Next to that there are various scientific attempts for a definition. A consensus definition seems to be, as quoted by the UN on http://

www.unodc.org/unodc/terrorism_definitions.html

"Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperilled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience (s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought" (Schmid, 1988).

The lack of one uniform definition has so far prevented any single anti-terror convention to come into life.

The principles of preventing and suppressing terrorist acts are laid down in United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 49/60 (December 9, 1994) and 51/210 (November 17, 1996). The community of nations has established norms for the fight against terrorism in twelve international anti-terrorism conventions. These are geared to the method, location and target of terrorism regardless of the motive of the perpetrators. However the problem of a generally acceptable definition of terrorism, drawing a line between terrorism and liberation struggles, has been kept out of the conventions up to now.

The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism was passed on December 9, 1999.

In fact international legislations combating terrorism reflects the current fear at the time. The first legislation originates from 1963 and deals with aircraft security. The matter went on with maritime security, security of oil platforms, combating taking hostages and ends up with bombings and international financing of terrorism.

United Nations Security Council Res. 1373 (2001) calls on the

member states to do their utmost in co-operation and exchange of information in the fight against terrorism. It also points out that the nations have the duty to refrain from assisting terrorist acts in other states.

It provides for the obligation of the states to combat financing of terrorism, which includes literally the collection of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that such collected funds would be used in order to carry out terrorist attacks.

The above mentioned resolution is the legal basis at the level of international law for the prohibition of, for example, Al-Aqsa Association in Germany which collected funds for Hamas in Palestine.

What however has not been coped with, is the matter on which actually is an organisation in the struggle for liberation and which is a terrorist organisation. And also, whether there is something called state terrorism, i.e. terrorism and terrorist acts committed by a state and its organs against a certain population. This is frequently discussed relating to Israeli attacks against e.g. leaders of Hamas, where such leaders are eliminated without trial.

Some reasons why there is no agreement of a uniform definition of 'terrorism'

The question is why has the international community not reached so far a commonly accepted definition on 'terrorism', despite the fact that already the League of Nations thought of defining such a term.

It may be concluded from the above, that different experiences of nations cause different perceptions and accordingly different definitions. Comparing the definitions commonly used in Germany and the US one will notice that the US Navy definition focuses on the aspect of political violence with the aim to influence an audience.

The common German definition focuses as well on the political motivation but then gets more specific, by the violent act trying to cause the state to act tougher and violating its own rules, i.e. to act

unconstitutional.

Most likely both definitions are subject to change, but both contain also aspects which reflect certain realities. The German definition reflects very much the political statement of the Red Army Fraction in Germany in the 1970s and therefore is very much influenced by the concrete German experience in the matter.

At times, where all the world is discussing "Islamic" anti Western terrorism originating from the Middle East it is important to look, what the picture of the West is in the Arab and Islamic world.

Perception of the West in the Arab world

Historically, the Arab world in the early days of the last century was in the final phase of freeing itself from Western colonialism and embarking on nation building. The current Arab states widely have been established successively after the decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1916. Western colonial powers took over, in particular France and Great Britain. Nation building was developing along with a discussion on whether an Arab nation would exist. This discussion assumed the Western concept of statehood. This is to say it assumed that a state is to be defined by its territory, its people and its power as a state, respectively government. The discussion at the time seemingly did not focus on the classical Islamic concept of a state, which defines itself through the Muslim community as its citizens. Nor did the Islamic nature of the state play an important role, except, that the constitutions contain the clause, that Islam is the religion of the state and by that laws enacted should not contravene Islamic laws.

To a good extend Western colonial powers participated in this development. The connection to certain social, i.e. tribal connections or religious connections had been fairly negated. So the borders and the regimes at the Levant were imposed by British and French colonialism. The Sykes Picot Agreement between the two countries of 1916 divided the Levant into hemispheres of influence. Today's Syria and Lebanon came under French influence.

Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq came under British influence. Similar scenarios can be traced in Africa and in Asia, when looking at the emergence of Pakistan as an independent state for Indian Muslims in the late 1940s, in having been realistic on the assumption that after the withdrawal of the British colonial power religions should receive their own political environment.

In the same way of philosophy, Lebanon originally had been created as a mainly Christian state in a Muslim environment. Such religious aspects which partially found their way into nation building after World War I was no more of importance after World War II. Societies defined themselves at the time to belong to either the Western capitalistic or the eastern socialistic bloc. A number of countries tried to remain independent from that influence, organized as from 1961 in the so called Non Aligned Movement, a good part however was actually under heavy influence of either superpower.

The case of Palestine

At the Levant, first the entire Western hemisphere supported Jewish immigration under the Zionist movement to Palestine to find a solution to the problem of Jewish persecution in Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century. This was supported in particular by Britain, by means of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, granting the Jews a right to settle in Palestine. Most recently the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Prince Turki Al-Faisal pointed out again in a speech delivered at the Conservative Party Congress on October 5, 2004, that the Balfour Declaration however contained one paragraph which reads that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. This part of the Balfour Declaration has never been recognized by the Western communities.

Thereafter, when Jewish persecution started in Germany as from 1933, Western countries once more did not object against the emigration to Palestine having been the then British Mandate. Such

circumstances did not find approval in the Middle East. From an Arab point of view, own nation building was required, where Zionist ideas of establishing a Jewish state on Arab land was not fitting into. From a Muslim point of view, nation building was disturbed by non-Muslim influence that would not support a nation building process of an Islamic state. So neither from a secular Arab point of view, influenced by Western concepts of statehood nor from a pure Muslim point of view the Zionist movement was not to be recognized as a politically acceptable development. Accordingly the Palestinian national movement found support throughout the Arab and Muslim World. This was also in light of the fact that Jerusalem as a place from where Prophet Mohammed ascended to heaven is one of the three most holy places for Muslims all over the world. The Christian West however tolerated that development out of their interest to find a solution to a problem that was going on in Europe for centuries. Moreover, Jerusalem, in any case did not belong to the Western hemisphere since the early times of Islam, despite some short intervals of control, during the crusades.

A strong Jewish presence in the US caused the US to seek some trustworthy representative in the Middle East. The US supported, after World War II, the further establishment of the Jewish state.

This aspect of trust to Israeli citizens of Western Jewish origin, who doubtlessly dominated the society and politics of Israel in its first four decades of existence caused an almost unanimous support by European countries as well. All this, while the Arab Middle East was negated in its demand to the West to solve this problem.

The domination of events in the Middle East through the West is frustrating political and social development in the Middle East.

The problem of double standards/lack of trust

A severe problem is the matter of double standards. The West shows little intention to apply the same standards on Israel than on the Arab countries. This is the lack of enforcement of the UN Security Council resolutions like resolutions 242 (of 1967) and 338 (of 1973) on the subject that Israel should vacate the land occupied

during the 1967 war. Such resolutions have never been enforced, while resolutions against Iraq had been enforced by the imposition of sanctions. This causes frustration against the United Nations, where the Arab world next to other areas in the world finds itself under-represented. In that regard, one just has to look at the historically explainable composition, but nowadays questionable composition of the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

This is a lack of a just involvement in the Middle East Peace process, although the Arab countries have contributed considerably over the last decades towards acceptance of Israel as a state. But there is so far little or nil return. In fact, the situation has worsened.

Double standards can be found also by looking at the practices of the US forces in Abu Ghuraib prison in Baghdad. The West, so much focusing on morals and human rights, treatment of POWs under Geneva Conventions, shows then in turn a loose attitude, which reflects disrespect towards Arab people. Statements by high ranking US military officers, that it is better for US interests that terrorists are doing their acts in Iraq than in US itself, is received by the Arab public without understanding. When the US has a terrorist problem, they should sort it out at home, not in created battlegrounds in the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iraq).

What about human rights at Guantanamo Bay? International law exempts itself when it comes to the war against terrorism?

The list of reasons for distrust may be continued. Why did the US attack Iraq and overthrew the regime of Saddam Hussein? It is evidenced now, that the two reasons given by the Bush and Blair administrations at the time were false, if not even intentionally fabricated. Iraq did not have links with Al-Qaeda, it did not have WMD (weapons of mass destruction) So why then, did the war happen? Because of the enormous oil and gas reserves under Iraqi soil, that is, for economic strategic interests several civilians in Iraq had to die?

This question cannot be simply answered by saying "look how liberated Iraqi society is nowadays." Most naturally there are a lot

of Iraqis, who would confirm that the war against the old regime brought them some freedom. But this alone would not justify using false arguments to start a war against a government, which is not friendly to the US administration. The US is seen as a world police force, which no one has asked for.

First conclusion

This has led the Arab world to distrust the West. The West has over the last 100 years continuously tried to influence the developments in the Middle East, but has shown little understanding for the Arabs and the Islamic community. This is due to their colonialist attitude, which partially continues until now. It goes to the extent, that Arab people do not find themselves represented equally in the United Nations, which is a system built up by the West, based on Western laws and Western understanding of democracy and human rights. Islamic influence at the level of the United Nations is little. In addition, a double standard seems to be applied when it comes to the implementation of Security Council resolutions addressed to Israel on the one hand and Arab countries on the other hand. That double standard causes further distrust.

Typical Western arguments against the Arab perception
Misuse of the Arab-Israeli conflict

Now, some people in the West say that Arab politicians and rulers are making use out of the Israeli Arab conflict to keep their countries under tough control and not allowing democratic development. And this in the end would be the reason for frustration.

First of all there is no Israeli Arab conflict. There is just an occupation of Palestinian territory by Israel. Conflict means in principle that two equal powers would have a dispute. But the fact that Israel occupies Palestinian land is legally undisputed. See only the numerous UN Security Council Resolutions, in particular 242 (of 1967) and 338 (of 1973). They however have never been implemented. The United Nations, when tough on compliance with Se-

curity Council resolution, see Iraq, Libya and recently Sudan, impresses the world with enforcing international law. When it comes to Israel and its violations, no enforcement is pursued. That frustrates the ordinary man. The lack of implementation goes even to the extent that General Assembly Resolution 181 (of 1947), which is the partition plan on Palestine, points out that if the Jewish state to be established would comply with the framework set forth, then it could also apply for UN membership. The same applied obviously to the Arab state to be established. The latter had not been established. The Jewish state however came into existence and found entry into the UN, although did not comply with the territorial and procedural framework.

The argument therefore negates the enforceability of UN resolutions and negates the international law. It rather shows an attitude that the Arabs should in the end of the day accept their fate, imposed mainly and originally by European powers. Such an attitude is regrettable to say an approach of ignorance of historic and cultural facts.

Lack of democratization

Others say the Arab world would lack democratization. Asking for democratization is a simple Western concept, which cannot be applied without amendments onto other societies. The Arab world is searching for its own way, as Europe has made and developed its own way. This seemingly is now also understood in the West, where politicians no more use the request for democratization but for participation. It has been acknowledged by German Chancellor Schroeder and the other leaders of the G8 that Western concepts cannot be applied easily to the Middle East.

As the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to London recently pointed out in a speech held in Berlin in summer 2004, the Saudi concept of government is a concept of consensus. There are no parties. But the system is that government is made on the basis of consensus. The government and the Consultative Council are made to reflect all fractions of Saudi society, which to a good extend is a tribal society.

Therefore the statement that Arab rulers would make use of the Israeli Arab conflict to maintain dictatorships stems from a pure Western built concept of democracy, ignoring the social structure of Arab societies, their historical, religious and social background.

Participation yes, but on other terms. The Arab world has not made the same philosophic developments like the West. The concept of a secular state is not part of the Arab and Islamic culture. A pure democratic structure like in the West would cause overthrowing traditional hierarchies originating from tribal societies and would mean to reject certain principles of the religion.

Islam being a religion supporting terrorism?

There are sources stating that Islam would be supporting an anti Western way of thinking. Very often expressions and arguments are used to support such a stand.

An example is the term 'jihad' (commonly translated as Holy War) in fact to be understood as a 'permanent effort'.

Another is Shari'a as a whole, designed to suppress the population. In that regard the concept of *talaq* (divorce) is quoted, capital punishment in Islamic criminal law as classical examples and lastly the role of women in society.

Such matters are clear and has been responded by Muslim authors and Western orientalists, who show some understanding to Islam, that such matters are originating from a lack of knowledge and such arguments in the end are a matter of misuse for certain political aims.

In short, the matter of divorce is much more detailed, than the cliché that the husband would have the single and sole right to divorce his wife. Also she has rights and moreover legislation that is different in a number of Arab states.

Capital punishment is also implemented in Western countries, in particular in the US. The matter is not of the existence of capital punishment, but of a fair trial until a capital punishment is issued. Looking at the system in Saudi Arabia, with several courts and lastly subject to the Royal Decree to be issued, we are far away in Saudi Arabia from an unjust procedure.

Lastly women in society play an important role, furnished with rights. They are participating in society. From country to country in different ways, all subject to development. But the statement women are excluded from society is simply wrong. They are part and parcel of the society.

Lack of open mindedness

There are sources stating that the Arab world would tend to isolate itself from global developments. Curricula at schools should be amended. If this would mean, curricula should omit its religious influence then this is for a Muslim society for sure wrong and in particular not a matter of the West to involve itself.

Important today is both for the Western and Arab world, that children get in early times access to foreign languages, in particular to the English language, as the global business language. Access to computers and media, like controlled access to the internet are of highest importance. This causes understanding in the children for international affairs and gives them access to information, which in the end everything is about. The same applies to the West. Children only recently have now in Germany English or French as the first foreign language as from form 3 onwards as an ordinary lesson with several lessons per week. Persons lacking foreign language skills and by that also lack of access to information will limit their view onto our world through the limited view of their native language only.

Origin of today's international 'Islamic' terrorism

It appears that the origin in nowadays terrorism of so called 'Islamic' nature is of a different kind than the terrorism known in earlier times. Therefore it is helpful to look at some origins of Muslim fighting.

At times of the Soviet Union, i.e. when communism was still in power in some countries, Muslims, with the support of the West, in particular with support of the US gathered to fight communism, being a philosophy, which denied and rejected religion as a whole. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the 1970s and 1980s en-

dangered the Muslim community. Supported by the West, Muslim freedom fighters (not terrorists) went to Afghanistan to fight the Soviet occupying army. For the West these were forces, which undermined the stability of the Soviet Union and therefore found support. Such fighters therefore, despite having had a different motivation than the one of the West, turned to be brothers-in-arms with the West. It should be clearly understood, that already at that time the Muslim freedom fighters were not Western freedom fighters and therefore the West and the Muslim freedom fighters had at the time one joint enemy, but they never acted based on the same motivation.

After the withdrawal of the Soviet forces those fighters had to look for new areas to work in. To go back home and start a settled life as clerks or businessmen? This appeared to be impossible. The Soviet Union declined, so the world was affected by the imbalance of power. Yugoslavia fell apart and entered into civil war. That war was an ethnical and religious conflict. Christian Serbs slaughtered Muslims in Bosnia Herzegovina. The Islamic world became alert and concerned as a whole. Fighters turned to that new battlefield or prepared themselves for a new enemy. During that phase, which was initially a just and understandable cause, supported by the general public in the Muslim world, the freedom fighters however changed their target gradually. The enemy was no more one occupying power or one government, but the West as a whole, with some focus on the US, as the most symbolic representative of the West.

The brothers-in-arms turned to be opponents of the West and moreover opponents of such governments in the East, i.e. in the Arab World, who co-operated with the West. The former freedom fighters step by step turned to be terrorists in general perception. Not that their target, their enemy really had changed. They continued fighting against un-Islamic developments and they tried to protect their fellow Muslims. The targeted enemy had changed. It was no more the Soviet Union, but the West as a whole. The Western

concept of my enemy's enemy is my friend turned to be false, re-spectively it backfired.

It is neither the matter of solving the north-south economical gap between industrialized countries and developing countries, nor a matter of unemployment. One should keep in mind, that such ter-rorists as far as is known, originate from well - established fami-lies. Also, looking at the Saudi origin of some of the figures in-volved, Saudi Arabia is not a typical developing country. The matter is not an uprising of the poor. The matter is a deeply rooted aversion to Western influence onto the Arab Muslim society. It is the result of a feeling of being disrespected and double standards having been applied. And moreover a feeling that own govern-ments would be part of such Western policy.

Germany's strategy against international terrorism

As outlined above, the concept of terrorism has changed. There is an international threat, which is also targeting Germany, which had an opposing stand towards the war against the former regime in Iraq. However, Germany has joined actively the US-led so called coalition against terrorism, by deploying soldiers to Afghani-stan and to the horn of Africa, where German navy units are con-trolling ships cruising at the sea in front of Yemen, Somalia and Sudan.

The German government also had to realize that some of the September 11, 2001 terrorists had been living in Hamburg, Germa-ny for considerable time and had been preparing partially the New York attacks from their student rooms in Germany. Therefore, also in light of the Madrid attack on March 11, 2004, Germany has con-tinuously focused on internal domestic control of any group, which could pose a threat.

Since September 11, 2001 Islamic organizations in Germany are under stricter supervision of German security forces. It may be summarized as a fight against Islamic tendencies. The German Federal Minister of the Interior has since then banned three organi-

zations, which were running as charitable associations.

The first one has been an organization called the Khalifstate, an organization based with its head office in the city of Cologne, founded by a Turkish preacher originally in the early 1980s, having had about 1.100 members. The leader, Metin Kaplan, son of the original founder Cemaleddin Kaplan called himself the 'Emir of the believers and Khalif of the Muslims' and targeted to return Turkey to an Islamic state.

The German law of associations allows a group to be prohibited, once it acts against criminal laws, turns out to violate principles as laid down in the constitution or contravenes the principle of understanding between nations. Such an organization at least was openly fighting against Turkey in its current form and therefore was deemed to disturb German Turkish relations. Moreover the German ministry of interior informed that the organization was also fighting against Israel and Jews in general. The organization was banned in December 2001.

The second one was a group called Al-Aqsa Association, which was banned in May 2002. That association had been established in Germany in 1991. It collected funds to support Palestinians through the channels of Hamas. The ministry of interior pointed out that Hamas is a terrorist, Islamic group, which uses violence, clearly acknowledging that Hamas limits its military activities to Palestine and Israel. Amendments of the German law on associations made it possible to ban them when the members or the management are mainly composed of foreigners, when such groups are supporting movements outside German (and EU) territory, when such movements are against human dignity or in case of violence against governmental order is propagated. In its reasons the Ministry of Interior also pointed out, that the prohibition of Al-Aqsa Association was in compliance with and in execution of UN Security Council Resolution No. 1373 of September 28, 2001.

In January 2003 the association Hizb ut Tahrir was banned. The organization- said the explanation from the German Ministry of

Interior- negated the right of the existence of Israel - and calls for its destruction, favors the use of violence in political struggle and therefore conflicts with the principle of understanding between nations. The organization also would distribute anti Jewish propaganda and would call for the killing of Jews. Lastly at a meeting at the Technical University of Berlin that group co-operated with higher ranking members of a national socialistic party, which is an extreme right wing party in succession of the Nazi party in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s.

In addition to such bans which were accompanied by seizures of properties in their countrywide places, including private houses and mosques, other measures of supervision and control had been established. Certain Islamic and Arab organizations as well as Arab individuals are under permanent screening.

Today's consequences for Muslims in Germany

The perception in the West is that the world would be facing a terrorist threat from Islamic groups. Islamic would mean in that context a radical, potentially violent Islam. But what is that? A lot of clichés are used and definitions vary extremely.

The headscarf discussion

The situation in Germany is that the discussion on the headscarf being worn by Muslim women in official positions, in particular as teachers or workers in kindergartens, is heavily going on. The legislators are amending the laws in order to prohibit wearing the headscarf in such positions, since the existing laws would not allow such prohibition. It is legally the conflicting interest of each individual to wear whatever he or she wants to wear and the interest of society not to be indoctrinated by any religion. That latter aspect is governing the discussion in France, a country, which understands itself as a secular state per se. Already in the year 1905, i.e. about 100 years ago, any religious symbol was banned by law from public schools, both for teachers as well as for students. This is the same as in Turkey, under Atatürk, when similar laws were imple-

mented as well, as Turkey understood itself as a secular state.

In Germany the situation is different. Germany appears not to be a secular state in its absolute form. It allowed until recently Christian crosses in state owned, i.e. secular schools to be hung on walls. That had been annulled then by the German Supreme Constitutional Court due to the understanding of Germany as a secular state should not support any religious indoctrination by any religion. The same court ruled in 2003 that a Muslim woman, who had all qualifications as a school teacher was not to be rejected for an employment in state owned schools for the reason that she was wearing a headscarf, as this was her personal freedom and was not to be compared with a cross hanging inside the school class rooms. However the court also ruled, that the legislator could pass laws preventing such action. Subsequently some states within the federal German constitutional structure passed laws preventing teachers from wearing religious symbols. Such laws can be seen as an attempt to exclude Muslim women from wearing the headscarf, as it would not prevent teachers from wearing crosses or Jewish headcover (kippas). As a reason it had been stated that symbols of Christian or occidental tradition would be allowed and tolerated. In so far the best example is the law just recently in October 2004 passed in the state of Hesse. It prevents Muslim women from wearing headscarves once being an official. It is not limited to teaching. She could work in an office, without contact with the public but she could be prevented from wearing the scarf. That law therefore by far exceeds the limits seen so far. It points out that any religious symbol shall not be worn, unless it reflects the Christian occidental tradition of the state of Hesse or would be just small and by that not shown to public, as the scarf does.

Representatives of the Conservative Party, in particular the MP Dr. Jung has given as reasons, which very well reflect the state of mind in Germany at a considerable part of its population. We may quote in English translation:

"Dear ladies and gentlemen, doubtlessly the headscarf is a sym-

bol of Islamic movements. In such societies millions of women are put legally into a minor position compared to men and are fairly excluded from the social life. The force to cover themselves, Muslim women are exposed to, the right of the husband to punish his wife, the right of the husband to turn down his wife (i.e. divorce/talaq) and lastly the Shari'a are not in accordance with our constitution." (quoted from the Hesse parliamentary protocol of the 30th session during the 16th electorate period dated 18.02.2004.)

The statement shows that the speaker has used a number of clichés, which have nothing to do with the subject matter, but has gained considerable applause in his parliament.

That is a development, which should raise concern, as it excludes Muslims from equal rights in society. In turn one may argue, that once Western countries would follow such arguments, the West but should then also admit that policies in the Middle East, preventing Christians from practising their beliefs in public should not be condemned, as they are a clear result of the understanding e.g. of Saudi Arabia as an Islamic state.

Discussion on Integration of foreigners

Also in the framework of Islamic tendencies an older discussion has to be seen, which in principle is about a totally different subject in Germany. Germany for long discussed, were to go with its policy on foreigners. Having been clearly understood in the past, that Germany is not a classical immigration country it has been target for economic asylum seekers in the past. Since they applied for political asylum their application had to be turned down. The discussion is about following a controlled immigration policy. In that discussion the matter has been discussed whether foreigners are allowed to live their own life in Germany under the concept of a multi cultural society or whether such persons should integrate themselves. Integration then very quickly came to matters of language - which is understandable - but moreover on Islamic religious lessons at schools, control of such curricula, the headscarf, etc. The discussion was held in an atmosphere, which used a number of clichés on Muslims, which was not healthy for a meant integration.

Islamic communities in Germany

Muslims are subject to a stricter control by security forces. We could see, from the prohibitions of several associations that any association linked with the Middle East is subject to screening on its connections to extremist organizations in the Middle East.

Since Islam is not organized within one hierarchy, like Christian churches, it is difficult on the one hand to have access to a group and on the other to easily analyze, what a certain organization actually represents.

There are several organizations linked to certain countries and a lot of organizations, which represent a considerable number of mosques in Germany. The most acceptable nowadays is the Central Council of Muslims in Germany, which is developing a lot of efforts to bring transparency to Islam in Germany. And that is good, since such Muslim communities realize that they are living in a non-Muslim environment in Europe, having about 10 million Muslims in entire Europe, which has a total population of about 350 million.

However, as German Chancellor Schroeder pointed out at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2004, where the Arab world has been the partner and focus region, cultural understanding is the most important tool to bring different cultures together. This shows that there is a great deal of awareness, that one should be very careful in the West in judging people and in screening persons and ethnic and religious groups.

Conclusion

Although there is no internationally accepted definition of terrorism, it appears that a certain understanding of the term is common. Terrorism has changed its face in the last years and therefore the concept of terrorism has changed. It is no more a local problem and no more a network of local groups. It is a global threat, which may attack civilians as well as officials from any country, be it a Western or Eastern country.

It appears also undisputed that there is nowadays a common occurrence of "Islamic" terrorism.

The danger originates from people who have a more or less an

undefined enemy. It is a global enemy, being anyone who is part of the economic and social system of the world represented mainly by the West, in particular the United States, being the last remaining superpower. There is no protection against terrorism in terms of politics, which would confirm with political targets of such groups. In the moment a country follows policies of integration into the system of the United Nations, which so far represents Western concepts, such country would be a possible target.

Therefore one shall not try to find solutions in possible accusation of countries about their policies. The solution is to be found in historically originating socio-economic circumstances.

The West, and in particular the US and to a lesser extent Britain and again to a lesser extent France have not managed to establish trust in the Middle East. This is due to their colonialist policies in the past, parts of which continue up to present. It is their policy in favor of Israel and against Arab states under violation of international law.

Moreover a nation, which is acting with a kind of moral justification, is expected to act accordingly. Events like the tortures in Abu Ghuraib prison in Baghdad add fuel to the fire for critics.

In the West and in particular in the US considerable ignorance can be traced to what the Arab world is about. People remain in clichés, assume that their chosen way is the right one, ignoring different cultural approaches and concepts. The Arab world has neither been understood nor really accepted as an equal partner in discussions. Things have been forced upon them, but not with the consequence to force it also onto one self. This double standard causes disrespect and frustration among populations.

Next to the international co-operation against terrorism the cause for such developments has to be further analyzed and defined problems should be solved.

Some of the causes are for sure that the West has not developed enough understanding for the Middle East and has not applied fair and just policies in the region. This means that:

- The West should accept the integrity of independent states, as guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations.

- The West should follow a fair and just policy towards Israel applying international law, as it is applied to other countries as well. This is for sure one of the key issues.

- The West should comply with international law in general, in terms also of human rights.

- The West should realize that Western lifestyle with all its aspects is not the aim of all cultures.

One should realize that the UN with its Security Council is dominated by the West, which is unhealthy for the real international acceptance of the UN by all nations and populations.

Lastly, that great efforts have to be done in both the Western and the Arab and Muslim cultures to develop further understanding to the other culture. This goes along with thinking global, learning languages and simply looking over the borders of one owns country and region. Curiosity has to be created to learn about the other and to always question the correctness of his own position.

By this, civil societies get more knowledgeable, more tolerant and accordingly may cope easier with phenomena of terrorism.

EXTREMIST POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE WEST FUEL HATRED AND CLASHES WITH OTHERS

Paul Findley

On October 6, 2002, a nationwide, popular television program, "60 Minutes," aired an interview with a man who spoke about his views on Islam and Muslims with a level of hatred that stunned and disgusted millions of Americans. At the same time, his point of view was welcomed by millions of Americans who believe that Islam and Muslims are integral part to an event they believe is crucial to their future.

"I think Mohammed was a terrorist. I read enough...by both Muslims and non-Muslims, [to decide] that he was a violent man, a man of war," the Reverend Jerry Falwell, a televangelist with millions of followers, told "60 Minutes." "Jesus set the example for love, as did Moses," Falwell said. "I think Mohammed set an opposite example."

Isn't Reverend Falwell a Christian? Isn't he supposed to try and bring peace to the world by teaching the message of Jesus Christ? Didn't he know that his statements would not only enrage Muslims, but also people of all faiths who strive for a more peaceful and cooperative world for themselves and their neighbors?

It is clear that creating tension and division between Christians and the Islamic world is exactly what Jerry Falwell and leaders of certain Christian groups seek. They are trying to sow the seeds of hate against Islam for their own personal purposes-perhaps even their perceived salvation- and they are hijacking the U.S. political system to put their preaching into practice.

Take for example, the statements of Franklin Graham, son of the widely-revered U.S. Christian evangelist Billy Graham. At first

glance, Franklin Graham's activities seem noble but there is more to him than meets the eye. Graham is president of the international relief organization, Samaritan Purse, which has given aid to people in need around the world, including Muslims. However, a series of statements he has made about Islam call into question his sincerity.

Graham has called Islam an "evil and wicked religion." In an editorial piece he wrote for *The Wall Street Journal* in December of 2001, Graham said, "The persecution or elimination of non-Muslims has been a cornerstone of Islamic conquests and rule for centuries. The Qur'an provides ample evidence that Islam encourages violence in order to reach the ultimate goal of an Islamic world."

In the months after 9/11, Graham called upon Muslims and Islamic organizations to contribute to the rebuilding of lower Manhattan and to compensate victims' families. It was as if he was blaming Islam for the actions of a group of berserk murderers.

A couple of years later, Graham continued his invectives of hate against Islam and Muslims.

"I believe the Qur'an teaches violence, not peace," he said in a November 2003 article, "Franklin Graham's Crusade," written by Deborah Caldwell of beliefnet.com. "There was this hoorah around Islam being a peaceful religion - but then you start having suicide bombers, and people start saying, 'Wait a minute, something doesn't add up here.'" I found similar themes in my home community in mid-America. A physician I know well as a thoughtful man, told me, "I usually sympathize with the Palestinians, but when I read that suicide bombers kill innocent Israelis indiscriminately, I am outraged."

What does add up here are the results of a poll carried out by Genesis Research in the summer of 2004. Out of 1,000 respondents, it found that 26 percent of Americans said Islam taught violence and hatred, while 27 percent said Muslims valued human life less than other people.

With results like these, there is little doubt that Graham and Falwell, along with others, are having an effect on the way Americans view Islam. When, in 1998, I began writing my book, *Silent No More: Confronting America's False Images of Islam*, I had already concluded that

ugly stereotypes about Islam were already an immense challenge. They are a major roadblock to the reform of U.S. policies in the Middle East. My book was published just weeks before 9/11, a catastrophe that immediately intensified the false images.

The reasons why many U.S.-based groups mix hatred, politics and religion will be discussed in the coming pages. For a better understanding of the emergence of organizations that use hateful rhetoric in the United States, a brief overview of their history is necessary.

Efforts at promoting hatred against others are not a new phenomenon in the United States. According to a 2002 article by Joseph A. Schafer in *the Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, called "Spinning the Web of Hate: Web-Based Hate Propagation by Extremist Organizations," efforts to discriminate under the guise of religion has been happening since the earliest colonial settlements.

"Although many of the first European settlers were fleeing religious persecution, these colonists were guilty of making organized efforts to suppress the expansion of other religious beliefs. In some colonies legislation imposed fines on persons found practicing faiths deemed to be unacceptable," the article says.

The article explains that before the Civil War, conspiracy theories suggested that Catholic immigration (the United States was overwhelmingly Protestant during the time) from Europe was actually an attempt by the Pope to take over the United States. After the abolition of slavery, "Jim Crow" laws were created in many southern states to prevent freed slaves from getting equal opportunities to the whites. Later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, laws were passed to deny entry to immigrants, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration Act of 1924 that curtailed European immigration.

Discriminatory legislation such as this, often enacted in the name of religion, was often preceded and accompanied by violence against immigrant populations. Violence and discrimination against Americans of direct African descent is well documented, as is discrimination against early Catholic immigrants and the same goes for immigrants from Asia.

In many instances, Christian scripture was interpreted to justify ha-

tred by citing passages from the Bible. According to the online Chronicle on the History of Slavery and Racism, compiled by Eddie Becker, widespread movements in the southern United States claimed the racial superiority of whites through scriptural interpretation.

"In hundreds of pamphlets, written from 1836 to 1866, Southern slaveholders were provided a host of religious reasons to justify the social caste they had created. In their quest to justify black slavery, southerners looked to the story of Noah's curse over his son Ham." In Genesis 9:25, Noah curses Ham and his son, Canaan, by saying the "lowest of slaves shall be his brothers." At the time, many southern Christians believed Canaan settled in Africa and his descendents were Africans, and therefore slaves. It should be noted that during this period and later, discrimination against Jews was endemic. They were often excluded from social activity and club memberships, usually by discriminatory "gentlemen's agreements," practices I encountered during my campaigns for election to Congress.

Interpretations of religious scriptures to justify an ideology didn't end with the Civil War, slavery, or during the period of time when laws were passed against immigration. To this day, movements that use religion as a justification for their ideologies are a strong force in United States politics. While in the past justification of hatred through religious interpretation was used as leverage in domestic affairs, it now stretches into the sphere of U.S. foreign policy.

Nowhere is this more evident today than in the movement headed by Christian religious leaders like Jerry Falwell. His comments on "60 Minutes" reveal the ideology that ties the fate of the United States with Israel for purposes of religious salvation.

In the September of 2004, veteran American journalist Bill Moyers tackled this controversial issue in a speech he gave at the Society of Professional Journalists in New York City. In it, he warned that the U.S. presidential election could be determined by "fundamentalist Christians" who believe in the Rapture Index, a system developed by fundamentalist Christians through prophetic interpretations that claims to be a measure of when the world will end.

"These true believers subscribe to a fantastical theology concocted in the 19th century by a couple of immigrant preachers who took disparate passages from the Bible and wove them into a narrative millions of people believe to be literally true," Moyers said.

An integral part of this narrative is Israel and its relation to the second coming of Christ. According to Moyers, these Christians believe Jesus will return to earth when Israel is established as a state, when it occupies its 'biblical lands,' and when the third temple is rebuilt on the site of the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque. All of this comes to a head when the armies of the Antichrist attack Israel.

In this version of the second coming of Christ, Islam is linked with the Antichrist. It is no surprise then, that major televangelist Pat Robertson said on his "700 Club" show a year after 9/11, "If you get right down to it, Osama bin Laden is probably truer to Mohammed than some of the others."

In light of statements like Robertson's, Moyers explained that war is an essential means to an end for these Christians.

"A war with Islam in the Middle East is not something to be feared but welcomed; if there's a conflagration there, they come out winners on the far side of tribulation, inside the pearly gates, in celestial splendor, supping on ambrosia to the accompaniment of harps plucked by angels," Moyers said. "That's why they have declared solidarity with Israel and the Jewish settlements and backed up their support with money and volunteers."

Unfortunately, the Christians who believe in this prophecy are not a small, isolated and politically inactive group. According to statistics cited by British columnist George Monbiot in an April 20, 2004 article in The Guardian, "Their beliefs are bonkers, but they are at the heart of power." Their power is more widespread than many believe.

Some estimates put churches and adherents who agree with these teachings at 15-18 percent of the U.S. electorate and a 1999 survey revealed that 33 percent of Republicans subscribe to these beliefs. Some place their total number in excess of sixty million. Their political clout is clearly evident in an incident that took place in 2002 during the Israeli siege of Jenin in the West Bank.

"They batter down the doors of the White House as soon as its support of Israel wavers: when Bush asked Ariel Sharon to pull his tanks out of Jenin in 2002, he received 100,000 angry emails from Christian fundamentalists and never mentioned the matter again," Monbiot said.

While Monbiot and Moyers refer to this religious voting block as "fundamentalist Christians," author Charles E. Carlson calls them "Judaized Christians." In his September 16, 2004 article, "Why Judaized Christians Are Re-electing George Bush," Carlson said these Christians are a mass 20 times the size of either the Jewish or Muslim vote in the United States. According to Carlson, this group's leaders, such as Falwell and Robertson, teach their followers that eternal salvation with Jesus will come by demonstrating their love for Israel. Basically, this is the only block of American voters who will vote in the interest of a foreign power. These Christians are even more disciplined in their voting for candidates pledged to Israel than U.S. Jews.

"Judaized Christians have also been carefully tutored to think it is OK with Jesus that they hate Muslims. 'Hatred' is not too strong a word, but is totally alien to what Jesus teaches. This makes Judaized Christianity an oxymoron that makes no more sense to a logical mind than would a 'friendly assault' or a 'loving war,'" Carlson said.

Regrettably, groups that embody such a religious oxymoron are prevalent in the American political and social landscapes. The virulently pro-Israel Christian groups use biblical interpretations to justify a hatred of Islam, while other groups in the United States find ways to manipulate religious ideology to promote hatred of others because of their skin color, ethnic background, or religious persuasion.

Although the combined size of these groups is far smaller in adherents than the combined size of pro-Israel Christians, their impact on the societies in which they live can be deleterious. For example, take the life of a religious leader who passed away at the age of 86 on September 8, 2004 in the small town of Hayden, Idaho.

Like Falwell and Robertson, his followers would hang on to every word of his passionate sermons. However, unlike Falwell and Robertson, Richard Butler founded his own sect of Christianity

in 1977 and called it the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. The Church of Jesus Christ Christian may sound harmless enough, but its political action arm was called Aryan Nations.

"Although all of us will take time to reflect and honor this man, we shall continue to build Aryan Nations above and beyond its former glory," said Charles Juba, leader of a Pennsylvania-based splinter group also called Aryan Nations, reflecting on Butler's death. "Pastor Butler was one of the last true racial warriors of his generation."

Charles Juba and his organization are just one of hundreds across the United States that were inspired by Butler. The philosophy of these organizations is called Christian Identity and is based on the hatred of others, primarily African Americans, Jews, and other ethnic and religious minorities.

The FBI's Megiddo Report on domestic terrorism in 1999 describes Christian Identity in detail:

"Christian Identity also believes in the inevitability of the end of the world and the Second Coming of Christ. It is believed that these events are part of a cleansing process that is needed before Christ's kingdom can be established on earth. During this time, Jews and their allies will attempt to destroy the white race using any means available. The result will be a violent and bloody struggle - a war, in effect between God's forces, the white race, and the forces of evil, the Jews and nonwhites."

The most famous hate group associated with Christian Identity is the Ku Klux Klan, the oldest hate organization in the United States.

In some instances, organizations that adhere to Christian Identity encourage their followers to live separately from the general population. However, there have been thousands of incidents where its supporters have resorted to violence.

A Butler supporter named Robert J. Matthews decided to start a race war in the early 1980s by founding the Order. To fund its operations, the Order robbed businesses, including a $3.8 million armored car heist, as well as counterfeited money. While engaged in these criminal activities, the Order also assassinated a Jewish talk show host and bombed a synagogue.

But it didn't stop there. Another Butler supporter named Randy Weaver, made national headlines in 1992 when federal agents attempted to arrest him at his cabin near Naples, Idaho. What turned into an 11-day siege became known as Ruby Ridge. Weaver's wife, son and a federal agent were killed during the ordeal.

Several years later, the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City left over 150 dead and hundreds injured. The man convicted of carrying out the bombing, Timothy McVeigh, later cited Ruby Ridge as one of his motivations to attack a federal target.

Movements associated with the philosophies of Christian Identity are one example of a movement that uses religion to justify its actions. Starting from the 1980s, the emergence of white supremacist Skinhead organizations added another dimension to the fabric of hate groups in the United States. And, like the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations and the Order, many Skinhead organizations look to religion for justification. However, in their case, the religion is called Odinism, a racist version of an ancient Nordic religion called Asatru.

Hate is not limited to white supremacist groups. One of the most notorious hate groups in the United States is the Jewish Defense League (JDL). With an estimated several thousand members, the JDL was founded in 1968 by radical Zionist Rabbi Meir Kahane. Kahane, who was assassinated in New York City in 1990, spoke about the importance of maintaining the purity of the Jewish race. In 1985, Kahane moved to Israel and founded the Kach Movement. Among the movement's goals were the entire removal of the Arab population from Israel and the settlement of all Palestinian lands by Jews.

While the Kahane's Kach Movement was growing in Israel, his JDL was active in the U.S. through the efforts of the late Irv Rubin, who had been the national chairman of the JDL since 1970. Irvin was known for proudly saying, "For every Jew a.22," and "Keep Jews alive with a.45" in reference to common types of guns. The JDL has allegedly been involved in numerous hate-based crimes, many directed at Arab-Americans, but only rarely convicted.

One of the most famous cases was the 1985 bombing of the

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee office in Los Angeles that killed Arab-American activist Alex Odeh. Although the JDL was suspected in Odeh's murder, the culprit was never found.

Rubin showed little remorse for Odeh. "I'm not crying over the death of Alex Odeh," Rubin said, adding sarcastically, "My tear ducts are dry."

Although not convicted in Odeh's murder, the JDL did not get away with a plot to blow up the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City, California, or one to kill Arab-American congressman from California, Darrell Issa. In 2001, the FBI arrested Rubin and Earl Krugel in connection with the plot. Apparently, Rubin did not want to face defeat in trial and killed himself while in detention in November 2002. Shortly after his suicide, Krugel pleaded guilty to federal charges related to the plot.

The actions of the JDL and others run against the notion of the United States as a 'melting pot,' or even a 'mixed salad' of cultures and religions. In fact, the activities and the number of hate groups and white supremacist Skinhead organizations are on the rise according to research from the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Dedicated to eradicating hate groups throughout the United States, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) Intelligence Project publishes an annual report on the activities of hate organizations. In an article published by the SPLC in the spring of 2003 called, "The Year in Hate," the growth in the number of hate groups in the United States was documented.

"As 2003 came to an end, the number of racist Skinhead groups had doubled over the prior year. The neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, despite have lost its Idaho compound, boasted 11 new chapters. A newcomer on the scene, Arkansas-based White Revolution, had grown much more powerful and seemed poised to keep rising. Several new Klan groups had appeared and Klan activity was significant," the report said.

The report documented that the number of Skinhead groups more than doubled from 18 chapters in 2002 to 39 chapters in 2003. Ku Klux Klan groups also saw a significant rise in activity from rallies to cross burnings around the country.

"The Orion [for "our race is our nation"] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Alabama, was started in early 2003 and was highly successful in

building up membership, particularly in Florida," the report said.

Integral to the rise in the number and activities of hate groups is the role of the Internet. According to the report, hate web sites shot up from 443 in 2002 to 497 in 2003, an increase of 12 percent. Since its inception in the mid-1990s, the Internet has proven one of the most useful tools for hate organizations to garner new recruits by spreading their message and posting activities such as rallies on web sites.

One of the earliest and still most active hate-based web sites is called Stormfront. Started in the late 1990s by Donald Black, a Florida computer consultant, Stormfront permits browsers to access essays and speeches by hate groups, post messages on discussion boards, and use chat rooms. According to Joseph A. Schafer in "Spinning the Web of Hate: Web-Based Hate Propagation by Extremist Organizations," Stormfront set the standard for hate-based web sites.

"Stormfront represents the pinnacle application of the Internet as a means to preach hate and extremist ideologies to the general public. Donald Black has defined the genre of using web-based mediums to propagate separatist messages," Schafer said. "In a 1998 appearance on ABC's Nightline, Black explained that his Internet site had allowed him to 'recruit people' who he 'otherwise wouldn't have reached.'"

Before the Internet, hate-based organizations had a limited array of tools at their disposal to spread their message. Schafer said hate groups in the past used print media such as pamphlets and books, AM and short wave radio broadcasts, or television public access channels to perform outreach. Today, this limited scope of outreach is no longer an issue. "A member of the general public who surfs through a web site can hear group leaders proclaim their ideology 24 hours a day, seven days a week," Schafer said.

Perhaps on a level as odious as their messages, hate groups now reach out to young people and even children through their web sites. There is even an entire genre of aggressive rock music that promotes hateful ideologies and the music can be purchased or downloaded from the web sites.

As frightening as this may be, it is nothing new for hate-based groups to perform youth outreach.

"Social movement organizations have long recognized the im-

portance of appealing to youth in order to perpetuate their existence," Schafer said. "In the 1920s, during the height of its existence, the Ku Klux Klan had a children's auxiliary designed to instill the group's values in youth during their formative years."

From the intimidation of minority groups on the domestic front, to despising Islam because it serves a role in a misguided Biblical prophecy overseas, hate manifests itself in multiple ways in the United States. Despite the grim state of hate in America, there are many organizations that seek to wipe out such ideologies. They have their work cut out for them, and these groups are not standing idly by to let hatred, manifested in any form, even in the guise of religion, win the day.

Jerry Falwell's remarks were not well received by millions of Americans of different faiths and ethnic backgrounds. One of the largest Christian organizations in the United States representing 36 different churches and over 50 million members, the National Council of Christian Churches released a statement after Falwell's October 2002 comments about Islam and the Prophet Mohammed.

"We believe Jerry Falwell's words to be not Christian and shockingly uninformed," the statement said. "We, the Executive Board of the National Council of the Churches of Chris in the USA... affirm to our brothers and sisters in Islam that we condemn and repudiate Jerry Falwell's hateful and destructive statement delivered on CBS's '60 Minutes.'"

In addition to Christian organizations, the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) issued statements repudiating Falwell's statements. CAIR is the foremost organization in the United States that tracks and repudiates false statements about Muslims and Islam in both in the news media and by government officials.

Respected newspapers such as *The Boston Globe* took issue in its editorial pages in 2002 with regard to Robertson's hateful statements: "It is that kind of hatred that created the Taliban oppressors in Afghanistan, that ended the life of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl, that led to 'ethnic cleansing' in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, that drove the butchers in the Crusades, and that keeps the violence smoldering in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, and ins so many other war-ravaged

regions. A religion does not create murderers. The twisted human psyche does that when it forgets that the bedrock of all faith is love."

Outside of the media and religious organizations exists a sea of countless organizations across the United States dedicated to stamping out racism, hate and intolerance. Perhaps most prominent among these is the Southern Poverty Law Center which not only informs the public about hate organizations, but also takes them to court. In 2000, the SPLC nearly bankrupted Richard Butler in a lawsuit and shut his organization down for all intensive purposes.

In Idaho, where Butler's Church of Jesus Christ Christian and Aryan Nations was started, some of the most progressive legislation against hate has been passed. The state was also enacted a Martin Luther King Jr.-Human Rights Day and in Boise, the state capital, a memorial to Holocaust victim Anne Frank was inaugurated in 2002. Now, Idaho politicians have adopted the slogan "Idaho, Too Great to Hate."

A slogan such as this would be great for all of America, but it would have to really mean something to those who heard it. It would have to inspire them to reflect on what it means to be an American, as a Christian, Muslim, Jew or any other religious or ideological persuasion.

"If Judaized Christianity can recover from its heresy it will regain its patriotic, pro-American, moral voting patterns that it was known for before Israel became a state in 1948...[Christians], like secular Americans, would then put America's interest first, and they would demand our politicians stop supporting Israel's war agenda," Carlson said in his article titled, "Why Judaized Christians Are Re-Electing George W. Bush."

Let us hope that his wishes will soon come true. Hatred of Islam already corrupts America in both its foreign policy and domestic manifestations. It can be banished only through sustained effort in all activities, public and private. All citizens, not just Muslims, have a stake in bringing it to an end.

PART THREE

ISLAM'S STAND
ON TERRORISM

SOURCES RELATED TO AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF ISLAM AND TERRORISM

Dr. Ralph H. Salmi

Introduction

Much has been written and warnings issued regarding the ideological manipulation of Scripture in political religion[1] as well as Clifford Geertz's concern of the "rising tendency to ideologize faith" as epitomized by the statements of certain radical Muslims in international affairs today[2]. The fact that the Qur'an and Sunnah, the two primary sources of Shari'ah Law can be abused for ideological ends does not negate the possibility that these same scriptures can also be used to achieve positive political goals. The state of affairs that we find ourselves in today is not, of course, religion-specific. In this light, and through the process of interpretation and tradition building, the Qur'an as well as other sacred texts help generate community narratives of potential political consequence. Our task in narrowing our search for those who choose to interpret Scripture as source for legitimizing political violence is, then, further complicated by the necessity of isolating those who interpret scripture to meet their international political aims couched in religious terms. To be certain, all monotheistic scriptures contain a diversity of political ideas- not a single political agenda- and Islam, with its major schisms and sects, is no exception. Our task here is with the role of religion as a key component or variable in analyzing and explaining the

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1 Richard Bauckham, The Bible in Politics, (Louisville: WJKP, 1989):4

2 Clifford Geertz, "Which Way to Mecca? Part II," New York Review of Books, July 3, 2003, p. 36.

current crisis. It will be argued that religion, as expressed from the perspective of the faithful, is inherently subjective thus a key variable in understanding the nature of much of the hostility and political violence that exists today.

Given the literally thousands of religious expressions, sects and cults-all existing because of clearly defined differences in theology, we need to exercise utmost caution when assigning labels, stereotypes and blame on the whole for the minority of whom, for whatever reasons, disengage from mainstream humanity and the underlying principles of their faith. Indeed, religious intolerance-the battle between "right" and "wrong" has been the bane of human existence including the justification for mass murder. No doubt based on their grinding ignorance, the trend among pundits and media observers in the West, particularly in the United States, is to fall victim to the use of generalization and inference when threatened by what they perceive to be a hostile ideology. That is, they reach a conclusion about Sunni Islam based on information that is gleaned from previous invalidated general conclusions. Needless to say, this is a highly problematic assumption of fact when assigning ideological, in this case religious, culpability to a given act or series of acts by an international cadre of individuals who call themselves Muslims.

It is, indeed, a unique situation in contemporary political analysis that the religion of 1.3 billion human beings is held accountable by the American media and political and religious pundits for being responsible for the terrorism of few represented by al-Qa'ida.

Historical overview and sources of conflict

For about thirteen centuries the Western and Islamic worlds have lived side by side. If not locked in combat, they were disengaged in an uneasy peace-yet all the while there was fruitful cultural cross-fertilization between them. Today, we find ourselves in

yet another precarious balance of war or peace with the estimated 1.3 billion Muslims around the world. Despite several decades of positive interaction, opinions of each others' action and intentions continue to be a matter of suspicion if not fear. Formerly close allies have drawn apart and their respective publics continue to espouse highly negative opinions of each other. As we now find ourselves locked in combat with a small percentage of Muslims, the fact remains that our military engagements serve-in the minds of many Muslims-as yet another chapter in the long history of confrontation with the colonial and imperial designs of the West; most expressed through the use of force. Osama Bin Ladin has, in turn, exploited Western presence in the region through repeated references to the Crusades and the vigorous Christian missionary activities (which remain to this day) and which tends to buttress Arab and Muslim hostility and serves as a foundational political variable in defining the philosophy of violence seen today. As noted Middle East scholar John Voll argued as early as 1991:

"...the contemporary Islamic revival is a special response to the particular condition of the late twentieth century and must be seen in the context of the conflicts and challenges of the modern world. At the same time it is also part of the historical experience of renewal with Muslim societies over the centuries. The current experience of Muslim revivalists cannot be separated from the heritage which they reaffirm. Both are important to the contemporary revivalist experience and neither can be ignored if that experience is to be understood[1]."

Muslim public opinion then retains a sense of historical sensitivity to centuries of conflict with the West. Whether from the abuse of the Treaties of Capitulations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[2] to the American-Muslim Filipino wars in the early 1900s

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1 John O. Voll, "The Revivalist Heritage," in Yvonne Y. Haddad, et al., The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 23.

2 Arthur Goldschmidt, The Concise History of the Middle East, 6th ed., (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 125.

which resulted in the massacre of thousands of Muslim Filipino men, women, and children by American troops fresh from the Indian wars in Montana and Wyoming[1]. Contemporary Muslims are easily and quickly politicized when confronted with historical record. Clearly, the history of mankind has not been characterized by love and kindness and it is clearly beyond the breadth and task of this chapter to address the history of indignities suffered by both sides. Indeed, war has been a staple of human existence and al-Qaida is no exception to the rule as was/is the United States' response to 9/11.

"Terrorism" and the Western proclivity for labeling

All too frequently, particularly in the wake of 9/11, political pundits, extreme right wing religious spokesmen and women, media observers and politicians have-through their reckless creation of noun and adjectival suffixes-created a lingua franca of sorts that implies, at minimum, that today's "terrorists," "radicals," "militants," "fundamentalists," and "fanatics" are theologically the direct extension of Islam. That is, the political violence we are confronting is ideologically, in content and form, a direct and sole product of Islamic doctrine. This following is dedicated to addressing the problem of how today's incorrect use of terminology has served to negatively impact and distort our analysis of religio-political violence.

The study of the origin and development of words, their forms and meanings, as well as the corruption of their true meaning, leads us to a discussion of "Islam" and that for which it stands. Few would disagree that both the theological and lexical meaning of Islam is literally "submission to God's will." Those who wish to use Islam as a noun suffix as in "Islamism" or creating, with the "ic" suffix, "Islamic terrorist," "Islamic militant," "Radical Islamist terrorists," etc., an adjective with the meanings, (i.e. "pertaining to"

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1 One such battle was at Bud Dajo, Mindanao which occurred on March 5-6, 1906 in which American records confirm that over 1,000 Mulims Filipinos were killed by the 790 men under the command of Colonel J.W. Duncan.

"connected with" or "the nature of") leads us to one of the fundamental analytical problems associated with defining religio-political violence perpetrated by those who consider themselves Muslims[1].

The uniqueness of this observation is the fact that few if any otherwise "suicide operations"_"terror" or criminal acts committed by Jews or Christians are similarly labeled by the self-professed religion of the perpetrators. For example, the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal office building in Okalahoma city in April 1995 by Timothy McVeigh, a follower of the American Christian Patriot Movement, a white supremacist movement, was not portrayed in the media as the work of a "Christian terrorist." "Christianity" as conceived by radical thinkers in the United States continues to play a key role in the ideological justification for violence as expressed in the policies and platform of the Ku Klux Klan leader Pastor Thom Robb. As pointed out by noted terrorism expert, Bruce Hoffman of the Rand Corporation, the leadership of the Christian Patriot Movement, of which Robb plays a high profile role, is a political and grassroots religious movement and the leaders, many of whom are clergymen, "deliberately flaunt their clerical titles in order to endow their organizations with a theological veneer that condones and justifies violence"[2]. Equally disturbing in Hoffman's analysis, and not dissimilar from the statements of Osama Bin Ladin and the treatise by Nasser bin Hamd Al-Fahd[3] regarding his widely criticized theological justification for the killing of innocent civilians

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1 Similarly, as a noun suffix "ism" is defined as a distinctive theory, doctrine, or system or as a suffix of action. Similarly, "ian" is a suffix for nouns and adjectives. associated with defining religio-political violence perpetrated by those who consider themselves Muslims.

2 Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 105

3 See underground paper by Nasir bin Hamd Al-Fahd, titled "A Treatise on the Legal Status of using Weapons of Mass Destruction Against Infidels," dated Rabi'i 1424 [May 2003]. This is an extremely important work as it draws on all four of the major Sunni Madhhabs for justification on the use of WMD against non-Muslims including the innocent.

and the permissibility of the use of weapons of mass destruction, is the view that the "Christian Patriots do not appear to recognize any of the political, moral or practical considerations that constrain most other terrorist groups from causing mass death and destruction."[1] As Hoffman correctly observes:

"There are, in fact, striking parallels between these groups and religiously motivated Islamic Shi'a and messianic Jewish fanatics in the Middle East. All these groups transform abstract political ideologies and objectives into a religious imperative. Violence is not only sanctioned, it is divinely decreed. The killing of persons described as 'infidels' by the Shi'a, 'dogs' by the Jews or 'children of Satan' by the Christian patriots becomes a sacramental act[2]."

Furthermore, and keyed to our discussion on the selective use of religious labels, it is significant that "Jew" "Jewish" or "Judaic" did not preface the name of Baruch Goldstein, an American-born, ultra-nationalist, orthodox Jew who indiscriminately fired 119 rounds from his M-16 assault rife into a group of Muslims who lay prostrate during their early morning prayers, killing twenty-nine and wounding 150. Not unlike Osama Bin Ladin's preconceived notion as serving as the vanguard for the defense of Islam, Goldstein, too, had sought to place himself in the vanguard of the actualization of the Jew's destiny.

As much has been chronicled about "Islamic suicide attacks," little has been written about non-Muslim religious extremism such as the reports from the West Bank settlement of Tapuah, whose rabbi argued that "Suicide during wartime is permissible for the sake of the victory of Israel.[3] Not dissimilar to the act of Baruch Goldstein who knew that walking into the mosque and firing indiscriminately into the crowd of Muslim worshippers would certainly result in his death, which it did, the West Bank rabbi, advocating Jewish "self-

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1 Hoffman, supra 115
2 Hoffman, 115.
3 Hoffman, supra, 114.

martyrdom," writes that "a man who volunteers for such operations will be called a hero and martyr."[1] Surprising for many, Goldstein's "martyrdom" is celebrated in the form of his grave now serving as a shrine, guarded over and revered by the religious nationalists who share his intense animus towards the secular Israeli government and its stated policy of turning over to the Palestinians the biblical lands that God gave to the Jewish people as found in Scripture, namely Genesis, and Deuteronomy. The Scriptural verses that are frequently cited for some Judaic religious claims to the land are:

"And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it." (Genesis 15:7)

And he said unto Abram [Abraham], Know of surety that they seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not their's, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years...(Genesis 15.13)

In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt Nile unto the great river, the river Euphrates... (Genesis 15:18), and

And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar, and the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I aware unto Abraham, unto Issac, and unto Jacob saying, I will give it unto they seed... (Deuteronomy, 34:1-4)[2].

The purpose here is not to enter into a debate over the theological justifications for action as interpreted by some, as there

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1 Note the use of "martyrdom" as opposed to "suicide" the latter of which is most frequently assigned by Western observers to similar Muslim operations. The use of "suicide" implies that a mental disorder not the more honorable self-sacrifice for one who dies, suffers, or sacrifices everything for a principle, cause or religion.
2 Citations drawn from The Holy Bible ,(The Complete Text of the Authorized King James Version) (Chicago: Consolidate Book Publishers, 1958).

are as many thoughts on the subject as there are believers, but rather underscore the fact that Scripture interpreted by religious extremists can and is used by Christians, Jews, Hindus and Muslims to justify the most horrendous forms of violence. Radical Muslims do not have a monopoly on faith based violence and as such, Islam as a doctrine should not be indicted for the actions of a few anymore than Christianity and Judaism should be considered as being culpable for the actions of Timothy McVeigh and Baruch Goldstein. Clearly, these are obdurate religio-political views which are backed if not encouraged by clerical declarations. They are not nor should they be seen as the products of a single religion, thus, over-generalization should be avoided at all costs.

Prior to our turning to organized religion in the United States as yet another source for sustaining the perception of "terrorism-is-Islamic," an example of Arab Muslim scholarship focusing not only on the existence of but a rigorous analytical framework for defining religious "extremism," is a useful departure point in terms of setting comparative values of religiosity.

The "extremism" debate in Muslim societies

The relationship between terminological ambiguity and hostility has been an important topic of discussion among Muslims as it relates to the question of religious extremes and is relevant to our discussion regarding the inappropriateness of language used in the West as it relates to Islam.

Muslims have long debated the subject and as Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328) a noted scholar in Qur'anic exegesis and legal theory pointed out, "Many of the disputes among people are due to unclear words and ambiguous meanings. It gets to the point that one can find two people arguing and disputing over the meaning of a word or denying its implication while, if each were asked the meaning of the words they were saying, they have no clear perception of them, not to speak of what the

words actually indicate"[1]. Islamic terminology, then, and the debate that surrounds it is further refined by making distinctions between the "Shari'ah meaning" and the "terminological meaning." The former comes from God and the latter is determined by groups of scholars specialized in various fields of Islamic Law. Where is the American analysis of this debate, particularly as it relates to terrorism? Where are the American contributions regarding the necessary lexical and linguistic distinctions on topics dealing specifically with terminological ambiguities and abuses as they relate to extremism? Why haven't we seen these distinctions being made when the use of "Islamic terrorism" is so freely and routinely used?

Orthodoxy and religious extremism

The word orthodoxy, from the Greek ortho ('right', 'correct') and dox ('thought', 'teaching') finds expression in all three of the major monotheistic faiths. For example, within Christianity numerous "orthodox" churches find expression with different Patriarchal seats in Cairo, Damascus, Addis Ababa, Istanbul, Alexandria, Jerusalem. They differ with respect to their liturgical languages by using Armenian, Arabic, Geez, Syriac, Greek and Coptic. Judaism, too, has several branches of orthodoxy. For example groups with origins in Poland (Hasidism, Chabad-Lubavich and the Aguddat Israel, a coalition of right-wing traditionalists); Lithuania (Misnagdim, the Musar Movment, and the American "Centrist" or "modern" Orthodoxy) continue to thrive along with the Religious Zionism Movement of radical Rabbi A.I. Kook, Messianic Zionism of the extremist groups Gush Emunim and Kahana. In addition, Jewish Orthodoxy finds expression in Sepharadic Orthodoxy, Anti-Zionist groups and Lithuanian anti-Zionist groups[2].

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1 As cited in Abdul Rahmaan ibn Mualaa al-Luwaihiq al-Mutairi, Religious Extremis in the Lives of Contemporary Muslims, trans. Jamaal al-Din M. Zarabozo. (Denver: Al-Basheer, 2001), 56.

2 Orthodox Judaism focuses on a strict adherence to what it sees as the correct interpretation of the Oral Torah thus their claim to the word orthodox, as with other orthodoxies, are used to differentiate themselves from other, 'heretical' movements.

As extremism is traceable or finds its roots in religious ortho-
doxy which in turn is predicated on the notion of the correct obser-
vance of religion, Muslims, as alluded to above, have grappled
with the problem for centuries. Central to the message of today's
Muslim terrorists, and their supporting staff of clerics, is the posi-
tion that those who deviate from Islamic orthodoxy (as they define
it) by professing a doctrine considered to be false, are, by defini-
tion, heretics. Thus, as is clearly demonstrated by the overwhelm-
ing percentage of Muslims worldwide who vehemently object to
the activities and tactics of Osama Bin Ladin, the notion of being
labeled a heretic is also a blatant manipulation and misrepresenta-
tion of Scripture. Nevertheless, as Sunni Islam does not embrace
the idea of a religious hierarchy, virtually anyone who has present-
ed a platform of action against perceived political or religious in-
justices can issue a religious ruling or fatwa. Drawing on the words
of Osama Bin Ladin in his September 2, 1996 treatise titled the
"Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land
of the Two Holy Mosques; Expel the Heretics From the Arabian
Peninsula"[1], we see clear examples of the manipulation of political
and religious messages in the following excerpted passages:

"You are aware of the injustice, repression, and aggression that
have befallen Muslims through the alliance of Jews, Christians, and
their agents, so much so that Muslims' blood has become the
cheapest blood and their money and wealth are plundered by the
enemies." And,

"Upholding temporal laws and supporting heretics against Muslims
are prohibited in Islam, as the ulema have ruled. God said "whoever
does not rule by god's law is a heretic," and He said: "but no, by the
Lord, they can have no (real) faith until they make thee judge in all dis-
putes between them, and find in their souls no resistance against thy
decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction."

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1 London, al-Islah, September 2, 1996,cited in FBIs Report, "Compilation of
  Osama Bin Ladin Statements 1994-January 2004. (January 2004).

It becomes readily apparent that Osama Bin Ladin represents, through his manipulation of Scripture, a not uncommon example of a long history of internal theological battles and schisms that have taken place in all major religions. Modern Islamic history is replete with examples of political struggles couched in religious, "Islamic" terms.

Today's politically violent Sunni groups draw in part on the theological observations of Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) who focused on, among other things, the role of Shari'ah governance (al-siyasa al-shari'yya) and the role of religion in the affairs of state and the ruler's responsibilities in the Islamic state. With the advent of European imperialism Muslim scholars responded in both secular and sectarian terms. Among those were Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) widely considered to be the father of modern Muslim nationalism, proponent of pan-Islam, and the main inspiration for the reform movement in Islam[1]. Following al-Afghani were such notables as Shaykh Muhmmad Abduh (1849-1905) who was considered by many as the founder of the modernist school in Islam.[2] Following Afghani and Abduh, Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) became a central figure in terms of creating a distinctly religio-political alternative to early twentieth century Muslim affairs. Al-Banna, a deeply religious man, was responsible for the establishment of the Ikhwan al-Muslimin or Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 which soon became one of the best organized and largest of the political groups in Egypt.[3] Al-Banna preached a return to the primary sources of Islam (Qur'an and Sunnah) and a rejection of Western influences. Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) followed al-Banna as, perhaps, the most influential of Muslim Brotherhood activists for setting the stage

1 For a comprehensive treatment of al-Afghani see Nikki R. Kiddi, ed., An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamil al-Din al-Afghani, trans. and ed. Nikki R. Keddi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

2 See for example, The Theology of Unity, trans. Ishaq Musa'ad and Kenneth Cragg (London: Geore allen Unwin, 1966).

3 For one of the most authoritative works on the Muslim Brotherhood, see Richard P. Mitchell, The Society of Muslim Brothers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

for today's religio-political violence and the theological legitimacy for undertaking the "aggressive Jihad" against non-believers. A prolific writer, two of his most important works are Milestones which underscores the importance of Jihad (Chapter 4) and Social Justice in Islam published in 1939. Qutb's works have served as both the philosophical and theological foundation and cell structure organization of several today's radical jihadi groups including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad of Ayman Zawahiri, HAMAS, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Gama'a Islamiyya. While the Brotherhood philosophy was spreading in the greater Middle East, Abu-l-Ala Mawdudi (1903-1979) became the voice of Islamic political dissent in the Asian subcontinent and was responsible in 1941 for establishing the Jama'at-i-Islami (The Islamic Association), currently the largest Islamic political party in Pakistan.[1]

Contemporary Western discourse often focuses on "Salafi/ Wahhabism" as one of, if not the source of contemporary terrorism, thus this assertion deserves our attention. The "Salafi/Wahhabi sect" construct is further complicated when the Hanbali madhab (Sunni legal school) is used to further define the "radical" religio-political philosophy of the "Wahhabis." When the question of this "sect" is associated with or is the source of today's "terrorism," obvious and important challenges to these false assumptions are worthy of note. Dr. Ingrid Mattson, Professor of Islamic Studies, Hartford Seminary addresses this question as follows:

"This is not a sect. It is the name of a reform movement that began 200 years ago. It is the name of a reform movement to rid Islamic societies of cultural practices and rigid interpretation that had been acquired over the centuries. Because the Wahhabi scholars become integrated into the Saudi state, there has been some difficulty keeping that particular interpretation of religion from being enforced too broadly on the population as a whole. However, the Saudi scholars who are Wahhabi have denounced terrorism and denounced in particular the acts of September 11."[2]

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1 For an excellent overview of the life and work of Mawdudi, see John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito, eds., Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 94-97, 252-260.
2 CNN interview, October 18, 2001. CNN Web page.

Furthermore, and according to prevailing wisdom and scholarship, the study and critical analysis of Mohammed bin Abd al-Wahhab's personal correspondence suggests that his opponents created the otherwise offensive terms "Wahhabi" or "Wahhabiyyah" thus suggesting that any who agreed with the ouster of foreign elements on the Arab peninsula were practicing a blind following of a single Shaikh. His opponents then, as some do today, refer to Abd al-Wahhab and his followers as simple heretics, nothing more. Again, the fact that fifteen of the nineteen 9/11 al-Qa'ida operatives were of Saudi background does not and should not render "Wahhabism" as a doctrine of religio-political violence[1].

Drawing on the above, there is a clear and discernible history of Muslim religio-political thought which underscores the basic theme here that a wide variety and complex system of theological interpretations are not only evident but that they also represent, in political terms, the highly diversified international society of Muslims.

Addressing "Islamic extremism"

What is "Islamic extremism"? What are the Islamic/Arabic theological terms and concepts that are useful when addressing the question of Muslim extremism and radicalism? What is it that American pundits and analysts are missing in their various and varied interpretations of "Islamic terrorism"?

A recent landmark study on the question of religious extremism in the Muslim world by Abdul Rahamaan ibn Mualaa al-Luwaihiq al-Mutairi, a professor of religion at Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic

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1 In the most comprehensive study of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's interpretation of jihad ever written, DeLong-Bas details a vision in which jihad is strictly limited to the self-defense of the Muslim community against military aggression. Modern extremists do not have their origins in Wahhabism, she shows. The focus on the cult of martyrdom, the division of the world into two necessarily opposing spheres, the destruction of both civilian life and property, and the call for global jihad are entirely absent from Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's writings. Instead, the militant stance of contemporary Jihadism lies in adherence to the writings of the medieval scholar, Ibn Taymiyya, and the twentieth-century Egyptian activist Sayyid Qutb.

University in Riyadh, outlines with great detail the complex array of "extremisms" existing in contemporary Muslim societies. Central to our discussion and key to understanding the lack of analytical rigor in Western scholarship, is the meaning of "extremism" according to the Qur'an and Sunnah, the primary sources of Shari'ah law. Al-Mutairi points out that Muslims can and do differ in their level of response to their religion and the requirements of following on the "correct path." He notes that these variations in approach are:

"There are those who adhere to the truth and remain steadfast along its path;

There are those who become very negligent and lackadaisical, not coming up to the limits set by Allah, and

There are those who go to the extreme, about and beyond the limits set by Allah."[1]

Scriptural passages from the Qur'an and Sunnah as well as clerical passages from noted Muslim theologians are provided in support of the notion that Muslims are, indeed, commanded to remain in the "straight path" and avoid extremism. In this light, it is helpful to again draw on the work of al-Mutairi's classificatory schema of Arabic terms related to religious extremism. The key Arabic terms and concepts used in the discussion of extremism are as follows.

Al-ghulu, which, when translated, is defined as "he acted, or behaved, with forced hardness, or strictness or rigor, in religion, so that he exceeded the proper due, or, common limit".[2]

Al-tatarruf or "radicalism" is defined as on "the limit or edge of something." The meaning here focuses on "to be on the extreme side, hold an extreme viewpoint or position, go to extremes, be radical, have radical views going beyond the limits of justice, denying

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23 Abdul Rahmaan ibn Mualaa al-Luwaihiq al-Mutairi, Religious Extremism in the Live of Contemporary Muslims, trans. Jamaal al-Din M. Zarabozo (Boulder: AlBasheer, 2001), 68.

24 Al-Mutairi's translator, Zarabozo, relies here on the work of Edward Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon (Cambrdige: The Islamic Texts Society, 1984), 2287.

the existence of a moderate position[1].

Al-Tanatta, meaning something spread out, expanded and smooth. According to al-Mutairi, "it comes from having an extremely strong voice."[2]

Al-Tashaddud, the root of which gives the meaning of strength, rigidity and inflexibility or, "He acted, or behaved, with forced hardness, firmness, strength, vigor, hardiness, courage, vehemence, severity, strictness, or rigor; he exerted his strength, force, or energy; strained, or strained himself, or tasked himself severely."[3]

Al-Unf, is defined as "being the opposite of softness; one who is stern or mean in his speech"[4]

Al-Mutairi's sums up his discussion of these important words and concepts by suggesting that there is a close similarity between al-ghulu (extremism) and al-tatarruf (radicalism) that they might be used interchangeably even though the latter is a more of a general term. Noting that all the words listed "...have been mentioned in the texts of the Shari'ah," he continues with his analysis and characterization of the religious extremist as follows:

"As for the remaining words, al-tanatta', al-tashaddud and al-unf, these are simply tantamount to attributes and expressions of extremism (al-ghulu):

The extremist is characterized by taking to his religion in a very strict and severe manner (al-tashaddud).

He is also characterized, in his relations with others, by harshness and incivility (al-unf).

He is also characterized by going deeply and beyond the needed limit when it comes to the actions of the religion."[5]

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1 Zarabozo, supra, relies here on J.M. Cowan, eds., Arabic-English Dictionary: the Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Ithaca: Spoken Language Serves, Inc. 1994), 652.

2 Al-Mutairi, supra, 66.

3 Zarabozo, supra, relies on Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, p. 1518.

4 Al-Mutairi, supra, 67.

5 Al-Mutairi, 67.

Al-Mutairi's study underscores the importance of language but also goes far beyond mere terminological usages by focusing on and identifying a wide range of extremist tendencies that are forbidden in Islam. For example, when related to the question of extremism the issue of joining groups is underscored with reference to a specific admonition found in the Hadith literature which states

_"Whoever fights under a banner of uncertainty [blindly, not knowing whether its cause is justifiable or not, but fights and] has animosity simply due to partisanship, out of calling to a group or to support a group and is then killed, he is killed in the manner of the Days of Ignorance."[1]

Drawing on al-Mutairi's fourteen-point summary conclusion (Chapter 5) and his sixteen "Recommendations" for solving the extremism problem in Muslim society, we find a particularly noteworthy observation in which he states: "Solving the extremism problem is a commonly felt concern for all strata of society, starting from the rulers and ending with the extremists or those accused of extremism."[2] He continues, "Therefore, I see that the greatest and closest means to put an end to the problem of extremism is by removing the sources of their grievances and striking at its root. This is particularly true since many of the circumstances that the extremists are demanding to be changed are, in fact, definitely wrong [and need to be changed]."[3]

Having attempted to set a framework of the complexity of the internal Sunni Muslim debate on the question of religio-political violence and addressing some of terminological ambiguities inherent in the discussion of Muslim political violence and how that debate is rarely addressed in the Western media, we turn to a discussion of the role of Christianity and its role in complicating American attempts to understand "Islamic terrorism"
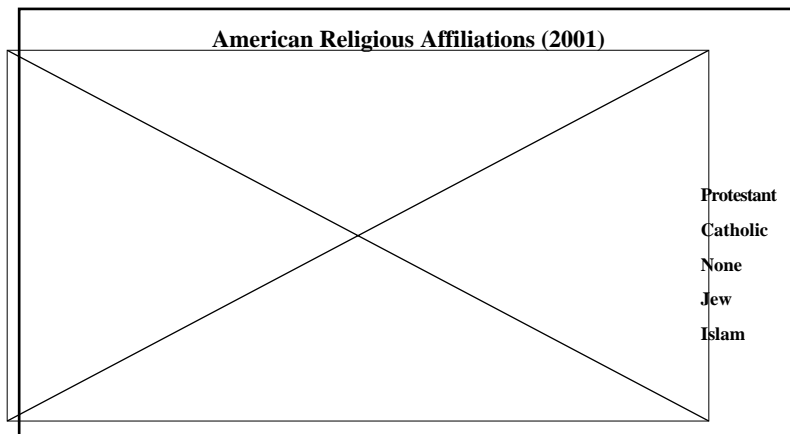
1 Al-Mutairi, 215
2 Al-Mutairi, 587.
3 Al-Mutairi, 596.

The role of the American Christian community and religious intolerance

As the chart below depicts, the overwhelming majority of American Christians (fifty-two percent) identify with the various Protestant theologies. It is within the Protestant movement that a narrow slice of highly vocal and bigoted individuals preach their distortions and hatred of Islam to their respective congregations and it is to this minority that we turn.

American Religious Affiliations (2001)

Protestant

Catholic

None

Jew

Islam

As "Islamic fundamentalism" is one of the monikers used to paint broad-brush analytical strokes for politically dissident or "terrorist Muslims," it is important to note that the term traces it roots to the United States Protestant movement and not to Islam. Taking its name from The Fundamentals (1910-1915), a twelve-volume set of essays designed to combat Liberal theology, the movement grew by leaps and bounds after World War I. Moreover, it stands to reason, despite the definition that is about to follow, that to associate an individual who believes in the fundamentals of his faith with violence is yet, again, further evidence of the poverty in analytical language used in the West. Do not religiously minded Americans believe in the fundamentals of their faith? Are they then not fundamentalists?

Since the 1940s, the term Christian fundamentalist has come to denote a particularly aggressive style related to the conviction that the separation from cultural decadence and apostate (read liberal) churches are telling marks of faithfulness to Christ. Most self-described fundamentalist churches today are conservative, separatist Baptist (though often calling themselves "Bible Baptist" or simply "Bible" churches) congregations such as the churches of the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches (GARBC), or the Independent Fundamental Churches of America (IFCA). Institutions associated with this movement would include Bob Jones University (Greenville, SC) and Tennessee Temple (Chatanooga); representative publications would be The Sword of the Lord and The Biblical Evangelist.

As suggested above, "Fundamentalist" is a term that has been relegated as definitive of or at minimum associative with radical Muslim activities. Until the Khomeini-led Iranian revolution in 1979 the term had been used in the U.S. as describing anyone who held some sort of traditional religious or orthodox belief; whether a Bible Baptist TV preacher, a Hasidic rabbi, a Mormon housewife, or a Muslim. Most would agree that the term has become virtually useless when used within the North American religious context. Fundamentalism was a movement that arose in the late 19th and early 20th centuries within American Protestantism reacting against "modernist" theology and Biblical criticism as well as changes in the nation's cultural and social scene. Within this otherwise conservative genre of Christian theologians a few stand out as having a particularly important role relative to (1) their message relative to Islam, and (2) the size of their congregations.

The term "Evangelicalism" is a wide-reaching definitional "canopy" that covers a diverse number of Protestant groups. The term originates in the Greek word evangelion, meaning "the good news," or, more commonly, the "gospel." During the Reformation, Martin Luther adapted the term, dubbing his breakaway movement the evangelische kirke, or "evangelical church"-a name still gener-

ally applied to the Lutheran Church in Germany. In the English-speaking world, however, the modern usage usually connotes the religious movements and denominations which sprung forth from a series of revivals that swept the North Atlantic Anglo-American world in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1] "Evangelical" then denotes a style as much as a set of beliefs. As a result, groups as disparate as black Baptists and Dutch Reformed Churches, Mennonites and Pentecostals, Catholic charismatics and Southern Baptists all come under the evangelical umbrella thus demonstrating just how diverse the movement really is.

Conservative Christian clerics, under the direction of the their respective congregational hierarchies, generally teach that believers are "saved" or "born again" when they repent of their sins and trust Jesus as Lord and Savior. Some denominations teach that, at the time that they area saved, or slightly later, the believer will be "baptized of the Holy Spirit." For some, one automatic manifestation of this baptism is the gift of speaking in tongues also known as glossolalia.[2] Speaking in tongues forms a major part of Charismatic and Pentecostal Christian life. As pointed out at Religious-Tolerance.org internet web page, there is a common belief among Pentecostals, Charismatics, and some other Christians the Holy Spirit, within the believer, uses glossolalia as a method of talking to God the Father in heaven. i.e. two Persons of the Trinity communicate through the believer. Some support this concept with the text of Romans 8:26 which states that the Holy Spirit makes intercessions for the faithful with God with a form of groaning that words cannot express.[3]

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1 The above attributed to the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois at www.wheaton.edu.

2 For a broader treatment of the above see, www.ReligiousTolerance.org.

3 The "groanings" phrase may mean that these intercessions cannot be spoken in the words of a human language, but only when the individual is in a state of religious ecstasy and speaking in the language of God. See, www.ReligiousTolerance.org, supra.

One of the leading anti-Islamic spokesmen in the Pentecostal world of theology is Pat Robertson. Robertson is the President and CEO of one of the largest international Christian broadcast and publishing enterprises in the world. He regularly uses his Christian Broadcasting Network and "700 Club" to impart highly inflammatory and fundamentally incorrect aspersions about Islam to his millions of viewers.[1] The following represents a selection of his comments drawn from his numerous and often bigoted perspective of the non-Pentecostal world.

As a presidential candidate:

"When I said during my presidential bid that I would only bring Christians and Jews into the government, I hit a firestorm. `What do you mean?' the media challenged me. You're not going to bring atheists into the government? How dare you maintain that those who believe in the Judeo Christian values are better qualified to govern America than Hindus and Muslims?' My simple answer is, `Yes, they are.'" (Pat Robertson's "The New World Order," page 218. Dallas: World Press, 1991)

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1 The 700 Club is a live television program that airs weekdays before a studio audience from The Christian Broadcasting Network's (CBN) broadcast facilities in Virginia Beach, Virginia. On the air continuously since 1966, it is one of the longest-running programs in broadcast history. Hosted by Pat Robertson, Terry Meeuwsen, Lisa Ryan, Gordon Robertson, and Kristi Watts, with news anchor Lee Webb, The 700 Club is a mix of news and commentary, interviews, feature stories, and Christian ministry. Seen in 95 percent of the television markets across the United States, the program is carried on ABC Family Channel cable network, FamilyNet, Trinity Broadcasting Network, and numerous U.S. television stations, and is seen daily by approximately one million viewers. CBN World Reach broadcasts, which include the international edition of The 700 Club, have been translated into more than 70 foreign languages, can be seen in more than 200 countries, and are accessible throughout the year by more than 1.5 billion people around the world. //source: www.cbn.com/700dub/

On the United States Constitution:

"The Constitution of the United States, for instance, is a marvelous document for self-government by the Christian people. But the minute you turn the document into the hands of non-Christian people and atheistic people they can use it to destroy the very foundation of our society. And that's what's been happening." (Pat Robertson, The 700 Club, December. 30, 1981.)

On inter-faith dialogue:

"You say you're supposed to be nice to the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians and the Methodists and this, that, and the other thing. Nonsense. I don't have to be nice to the spirit of the Antichrist. I can love the people who hold false opinions but I don't have to be nice to them." (Pat Robertson, The 700 Club, January 14, 1991.)

Given Charismatic, Pentecostal Christians, and those who believe that one is a Christian, and eligible for salvation only if "born-again," we can deduce that all Catholics and most Protestant denominations, let alone Muslims and Jews, are far from achieving salvation in this or the next world.

The public and policy interpretations of "terrorism" and "Islam"

The author proceeds on the assumption that contemporary terrorism is a religio-political phenomenon-a complex blending of certain religious precepts combined with a clearly defined set of political goals-which is, in the contemporary era, more frequently than not associated with Islam as defined and operationalized by Osama bin Ladin and like-minded groups. The associated pain and suffering of untold thousands as a direct result of this ideology of violence does not, however, remove us from the responsibility of ensuring that our analysis - and, hopefully, eventually discovering the necessary tools for removing the threat - does not and should not fall on raw emotion driven by tightly held religious or ideological biases. Unfortunately, a poorly informed media, an uneducated

public, bigoted religious extremists, an ideologically overzealous public sector and a scholarly community which has tended, in their quest for objectivity, fallen prey to a subjective system of beliefs, values, and myths.[1]

As suggested above, our analytical missteps, that is, the perception that Islamic doctrine is the source of all evil, have included (1) prevalence of religious bigotry and intolerance; (2) terminological and analytical ambiguity, and (3) a simple but pervasive public and private sector ignorance of the many facets and expressions of Islam. Prevailing opinions of Islam are further complicated by the level and form of religio-political violence being conducted across a complex geographical and nationalist spectrum of conflicts including but not limited to Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Chechnya, Uzbekistan, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia and the Southern Philippines. Underscoring the definitional dilemma is the notion of assigning the correct or most meaningful and analytically accurate term or concept to a given conflict. For example, the official American lexicon for addressing these phenomena is rich in description and but rarely used with any consistency in the media or in official government announcements. As there is considerable disagreement regarding the use of terminology and the ideological roots or foundation for political violence we turn, again, to current definitions. The following are drawn from the definitive U.S. Department of Defense source, the Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms:[2]

Insurgent, insurgency. A member of a political party who rebels against established leadership (DOD). An organized move-

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37 Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

38 Source: U.S. Department of Defense, Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms . The DOD Dictionary and Joint Acronyms and Abbreviations master data base are managed by the Joint Doctrine Division, J-7, Joint Staff. Where noted, these definitions are also used by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. All approved joint definitions are contained in Joint Publication 1-02 as amended through June 2004.

ment aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through use of subversion and armed conflict. (DOD, NATO). See also antiterrorism; counterinsurgency; insurgency.

Counterinsurgency. Those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat an insurgency. Also called COIN. (DOD)

Terrorism. The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological. See also antiterrorism; combating terrorism; counterterrorism; force protection condition; terrorist; terrorist groups. (DOD)

Terrorist groups. Any element, regardless of size or espoused cause, that commits acts of violence or threatens violence in pursuit of its political, religious, or ideological objectives. (DOD)

Resistance movement. An organized effort by some portion of the civil population of a country to resist the legally established government or an occupying power and to disrupt civil order and stability. (DOD)

Revolutionary. An individual attempting to effect a social or political change through the use of extreme measures. See also antiterrorism. (DOD)

Guerrilla. A combat participant in guerrilla warfare. See also unconventional warfare. (DOD)

Unconventional warfare. A broad spectrum of military and paramilitary operations, normally of long duration, predominantly conducted through, with, or by indigenous or surrogate forces who are organized, trained, equipped, supported, and directed in varying degrees by an external source. It includes, but is not limited to, guerrilla warfare, subversion, sabotage, intelligence activities, and unconventional assisted recovery. Also called UW. (DOD)

The above provides, with some degree of specificity, the US government definitions which represent a wide range of activities that clearly fit and describe many of the conflicts currently facing the inter-

national community today. While important in terms of their descriptive value the above list of definitions serve little purpose in terms of their explanatory worth. For example what, exactly, is a "radical Islamic fundamentalist insurgent terrorist"? That is, in today's "war on terrorism," little attention is paid to understanding the ideological underpinnings of religiously inspired political violence beyond the broad and ill-defined labels of "Islamic terrorism," "militant Islam," "Islamic fundamentalism," et cetera. What factors distinguish a pious religious non-violent Muslim from one who seeks to extinguish an entire American city? As a generalization is the simplest form of explanation and is a general statement of uniformities and regularities, it is evident that based on a wide range of opinions, Islam and Islam alone has become the ideological culprit in explaining today's political violence. There appears to be an assumption among many pundits, ideologues, media representatives and academics that their knowledge of Islam is more than adequate enough to draw the universal generalization (all of one thing is the same as another) that the belief system is the sole source of terrorism. Probabilistic generalizations (a percentage of one thing is equal to another) are also common place in the literature.

A sampling of the literature

A body of literature dedicated to couching Islam in a frame of reference not dissimilar to Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations," is readily available and is characterized by Steven Emerson's *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us*; Dore Gold's work *Hatred Kingdom*; Mark A. Gabriel's *Islam and Terrorism,* and Daniel Pipes numerous works including *The Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy, and Militant Islam Reaches America.* Drawing on Emerson's observations, we see his reluctant decision to accept the notion that Islam sanctions genocide. He writes, "The level of vitriol against Jews and Christianity within contemporary Islam, unfortunately, is something that we are not totally cognizant of, or that we don't want to accept. We don't want to accept it because to do so would be to acknowledge that

one of the world's great religions-which has more than 1.4 billion adherents-somehow sanctions genocide, planned genocide, as part of its religious doctrine " (author's emphasis)

Analytical biases, inherent contradictions, and simple ignorance notwithstanding, the fact that many so-called experts are also serving specific political interests is self evident. For example, in the case of Steven Emerson and his alleged connections with Israel, the highly respected and retired CIA counterterrorism officer, Vince Cannistraro when asked about Emerson and two of his colleagues' relationship to Israel responded: "They're Israeli-funded. How do I know that? Because they tried to recruit me." (ABC News Interview.)[1].

Emerson, again, demonstrated his lack of analytical discipline in 1995, a day after the Oklahoma City bombing when he went on television theorizing-wrongly-that the culprits were Arab. Among other things he stated that in attempting "to inflict as many casualties as possible-that is a Middle Eastern trait."[2] Conspiracy theories have also found their place in this genre of literature. For example, Mark Fenster writing in, *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture,* argues that conspiracy theories are a form of popular political interpretation. As reported on the Alpeus Website, "He contends that understanding how they circulate through mass culture helps us better understand our society as a whole. Fenster sets out a 'conspiracy community' of radio shows, magazine and book publishers, Internet resources, and role-playing games that promote these theories. He opines that the very denial of a conspiracy's existence become proof that it exists, and the truth is 'always out there.' He believes conspiracy theory has become a thrill for a bored subculture, one characterized by its members' reinterpretation of 'accepted' history, their deep cynicism about contemporary politics, and their longing for a utopian future."[3]

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1 Emerson's anti-Islamic diatribe notwithstanding, his close ties to the Israeli government was also reported in a pro-government Jerusalem Post article (9/17/94) which stated that Emerson has "close ties to Israeli Intelligence.

2 See Washington Post article dated 11/14/2001.

3 Source: Alpheus Website at www.alpheus, org/index.html

The above discussion of conspiracy theories fits well with the work of Daniel Pipes whose book The *Hidden Hand: Middle Fears of Conspiracy*[1] has received considerable attention among Middle East and Islamic Studies scholars such as the review in Foreign Affairs by William B. Quandt who states:

"Pipes uses such terms as "laggard people" to describe Middle Easterners in a condescending tone that weakens his argument. He also often writes as if repetition is all it takes to prove his point. But in some cases the authors cited at length sound as though they were paid hacks churning out propaganda that neither they nor their bosses believed. In other cases Pipes' threshold for a conspiracy theory seems remarkably low."[2]

In yet another interview, one of many statements that clearly identify Pipes as one who enjoys a seeming paranormal gift, a special talent, that allows him to avoid evidence, he states

"Look, I have a filter. I've studied Islam and Islamism for 30 years. I have a sense of how they proceed and what their agenda is like. And I see. You don't...I can't provide that to you. I can tell you that there are all sorts of intimations of it. I can tell you I can sense it."[3]

This body of literature, predicated on clearly defined political goals which include but are not limited to unabated U.S. support of Israel, also finds expression in the Protestant evangelical and charismatic congregations.

Conclusion

My point here is that when we are forced into a discussion of topics related to Islam, and the miniscule number of Muslims who seek to harm us because we are Americans or not of the Islamic faith, an atmosphere of fear quickly becomes apparent. I believe that the sense of fear of an entire religion and

1 Daniel Pipes, The Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy (New York: St. Martin's Girffin, 1996).
2 William B. Quandt, Foreign Affairs, November/December 1996.
3 Daniel Pipes on Salon.com discussing his "Special Muslim filter"

the accompanying hostility is clearly a product of ignorance. Our opinions and analysis appear to originate more from emotion, preconceived ideological and political biases, and self-serving religious predispositions rather than on any honest and objective attempts to understand the doctrine. Furthermore, and given the direction of Western literature and the level and amount of misinformation that is currently flooding our university libraries and appearing in our newspapers, periodicals, and radio and television stations on a near daily basis, we have few options other than to recognize that it is happening and make a good faith effort to mollify our differences and misconceptions through knowledge. Clearly, both worlds have more to lose than gain by maintaining antagonisms generated by historical events of the distant past or by clinging to myths and misperceptions based on religious bigotry.

ISLAM, A PEACEFUL BUT NOT PACIFIST RELIGION

Dr. Jaafar Sheikh Idris

Introduction

Two points need to be clarified by way of introduction:

First, What I'm stating here is not about the practical policy of a particular Islamic country or group regarding war and peace. It is rather about the Islamic guidance on these matters as it is to be found in Islamic primary sources as they have been traditionally understood. It is hoped that I will give the reader clear criteria by which to gauge the extent of the Islamicity of the conduct relating to these matters of people who claim to belong to the Islamic religion, and who are thus morally obliged to abide by its guidance. This distinction between the text of a religion and the behavior of some of those who claim belong to it is of paramount importance. While a general relationship between a people and their beliefs cannot be denied, it must be admitted that peoples' practices do not always reflect the principles in which they profess to believe, either because of ignorance or moral weakness or downright dishonesty and hypocrisy. An obvious example of this is the fact that many religious people, Jews, Christians and Muslims, commit acts like killing, stealing and telling lies, all of which are known to be strictly forbidden in those religions. If Islam is to be judged by the acts of some of those who belong to it, let the same be applied to Christianity, liberalism, democracy and other religious and secular beliefs.

Second, this study is based primarily on the verses of the Qur'an, the main source of Islamic knowledge. It might therefore be in order to say a word about the correct method of mak-

ing such a study. The Qur'an is not a book that is thematically classified in the sense with which we are familiar. Names of its chapters, called suras, like Noah, Abraham, Mary, Muhammad, etc. do not refer exclusively to the topics of the suras so called, but only to the fact that reference is made in them of these topics. A topic like war or peace can therefore be found in many suras. This is so because the verses of the Qur'an were revealed to Prophet Muhammad in the course of twenty-three years to provide guidance for him and his community. Whenever a new verse was revealed on a topic, it was assumed that the verses dealing with it, and revealed before it, were understood.

To have an honest and comprehensive picture of what the Qur'an says about a particular topic, one has therefore, firstly, to collect the different verses that refer to it in the different suras; secondly, to understand each of those verses in its textual and historical context; thirdly, to view them in the general context of the main principles and objectives of the Islamic religion; and fourthly, to see how they were explained by Prophet Muhammad's words and deeds. Given the nature of the Qur'anic verses we described, it is easy for anyone to quote one or a number of them to give a distorted account of what Islam has to say on a particular matter. One can for example say that the Qur'an commands Muslims to kill any non-Muslim wherever they find him, and quote, "And kill them wherever you find them" (2:191). Another one can say that there is no place for war in Islam, and quote, "Withhold your hands and perform the prayer"(4:77)

The proper method we have briefly described was the one adopted by the early great scholars of Islam, and it is the one that we shall attempt to apply here in the context of contemporary questions raised about Islam's stance on the question of war and peace. Since the different verses of the Qur'an and sayings of the Prophet are parts of the bigger picture of the Islamic message, we will start by presenting that picture (with

special reference to our topic) and then try to see those verses and sayings in their proper places in it.

Reasons for peaceful means

There are many characteristics in the nature of the Islamic religion which require that it be invited to in peaceful ways.

Compulsion impossible

The first and most important reason is that it states that "there is no compulsion in religion"(2:256). Some early exegetes of the Qur'an rightly interpreted this verse to be stating a matter of fact, and that the command, not try compel, is based on this fact, the meaning being that it is impossible to compel some one to be a true Muslim; do not therefore try the impossible. This fact is one that is necessitated by the very nature of the Islamic message itself. What is this message? The Arabic word *islam*, is not a mere name of the Islamic religion; it is an expression of its essence: submission to God, in the sense of worshipping none but Him. This, according to the Qur'an, is the message with which all of God's Prophets from Noah to Abraham, Moses and Jesus were sent. It is in a special sense the message which Muhammad, the last of those Prophets, was asked to convey to all mankind. His is thus a universal message to all people of the world, from the day he was sent to the end of time on this planet. It is on the basis of this submission to God that the particular legislations with which each Prophet came were built. There is some variation in the kind and extent of these particular legislations depending on the particular circumstances of the people of each Prophet. Because Muhammad is the last of the Prophets, and is thus sent to all people, the particulars of his message are the more comprehensive and universal (they are not bound to any particular time or place or culture)

This Islam, being primarily a matter of the heart, is necessarily a willful act; it is something that one has to choose to acknowledge, and to voluntarily act on. No one can be forced to be a Muslim in this basic sense:

"Say: (It is) the truth from the Lord of you (all). Then whosoever will, let him believe, and whosoever will, let him disbelieve"(18:29)

No one except God has any power over the hearts of human beings.

This is a basic Islamic belief. Prophets cannot force people to accept the truth

"Remind them, for you are only one who reminds, You art not at all a warder over them"(88:21-2)

"Is it you (Prophet) who can force people to be believers?"(10:99)

"You (the Prophet) cannot guide whom you love to guide; it is God who guides whom He will"(28:56)

And God guides only those who deserve to be guided, those whom he knows will accept the truth. He does not guide those whom He knows are intent on rejecting it. This means that even God does not compel a person to accept this truth.

And the devil cannot force them to reject it.

"As to my servants, you (the Devil) have no power over them, except the deviant who choose to follow you."(15:42)

"And Satan says ... ... I had no power over you except that I called to you and you obeyed me. So blame me not, but blame yourselves"(14:22)

The role of Prophets.

What then is the role of Prophets and of those who carry their message after them? It is to convey that message as clearly as possible, to give the invitees to it evidence for its truth, to persuade them to accept it, and to argue with those of them who choose to argue:

"But if they are averse, We have not sent you as a warder over them; Yours is only to convey (the Message)."(42:48)

"Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation, and reason with them in the better way. Lo! your Lord is Best Aware of him who strays from His way, and He is Best Aware of those who go right"(16:125)

Neither a Prophet nor any other Muslim is therefore held responsible for the rejection of the truth by people whom they invite to it.

Tolerance of rejecters

Can there be a reason in a religion like this for waging war on a people as a means of converting them to Islam? Some one might say: No! But there is a good reason for killing them, one like former President Clinton might say, because they refused to accept the Truth[1]. This reasoning is flawed on two counts: First, Islam's way of dealing with beliefs is different from its way of dealing with believers. Every belief that is in contradiction with the word of God is condemned as being absolutely false. But believers in such falsehoods are to be nicely invited to the truth, and not killed. Second, Islam tells us that because being a Muslim is a matter of choice, and because a person can make such a choice any time in his or her life, even a few hours before he or she dies, we should never despair of a person making such a choice, and should not therefore kill him or her for choosing now to be non-Muslim. Mere refusal to accept Islam has therefore never been a reason for torturing or killing a person. The greatest testimony to this is the fact that thousands of Jews and Christians lived peacefully among Muslims in different parts of the Muslim world. Muslims did not tolerate them because there was something called Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but because their religion told them to do so. How can a religion which tells Muslims they can eat the food of the people of the book and marry their women, tell them at the same time to kill them wherever they find them?

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1 In a speech, "A Struggle for the Soul of the 21st Century" given at Georgetown University, on November 7, 2001, former President Clinton said in reference to some Muslims, "They believe that because they have the truth you either share their truths or you don't. If you're not a Muslim, you're an infidel. If you are and you don't agree with them, you're a heretic, and you're a legitimate target. Even a six-year old girl who went to work with her mother at the World Trade Center on September 11. … … They believe communities of people are those who look alike, act alike, dress alike, and just to make sure they enforce the rules." I don't know of any Muslims, fundamentalists or otherwise, who think this way.

It is because this truth is very well entrenched in Muslim minds, that you do not find any among those who engage in killing non-Muslims state as their reason for doing so the fact that their targets are non-Muslims. They always cite other reasons to justify their assault. This is confirmed by the fact that they do not indiscriminately kill all non-Muslims.

A moral religion

The religion of Islam is described in the Qur'an as being the religion of primordial good human nature (called in Arabic fitra) [30:30]. This original goodness of human beings consists basically in their acknowledging the fact that only God is to be worshipped. This basic goodness is linked to everything that is good in human beings: rationality, moral values, aesthetic taste, and so on. The more sincere a person is in his devotion to God, the more human he becomes, and the easier does he or she find it to behave rationally, morally and tastefully. Moral values are thus of the essence of submission to God, Islam. Islam does not only advocate moral values like being just, telling the truth, fulfilling promises, helping the needy and being merciful; it makes it easy for people to do so, because it strengthens the bulwark in the human heart that supports its inclination towards this moral behavior. No wonder that the man who was sent to convey this religion is described by God as being a mercy [21:107] and as being of an exalted character [68:4] It is deviation from these moral values, especially that of justice, that makes people resort to quarrel and unjust wars. And it is because of this that Islam advocates absolute adherence to them.

"O you who believe! Be steadfast witnesses for God in equity, and let not your hatred of a people seduce you that you deal unjustly. Be just: that is next to piety"[5:8]

Commenting on this verse, a famous Qur'anic exegete said, "This means that justice is a duty on everyone with everyone in every situation"[1]

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1 See Ibn Katheer's commentary on verse 5:8.

Reasons for resorting to war

Can there be a place in a religion like Islam for war? Yes, but for reasons other than conversion. We live in an imperfect world in which some people have to be fought for others to live in peace. These are people who resort to acts of injustice and oppression. This resort to injustice and oppression is made in Islam the sole justification for war. Unjust and oppressive acts that justify the waging of war against their perpetrators can take many forms like:

1. Persecution by those in authority of those of their people who accept Islam.
2. Banishing such people from their land.
3. Waging war against people of other lands who hold such beliefs.
4. Waging wars against other people (Muslims or non-Muslims) with the intention of occupying their land or looting their wealth, or forcing them into slavery.

No one doubts the justice of waging war against perpetrators of such crimes. But even in cases like these the Islamic command to resort to war is not made in any way absolute. It can be legitimate only if it complies with the overarching objective of Islam: to increase the good and decrease the evil in this world. Whether the consequences of a particular engagement in war are good or bad depends on the particular circumstances of the time. It is because of this moral rationality that Muslims at the time of the Prophet were commanded to deal with their enemies in different ways according to the different circumstances.

* At the beginning, they were commanded to confine themselves to verbal jihad against their enemies.
  "So obey not the disbelievers but make a big jihad against them with it (the Qur'an)."[25:52]
  This shows that though jihad can be with military force, its primary meaning is jihad with word of mouth, with arguments and with dialogue. All this is in consonance with the fact stated before that it is only by his own choice that a per-

son can be a Muslim.
* They were also ordered not to raise a hand even in self-defense [4:77].The obvious reason for this was the fact that they were few in number and living under the jurisdiction of those who were persecuting them. Any attempt at armed resistance might have resulted in their being wiped out.
* To avoid persecution they were allowed to migrate to safer places. Some of them migrated, on the advice of the Prophet, to Abyssinia wherein there was, in the words of the Prophet "King under whom no one is treated unjustly". Later, all of them, including the Prophet, migrated to the city of Madina.
* Only when they settled there and had their own land, were they permitted to fight back and the reasons for this permission were clearly stated:
"Sanction [to wage war] is given to those against whom war was made, because they were unjustly treated; and God is indeed able help them; those who have been driven from their homes unjustly only because they said: Our Lord is God - for had it not been for God's repelling some people by means of others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques, wherein the name of God is oft mentioned, would assuredly have been pulled down. Verily Allah helps those who help Him"[22.039]
* Later they were ordered, and not only permitted, to fight those who fought them but never to transgress.

"Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you, but do not transgress because God does not love the transgressors. And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter. And fight not with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship until they first attack you there, but if they attack you (there) then slay them."[002.190-3]

"Will you not fight people who violated their oaths, plotted to expel the Apostle, and took the aggressive by being the first (to as-

sault) you? Do ye fear them?"[9.13]

"And fight the polytheists, all o them, as they fight all of you."[9:36]

Finally they were commanded to fight all those who committed acts of injustice or oppression even if they did not fight them:

"And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for God."[8:40]

One famous companion of the Prophet explained this verse by saying that this was when Muslims were few in number and thus used to be persecuted. But when Muslims became many there was no such persecution[1].

Just war must be waged even against Muslim transgressors:

"If two parties among the Believers fall to fighting, make peace between them: but if one of them transgresses against the other, then fight the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of God; But if it complies, then make peace between them justly and act equitably; for God loves the equitable."[49.9]

For wars even against aggressors to be completely just and effective, some conditions have to be met:

A. Muslims who are to wage such just wars must be materially strong; moral strength by itself will not do. Referring to people who commit those acts of injustice, the Qur'an tells Muslims to:

"Make ready for them all you can of (armed) forces and of horses tethered, that thereby you may dismay the enemy of God and your enemy, and others beside them whom you know not, but God knows them."[8.60]

B. Sincere and great effort must be made to solve the problem peacefully by negotiating with the oppressor government or group and try to make them see the immorality of their conduct and its harmful consequences to them in case warfare is resorted to.

C. Only combatants are to be targeted

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1 Ibn Katheer's Commentary, [8:39]

D. No unnecessary damage should be made of land or plants or animals or any thing that supports human life

E. War must never be resorted to for worldly gains, or be motivated by any racial considerations.

F. It must be stopped once the enemy opts for peace.

G. Depending on the circumstances, peace agreements even with such transgressors must remain as a good option.

Peace agreements

In pursuance of his peaceful ways of conveying his message, the Prophet made the conclusion of agreements with groups that did not accept it an important option of his dealings with them. Thus the first thing he did as head of state in his new abode in Madina, was to make such an agreement with the Jewish groups who had been citizens of that city. He then made a number of such agreements with different Arab tribes and communities.

But the most important and most famous of these peace agreements was the one know as the *Hudaybiya* Agreement between him and the staunchest of his enemies, the Makkans who had persecuted Muslims and engaged in atrocious wars against them. There is much in the narration of this treaty that proves our claim that the best atmosphere for the spread of Islam is a peaceful one.

On the Prophet's way back to Madina after he had concluded this agreement, he received the following revelation about it:

"We have granted you a victory, a convincing victory."[48:1]

"Is this a victory, O Messenger of God??" one man asked the Prophet. "Yes, by Him in whose hand is my soul, it is a victory."

Why did the man ask? And what kind of victory was it?

The man asked because the terms of the agreement were apparently unfair to the Muslims. The Muslims had come to perform *Umrah* (a kind of pilgrimage) which was, according to a long Arab tradition something of a right to all people. But the Quraysh saw in the Muslims' performing it a kind of victory for them, despite the Prophet's repeated assurances that their intention was purely relig-

ious, and that they had no intention of fighting. The Quraysh insisted however that the Muslims could not perform the Umrah that year but could come to do so next year on certain conditions. The Prophet agreed and signed an agreement of cessation of hostilities for ten years. But the agreement included the stipulation that if a Muslim convert fled from Makkah and went to Madina he must be returned, but if a Muslim in Madina reneged and went back to the Quraysh he was not to be returned.

What kind of victory was it? Here is the answer:

It was only kufr (rejection) when there was war, but when all people lived in peace and security, the Muslims and the non- Muslims talked to each other and discussed matters with each other. As a result of this no one who could reason but was quick to embrace Islam when it was presented to him. The number of people who came to the fold of Islam during the [first] two years of this agreement was equal to, or more, than the number of all people who became Muslims before![1]

This is proven by the fact that:

When the Prophet came to *Hudaybiyya*, he came with one thousand and four hundred, but when after two years he went to conquer Makkah, he was accompanied by ten thousand Muslims.[2]

Many people were interested in Islam, but were afraid to accept it or to go to Madina because of the state of war.[3]

So the victory was mainly that of people coming to the fold of Islam. It is very natural and is very consistent with the Islamic teachings to call this victory because the main aim of the Muslims is to invite people to the way of God, and not to kill or subjugate them. We resort to war not because it is a means of converting them to Islam, but because it can be the only way of stopping their aggression and injustice.

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4 Ibn Hajar, Fath al Baari, kitab al shuroot, bab al shuroot fil jihad.
5 Ibid
6 Ibid

It is significant to note that it was the Prophet who took the initiative towards this agreement. Addressing a representative of the Quraysh who came to see him before the Muslims entered Makkah, the Prophet tried to convince him that peace was in their own interest. "Woe unto Quraysh!" he told him:

"War has devoured them. Why don't they let me alone with the rest of the Arabs? If they (the Arabs) defeat me, that is what they want, and if I become victorious over them, then they can enter Islam unscathed, and if they don't they can then fight with strength."

Peaceful coexistence

We are living at a time in which, unlike previous times, people of different beliefs, nations, colors and ethnic groups found themselves obliged to live side by side in a global village wherein their interests are interdependent. But it is also a world in which piles of so called conventional weapons can inflict great damage to human life and everything on which that life depends, and in which stockpiles of weapons of mass-destruction in the U.S. alone can rid the globe of all of its living inhabitants. It is obvious that there is no choice for humans to willfully avoid that catastrophic result except by deciding to live peacefully with each other whatever their differences might be. It is not however enough for people of the world to desire to peacefully co-exist. They must see the necessity of world institutions that safeguard this peace. But more than that they must adhere to the moral principles without which those institutions cannot properly function.

World organizations must be based on justice. Great powers must understand this justice to be ultimately in the human interest of their people, an interest which must be acknowledged to be more important for them than their material interest. A great power might use its economic and military power to subdue or even subjugate weaker nations and justify this injustice by claiming it to be in defense of its national interest narrowly perceived. The fact however, is that there is no moral difference between this kind of logic and that of an individual who robs another of some of his or her

possessions with the pretext that he needs it to improve his living standard.

World institutions like the United Nations lose their function as means of safeguarding world peace if they become tools in the hands of great powers. But this unfortunately is now the case. It is not the case as weaker nations perceive it to be so, but something that representatives of great powers admit it to be so. They even brag about it.

The dominant elite view with regard to the UN was well expressed in 1992 by Francis Fukuyama, who had served in Reagan-Bush State Department: the UN "is perfectly serviceable as an instrument of American unilateralism and indeed may be the primary mechanism through which that unilateralism will be exercised in the future."[1]

The West is attempting and will continue to attempt to sustain its preeminent position and defend its interest by defining those interests as the interests of the "world community". That phrase has become the euphemistic collective noun (replacing the "Free World") to give global legitimacy to actions reflecting the interests of the United States and other Western powers.[2]

Compliance with moral principles especially that of justice, is the only ultimate safeguard against the proliferation of WMD. Weaker countries will not see the need for such weapons if they feel that lacking them is not endangering their survival or the sovereignty of their states; they will deem it wise to spend the little they have on more important things. But if they are made to feel humiliated because they lack those weapons then some of them are sure to be keen on possessing any kind or amount of them whatever the price, and irrespective of any treaties they might be signatories to.

Those who are driven by the impulse to dominate must remem-

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1 Noam Chomsky, Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance, Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2003, p. 29.

8 Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, Touchstone, New York, 1996, p.184.

ber that there are many who are driven by the instinct to safeguard their dignity, which is a stronger motivational force. Who could have imagined that so many people would take their own lives for the sake of the dignity of their people?

And it is not moral values alone that should induce those who have great military, to only use it justly; there it is prudent to do so. Thanks to the development of weapons it might soon be possible for individuals and small groups to possess weapons that are small in size but massive in their destruction, and not very difficult to have access to.

The imposition on people of beliefs and values they take to be inimical to their own can be seen by some to be more humiliating than of some of their material rights. The U.N. and other international institutions must not therefore be platforms to be exploited by great powers to impose their values, especially secularist ones on others who are averse to them. Members of the U.N. belong not only to different countries, but also different cultures, and thus different beliefs, values, traditions and histories. For these people to come together under one umbrella to cooperate in combating the problems that they all face as inhabitants of a global village, it is absolutely necessary for them to acknowledge and tolerate these fundamental differences and to resort to none more than peaceful means in trying to resolve them. Cultural changes, whether to the better or to the worse, come only gradually and willfully. Using a useful and much needed organization like the UN to force cultural changes on people will only foster disrespect for it and encourage nations to pay little or no heed to its resolutions. It is to be regretted however that many people in the West have come to believe that their way of life is the way appropriate for any people who care to live a modern life. They want others to choose the same political system they chose, to interpret their religions in the same way they interpreted theirs, to have the same kind of relationship between the sexes as they have, and to avoid behaving in any way that a country like the US considers not to be serviceable to its national interest.

ISLAM AND TERRORISM:
NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET

Zain Al-Abdeen Al-Rikabi

The reader will note that the title constitutes a claim rather than a report or at least the writer wants it to be construed as that. The aim is to maintain neutrality in terms of both objectivity and methodology. It is a claim and no claim can be established without argument.

Then what is the argument to support this claim, which may sound shocking to many in the surcharged atmosphere of today's world, where terrorism has been mixed up with Islam. It is a confusion either created deliberately on the basis of full knowledge or it emerged inadvertently from ignorance.

Primary objects

The primary object of Islam is to create a merciful and benevolent society. This is an object, which is supported by the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet, peace be upon him.

1) The Holy Quran, addressing the Prophet, peace be upon him says:

"We sent you not, but as mercy for all creatures." (21:107)

The purpose of the verse is that the only mission assigned to the Prophet of Islam, peace be upon him, was to spread mercy and kindness in the world.

2) The Prophet, peace be upon him says, "One who does not show mercy to the people will not have the mercy of Allah."

It is amply clear that both the verse and the Hadith are speaking about people or the mankind in its entirety, regardless of race, creed color or geographical situation. In another tradition, the Prophet, peace be upon him, uses the word kindness which is synonymous with mercy. He says, "Allah loves kindness in all matters,

and awards for kindness what He does not award for violence. No doubt, mercy and kindness are the opposite of violence and terrorism in word and purport, as they lead to contrary results when translated into action and behavior.

The concept of power in Islam

Every nation and every civilization has a concept or philosophy about power, because each phenomenon of material power has a philosophy behind it, which rationalizes it, explains it and directs it.

Then what is the philosophy of power in Islam?

According to the Islamic concept, power is a universal human force subjugated by will and knowledge and at the same time regulated by justice and morality, in motives, means and ends.

Hence, there is a strong relationship between morality and power according to this concept. Both are philosophically inter-complementary and functionally demanding mutual cooperation, as morality controls power and regulates it.

Therefore, Islam did not disregard power totally, it only denounced the oppressive use of it. The Quran lays down the principle that the irrational oppressive use of power is one of the characteristics of the enemies of the prophets and it is in total conflict with the characters of the apostles of Allah, and their true followers.

About this concept, we read in the Holy Quran:

a) *"And the unbelievers said to their apostles: "Be sure, we shall drive you out of our land, or ye shall return to our religion".* (14:13)

This has been generally the practice of the terrorists against all the apostles of Allah.

b) *"The leaders, the arrogant party among his people, said: O Shuaib we shall certainly drive you out of our city, (You and those who believe with you) or else you (you and they) shall have to return to our ways and religion."* (7:88)

This is one of the forms of violence. The opponents of the Message of Allah threaten the believers to expel from their homeland, or else, they revert to the creed of idol worship.

c) *"And there came a man running from the furthest end of the city. He said: 'O Moses! The chiefs are taking counsel to-gether about you, to slay you, so get you away for I do give you sincere advice."* (28:20).

In this case, it was Pharaoh who planned a terrorist operation against Prophet Moses, peace be upon him.

d) *"Remember how the unbelievers plotted against you to keep you in bounds or slay you or get you out (of your home)..."* (8:30).

The Quran, in this verse, addresses Prophet Muhammad and the terrorist conspirators are the pagans who know nothing except the language of threat, violence and killing.

e) *"And when you exert your strong hand, you do it like men of absolute power."* (26:130).

This is the description of the people of Hud who used power with total savagery and utmost profligacy.

This was the attitude of the opponents of the Prophets with regard to the use of force. The Muslims have been instructed to oppose them on the philosophy of force and its use. *"(Shall we then treat the people of faith like the people of sin."* (68:35) This opposition demands mercy, not oppression, kindness not violence, justice not tyranny and humility not arrogance.

These values, principles and concepts form the basis for the method of Jihad or lawful defense in Islam.

The method of Jihad

Firstly, war is an unpleasant emergency situation and not a hobby or desire. The Quran says, *"fighting is prescribed upon you and you dislike it..."* (2:216)

The Prophet, peace be upon him says," Do not wish to meet the enemy, but when you meet, remain steadfast and pray for safety and well-being."

Secondly, when the Muslims are forced to repel an attack, this defense is conditional to non-aggression. Any act of aggression leads to oppression and profligacy, which is not liked by Allah. It

is on the contrary a reprehensible act in the eyes of the Almighty. As we read in the Quran: *"Fight, in the cause of Allah, those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah does not love transgressors."* (2:190)

Thirdly, when Muslims are forced to repel aggression and put up a legal defense, the defense should be regulated by the philosophy of force in Islam. This philosophy is based on justice and morality with mercy in the fore.

1) The Prophet, peace be upon him, passed by a slain woman and said, "She should not have been killed." Then he turned to his companions and said to one of them, "Catch up with Khaled Ibn Al-Walid. He must not kill children or a laborer or a women". He also said, "Do not betray and do not mutilate."

2) Abu Bakr, the first Caliph, while dispatching an army instructed, "Do not act treacherously; do not be excessive; do not betray; do not mutilate; do not kill a child, an old man or a woman; do not slaughter a cow or a camel except for food. You will pass by people who have devoted themselves to church service; leave them with their activities."

Similar exhortations were given by the second Caliph Omar Ibn Al-Khattab to his armies. This is the methodology of lawful defense in Islam, which runs contrary to violence and terrorism.

The Islamic methodology does not allow wishing to have encounter with the enemy, while terrorism encourages a longing to meet the enemy.

The Islamic methodology makes defense conditional upon justice, mercy and kindness and not fighting with non-combatants, like women, old men, children and hermits. Another condition is environmental protection by refraining from acts like burning or cutting trees. On the contrary, terrorism allows all these practices.

A basic feature of the morality of force in Islam is its source itself. The source is the creed of Monotheism without which no person can be a Muslim. The whole moral value system of Islam emanates from this creed. Dignity, for instance, is one of the basic concepts of

Monotheism. This dignity, in the shade of Monotheism, can not turn into arrogance and aggression, because the source of it is Allah Himself and he does not like arrogance and aggression.

Prohibition of compulsion

One of the strongest motives of violence and terrorism is the indomitable desire to forcefully compel someone to do something against his own wish.

A careful reader of the history of human civilization - both religious and non-religious - would realize that compulsion to accept any principle has always fueled terrorism. The Quran tells us the story of the Christian believers who were asked by an idolater king to renounce their faith and enter the fold of paganism. When they refused, he employed the most excessive means of violence and burnt them alive. *"Woe to the makers of the pit (of fire), fire supplied (abundantly) with fuel. Behold! They sat over against (the fire). And they witnessed (all) that they were doing against the Believers. And they ill-treated them for no other reason than that they believed in Allah, Exalted in Power, worthy of all Praise. Him to whom belongs the dominion of heavens and the earth! And Allah is witness to all things. Those who personate (or draw into temptation) the believers, men and woman, and do not turn in repentance, will have the penalty of Hell: They will have the Penalty of the burning Fire."* (85:4-10)

Forceful conversion to a religion, therefore, is one of the biggest motives of terrorism and it opens the door wide to it. That is why Islam holds such forceful conversion absolutely unlawful.

This prohibition is manifestly clear in the verses of the Quran revealed either in Makkah or in Madinah.

1. In the Makki verses the Quran say:
   a. *"Therefore, do give admonition, for you are one to admonish. You are not a dictator over them."* (88:21-22)
   b. *"You are not one to overcome them by force. So admonish with the Quran such as fear My Warning."* (50:45)
   c. *"If it had been the Lord's will, they would all have be-*

lieved – all who are on earth! Will you then compel man-kind, against their will, to believe?" (10:99)

d. *"If their spurning is hard on your mind, yet if you are able to seek a tunnel in the ground or a ladder to the skies and bring them a sign (what good?) if it were Allah's will, He could gather them together unto true guidance : so be not amongst those who are swayed by ignorance."* (6:35)

e. *"Shall we compel ye to accept it when ye are averse to it?"* (28:11)

2. In Madinah verses, the Quran says, *"Let there be no compul-sion in religion: Truth stands out clear from error."* (2:256)

With this prohibition of compulsion, Islam completely destroys the base of coercion. It is impossible for such a religion to compro-mise with it. If it does, it would be in conflict with its methodology and its objects. It is the most salient feature of Islam that it has no contradiction.

"Had it been from other than Allah, They would surely have found therein much discrepancy." (4:82)

Prohibition of violence against nature and life

Islam has based the behavior of a Muslim on Mercy and kind-ness, away from any form of violence.

A Muslim lives on this planet, called earth. How should he be-have with this planet or its environment? His behavior must be the model of kindness and delicacy, with no rudeness or violence.

1. How should he behave while walking on Earth?

The Quran instructs,

a. *"Nor walk on earth with insolence; for you cannot send the earth asunder, nor reach the mountains in height."* (17:37)

b. *"And be moderate in your pace and lower your voice; for the harshness of sounds without doubt is the bray-ing of the ass."* (31:19)

c. *"And the servants of (Allah) Most Gracious are those who walk on the earth in humility and when the ignorant ad-dress them, they say, 'peace'..."* (25:63)

2. A Muslim must refrain from spreading corruption by way of destruction and pollution. Then the most abhorable form of corruption i.e. violence and terrorism which must be avoided and resisted.

    a. *"And do not do evil nor mischief on the (face of the) earth."* (2:60)

    b. *"…and seek not (the occasions of) mischief in the land, for Allah loves not those who do mischief."* (28:77)

    c. *"Do no mischief on the earth, after it has been set in order."* (7:56)

Kindness to animals and birds

The Islamic methodology in determining every behavior is based on kindness and mercy. This is evident from the emphasis Islam lays on showing kindness to animals and birds.

Firstly, the Quran calls animals and birds communities like human community and says that they also command respect. "*There is no animal (that lives) on earth, nor a being that flies on its wings, but (forms part of) communities like you. Nothing have we omitted from the Book, and they (all) shall be gathered to their Lord in the end.*" (6:38)

Secondly, a Muslim is duty-bound to treat animals in the light of this consideration. A Muslim should consider them as belonging to a community like his own.

1. Once the Prophet, peace be upon him, passed by some people who were shooting arrows at a sheep. He disliked it and said, "Do not be cruel to animals."

2. The Prophet forbade animal fights, i.e. urging animals of the same species to fight one another.

3. The Prophet, peace be upon him, portrayed two opposite pictures; one showing the destiny of people treating the animals cruelly and the other delineating the destiny of those who show kindness to them.

    a. The Prophet, peace be upon him, informed that a woman entered hellfire because she tied a cat; she neither gave it

something to eat, nor did she allow it to eat the insects from the earth. This woman entered hell because she used violence against the cat. She detained it and deprived it of food, which was an act of violence.

b. The Prophet, peace be upon him informed that a prostitute saw a dog panting and lolling its tongue with thirst. She hurried to fill her shoe with water and gave it to the dog to drink. Allah, forgave her sins. She was forgiven for her kindness to a dog.

Thirdly, kindness to birds:

a. Abdullah Ibn Omar passed by some young boys who had trapped a bird and were shooting arrows at it. When they saw Ibn Omar, they dispersed. Ibn Omar asked, "Who did this?" Then added, whosoever did this may the curse of Allah be on him. The Prophet, peace be upon him has cursed one who makes a living being a shooting target.

b. The Prophet said, "If anyone kills a sparrow in vain, it will raise its voice on the day of Judgment complaining to Allah, "O Allah! Such and such person killed me in vain and without a use."

Kindness in feeling, words and voice

Islam left no behavior of a Muslim ungoverned, and regulated every aspect of a Muslim behavior with softness and kindness.

1) Kindness in feelings:

"It is part of the mercy of Allah that you deal gently with them. Were you severe or harsh-hearted they would have broken away from about you." (3:159)

2) Kindness and softness of word:

It is incumbent on a Muslim that his words be soft and not rude.

a. *"Speak fair to the people."* (2:83)

b. *"Say to my servants that they should (only) say those things that are best."* (17:53)

c. *"And argue with them in ways that are best."* (16:125)

3) Softness of voice:

A Muslim must speak in soft voice and tone, not harsh and rude.

    a. *"…and lower your voice; for the harshest of sounds without doubt is the braying of the ass."* (31:19)

    b. *"Those who shout out to you from without the inner apartments – most of them lack understanding."* (49:4)

Here a question arises. If this is the methodology of Islam in rejecting violence absolutely, then why the Muslims resorting to violence and terrorism.

The answer is simple. The behavior of the Muslims or of some of them is not a plea against Islam. Islam, as determined by Allah and His Prophet, is the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. If the behavior of the Muslims is made a yardstick to judge Islam and used as a plea against the religion, then it will be held responsible for the backwardness of Muslims in the field of science and health. This is not an honest approach.

Islam aims at freeing Muslims from shackles of backwardness in the fields of science and health and in every other field.

As for the backwardness in science and health the issue can be understood with two examples:

1. The Quran urges Muslims, constantly and continuously to ponder over the phenomena of universe, understand its system and the laws that govern it, in order to subjugate it and benefit from it.

    "And He has subjected to you, as from Him, all that is in the heavens and on earth : behold, in that are signs indeed for those who reflect." (45:13)

    Muslims, are among those who, have been addressed and exhorted by this and similar other verses. But they did not respond to the call of the Quran and remained backward while others advanced.

    Is Islam responsible for this backwardness despite the fact that it urges Muslims to ponder over the universe? Or the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Muslims whose

thinking has become stagnant and who have closed their eyes towards the universe?

2. The second example is cleanliness. Islam is a religion that is based on cleanliness and purity, in everything. It emphasizes the cleanliness of mouth, body dress and every place i.e. house, mosque, street, locality and city.

Texts in the Quran and the Sunnah emphasizing cleanliness abound. The Prophet, peace be upon him, forbade one who has eaten onion or garlic from entering the mosque. This injunction aims at protecting worshippers from bad smells.

But the present state of the Muslims in towns and villages, in general, does not present a model of Islamic teachings about cleanliness.

Definitely, Islam must not be regarded responsible for the state of the Muslims. The responsibility lies on Muslims themselves who neglect Islamic teachings.

Wisdom and justice demand that Islam should not be blamed for terrorism. The foregoing evidences and last mentioned two examples must be sufficient to convince a man with sound mind and noble conscience that Islam and terrorism are two opposites and never the twain shall meet. Yes, among Muslims there are some who resort to violence and terrorism, but they are considered disobedient.

This is an objective and methodological fact. If it is ignored or deliberately neglected it is likely to open a door wide to accuse the religions revealed to Jesus and Moses of terrorism. An argument, for this blame can be put forward that the Christians and Jews, in different phases of history, resorted to terrorism to achieve one objective or the other.

This would be an absurd argument:

   a. Torah teaches mercy and not violence: "Moreover, we gave Moses the Book completing (Our favor) to those who would do right, and explaining all things in details --- and a guide and a mercy." (6:154)

b. Christ and his Bible are the embodiment of mercy and kindness, *"And He has made me blessed where so ever I be and has enjoined on me prayer and charity as long as I live. He has made me kind to my mother, and not over-bearing or miserable. The Peace is on me the day I was born, the day that I die, and the day that I shall be raised up to life (again)"* (19:31-33).

If the violence let loose by the Christians and Jews is in contrast with the message revealed to Jesus and Moses, then the violence resorted to by Muslims must be considered running contrary to the religion revealed to Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him. It was revealed to him that:

"We sent you not, but as a mercy for all creatures." (21:107)

PEACE AND MUSLIM RELATIONS
WITH OTHERS

Dr. Omyma Al-Jalahema

The current image of Islam and Muslims is dark from all sides. In respect to our view of the other, this image, again, has not changed much from what was culturally inherited. On our part, we have not exerted enough effort to correct such an image, neither have we paid much attention to such deficiencies, while they were deepening in other societies. Presently, we are paying for our negligence and carelessness, which lasted for centuries. Human to human dialogue is not merely an end in itself. Rather it is an inevitable necessity dictated by the human reality and ideological and doctrinal changes over the ages. The dialogue of Muslims with others, however, is an Islamic duty and obligation.

During the past years, a group of Muslims, who has not understood the reality of Islam, has surfaced. It has strayed from the straight path to another, and has not understood that peace in Muslim relations with others is not an option to adopt or ignore, but it is a legal principle binding on Muslims wherever they live. This group did not understand that peace, as well as war, has a special ruling in Islamic law, which guarantees a human being's right to live in peace and security. Peace forms the fundamental relation between Muslims and others, while war is the exception. War will not be waged or escalated unless certain circumstances make it imperative to do so. The late scholar Ibn Taymiyyah clarified our theme of peace with others. He says, "Aliens, who have been given security and protection, shall not be fought by Jihad. They come under the

category that Allah ordered us to argue with in good faith. They are not part of the category whom Allah asked us to fight."

Ibn Taymiyyah explained that the Islamic Jihad could not be achieved by fighting the aliens and those under Muslim protection. The duty of Muslims toward these people is to open negotiations and arguments with them, and this should be accompanied by a charitable attitude. This exalted meaning of dialogue with others has been implanted into the hearts of believers by The Holy Qur'an which showed that Muslims shall use wisdom and gentleness whenever they call upon others to engage in negotiations or discussions with them. This will not occur without opening a fair dialogue, *"Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and gracious preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most persuasive."*(16:125)

The words (invite) and (argue) in the verse are imperative verbs, which means obligation. Therefore, argument between Muslims and others, except those who are stubborn or unjust, must be carried on in a gracious manner, especially those others who are looking for the truth and who do not want to be unfair.

This, however, does not mean that Muslims will be lax in defending any aggression against their holy shrines and Islamic countries, nor against their national resources, both human and material. The retaliation in this case will be a legal obligation and a patriotic duty. Muslims' stance, like that of all other nations facing aggression, will be to stand united in the face of any aggression on their holy places, lands and honor.

However, Muslims in all cases, whatever the justifications of war and armed resistance, shall not make decisions and act on an individual basis. War in Islam has principles and binding fundamentals that should not be violated. A major part of this is that a Muslim should not disobey the ruler, or defy the

general consensus of his people by acting separately or independently. War in Islam is a decision to be made by the state and not by an individual, no matter what the rank of such an individual may be.

Undoubtedly, an unbiased contemplation of the implications of Islamic rules related to Muslims relations with others, in war and peace, will come out with a feeling of amazement and admiration. These rules show justice and mercy toward non-Muslims, which may not be found in any dealing between two other confronting parties. The Islamic Shari'ah has organized human relations between Muslims and others in a way that has never been equalled throughout the history of mankind. It has guaranteed a person's right as a human being to decent living. It preserved the people of the Book's doctrines and holy places. It allowed dealing with them in various human fields, provided that such dealing does not run counter to the tolerant rules of Islam. Allah said in the Holy Qur'an: *"Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion nor drove you out of your homes. Verily, Allah loves those who deal with equity."*(60:8)

Moreover, Islam warned Muslims from being unfair to those who maintain covenants with Muslims to protect their property, work and dignity. Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, said: "… O whoever is unfair with a person under a covenant, degrades him, orders him to do more than he is capable of, or takes from him without his own permission, I will be his defender on the Day of Judgment." Also, Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, said: "The one who harms an alien, I will be his opponent on the Day of Judgment and the one I oppose I will defeat." Thus the aliens' honor and freedom have been preserved. They can practice their worship and doctrine in a Muslim society.

Muslims' graceful attitude towards protecting non-

Muslims (aliens) has received both admiration and appreciation from many Western scholars who were unbiased when they acknowledged the superiority and distinction of this religion. Thomas Arnold, British scholar and professor of contemporary history at Oxford university said in his book *Call to Islam*: "They – aliens - lived under the Islamic rule with peace and hope. The Muslim rulers went on with their traditions of tolerance and forgiveness towards believers of other religions). He also said: "If we look at the tolerance that was extended to Christian individuals within the Islamic communities at the early stages of Islamic ruling, we find out that it must have been an incorrect understanding to say that people adopted Islam because they were compelled to do so by the force of the sword."

Islam guaranteed the same rights that Muslims enjoyed, to alien citizens. They have the same rights and the same duties as Muslims, except for the matters related to religion and belief. This religion guaranteed many rights for aliens. For example, the Islamic law does not allow summoning the non-Muslim protected aliens during their holidays. The Islamic penalties are not applied to what their religion does not forbid. Most Muslim scholars allow them to engage in dealings forbidden to Muslims such as drinking alcohol and eating ham and trading in such provided they are considered lawful in their own religion. The alien has the right to occupy any executive position except where it deals directly with religion. Adam Metz has written on this unprecedented equal treatment. He said, "It is amazing to see the large number of non-Muslim workers and employees in an Islamic state."

By now it should be clear beyond the shadow of doubt that this religion has called for fairness and ordered Muslims to be fair, both in their relations with each other and with others as well. By this call, it has transcended all the fair dealings practiced in Western and other Eastern societies across history.

The non-Muslims' ownership of property is not endangered even if a person participates in the army of his country in its war against Muslims. But rather, Islam orders the ruler to send the property of a fighter to his family in case of death. This religion does not allow for any negligence by the Islamic society towards the poor aliens who are unable to work and earn money. They have the same right as Muslims to get support from the Muslim treasury.

The power of Islam resides in the fact that it has the capability of being connected to all life aspects of an individual. Therefore, it is the main pivot on which Muslims' spiritual and materialistic characteristics turn, whether such characteristics are related to their worship practices or their ethics, and whether they relate to their social or political structures. This religion allowed its believers to coexist with others, and preserved the rights of both. It is a religion that should be strengthened not fought. It is a religion that prohibits unfairness to others on account of their different beliefs.

Islam is a religion, which the others may take its graceful instructions as evidence against its own people. It would be wise to stand against any attempt to drive its concepts out of the minds of Muslims or distort its humanitarian objectives and nature. With its sublime teachings, it has served humanity everywhere.

It is understood that for a Muslim to have complete faith, he should glorify all messengers of God, including messengers to Jews and Christians. However, many non-Muslims do not recognize that this respect is more than that of Jews and Christians for their own prophets. Allah says: *"Say (O Muslims) We believe in Allah and that which has been sent down to us and that which has been sent down to Ibrahim (Abraham), Ismail (Ishmeal), Ishaq (Isaac), Yaqub (Jacob) and to Al-Asbat, and that which has been given to Musa (Moses) and Isa (Jesus) and that which has been given to the Prophets from the Lord.*

We make no distinction between any of them and to Him we have submitted (in Islam)." (2:136). The belief in all God's messengers is one of Islam's pillars.

The real Muslim believes in Allah the One; Allah the Self-Sufficient Master Whom all creatures need, who begets not, nor was he begotten, and that there is none equal or comparable unto Him. At the same time, he believes that Allah, in His wide wisdom has made His servants of different religions and rules. Allah says in the Holy Qur'an, *"To each among you, We have prescribed a law and a clear way". With His wide knowledge and power He is responsible for holding them accountable for their deeds. Allah says, "(Verily, those who believe in Allah and His Messenger Muhammad, and those who are Jews and the Sabaians, and the Christians, and the Magians, and those who worship others besides Allah, truly, Allah will judge among them on the Day of Resurrection. Verily! Allah is over all things a Witness."*(22:17) A Muslim believes that Allah has created man to worship Him and to be humble to Him. He created him for Himself not for others. These are concepts that are taught to our children since their infancy, and which are subsequently reflected in their behavior.

Undoubtedly, others are astonished at the contradiction between what we believe in Islam in dealing with others and the conduct of some groups of Muslims who do not understand Islam properly. They derive its teachings from sources other than its scholars. This group has distorted Islamic interpretations, either through ignorance or extremism. Indeed, we were the first to denounce and repudiate the acts of this group.

This errant group surely has not understood Islamic teachings, which explicitly forbid killing civilians even on the battlefield, as Prophet Mohammed instructed his soldiers when he sent them to Mu'ta battle. Such instructions carried a message of mercy as Muslims were asked to kill only fighters, even on the battlefield. Muslims were forbidden to destroy civil instal-

lations for no reason. These are some of the exceptional and distinctive humanitarian features that distinguished Muslims in the times of peace and wartime; features that have accompanied Islam all over the ages.

The human history, throughout the ages, has documented such features. Therefore, we can draw a comparison in this regard between the heinous deeds of the Crusades in Jerusalem and the humane treatment of the Europeans by Salahuddin Al-Ayyoubi when he re-captured Jerusalem or a comparison between the cruelty of crusader soldiers and commanders when they occupied some Islamic cities such as Tripoli and the mercy practiced by Muslim soldiers and commanders when they re-captured them.

In fact, the Muslim may understand others' lack of knowledge of this religion and its fairness. But he cannot understand why they keep silent toward the crimes of Israelis against defenseless people who hardly get their daily food. These people face the cruelty, which is targeting children, infants, old men and women because of their faith in their fair cause. Also, it is hard to understand the world's silence toward the killing, robbery, and devastation of culture and civilization which is taking place in Iraq. We as Muslims cannot behave in such inhumane manner since we are ordered to be merciful in war and peace.

Such humane recommendations were repeated often by Prophet Mohammed to the soldiers when they went to Jihad. It was absolutely forbidden to kill helpless people, destroy civilian installations, spoil anything beneficent to human beings such as plants and others.

Let us look at the instructions of Prophet Mohammed to the soldiers before they went to battle:

"Go in the name of Allah and the religion of His prophet. Don't kill an old person, an infant or a woman. Don't be unfair; and only do good deeds." Also he said to the soldiers:

"Go in the Name of Allah, fighting for the sake of Allah, don't betray, or mutilate, don't kill children and worshippers in their shrines."

Islam barred its followers from harming worshippers of other religions even at the time of war, or harm children, women, or the aged. Dr. Ahmad Mohammed Jamal explains this war by saying: "War in Islam was similar to peace; it sought safety; not crimes, greed, aggression, enslavement or violation of human life."

Islam rejects aggression, either by Muslims or non-Muslims. It rejects unfairness, by persons, groups or countries, regardless of justifications. Islam is a religion that prohibits harm to humans, animals, the environment, or public and private property. Such things are red lines for Muslims, which they are not allowed to overstep. They emanate from a religious belief not from laws that change with the change of constitutions or with the whims and desires of those who frame them.

These are the teachings of our religion and no Muslim shall deviate from them even if he is angry or discontented. Muslims, regardless of their power, determine their relations with alliances or enemies, fighters or covenantees based on the law of Islam, which forbids unfairness, either among Muslims or between them and others. This is the status of the believer who complies with the teachings of his religion.

It is unfair to deny or disfigure the advantages Islam has for its people or for others. The teachings of the Holy Qur'an and Prophet Mohammed have refined the desires and feelings of Islam's followers, organized their affairs so as to ensure dignity, freedom and security, for them and for humanity in general.

We agree that sometimes war becomes necessary to repel an aggression against the nation and its human and material resources. However, this necessity does not entail forgetting the

principle of peace that Islam instilled in the hearts of its followers. It is forbidden to continue war for the sake of war. It is preferable to conclude treaties with those who can be trusted to honor them. Allah says in the Holy Qur'an, *"But if they incline to peace, you also incline to it, and (put your trust) in Allah. Verily, He is the All-Hearer, the All-Knower."*(8:61) Allah also said, *"O you who believe! Enter perfectly in Islam(by obeying all the rules and regulations of the Islamic religion) and follow not the footsteps of Shaitan (Satan). Verily! He is to you a plain enemy."(2:208)* Furthermore, Allah said, *"So if they withdraw from you and fight not against you, and offer you peace, then Allah has opened no way for you against them."*(4:90) It is an order from Allah to accept the peace call even if it comes from the enemy provided that it does not expose the Muslims to the danger of betrayal.

As Muslims, we should not deal with others on the basis of 'treating them as they treat us'. We should treat war prisoners or inhabitants of the captured lands on a humanitarian basis, even though the other party may mistreat our prisoners. Revenge just for the desire of revenge is forbidden in Islam. Prophet Mohammed said, "Take good care of war prisoners." The revenge feeling in the hearts of Muslims who have been treated unfairly is modified and refined through Islam in a way that would also preserve for these Muslims their dignity and self-respect. This is a right that has been recognized only partially by the international laws. Allah said, *"And fight in the Way of Allah those who fight you, but transgress not the limits."*(2:190)

Aliens, who are taken as prisoners of war (POW) have as much right to be protected as Muslim POWs do. The late Ibn Taymiyyah, for example, stood firmly against the Tatars when they decided to release only Muslim POWs and keep the non-Muslims. He said "I only accept the release of all POW's, Muslims and non-Muslims, all are under our custody; we will

not leave any war prisoner, whether Muslim or alien." Protection of aliens in the Islamic state is similar to that of Muslims, and their POWs - Jews or Christians - have the same right as long as they are residents of the Islamic state.

The fair history confirms that Muslim conquests that once expanded to include the east and west parts of the globe, did not aim at seizing the resources of conquered countries, nor at enslaving their people. They were to defend themselves and their religion. Muslims fought only those who decided to fight them; those who did not keep their covenants; or those who posed a threat to them. As such, fighting non-Muslims was not due to differences in religion.

At the same time, this history confirms that the population of the occupied lands adopted Islam of their own will, and not by force as some people claim. Muslims' good behavior and fair dealings were the direct reason for others to embrace Islam. The peoples of the conquered countries found that the Islamic religion preserved their rights. They easily compared the behavior of Muslim fighters with other invaders who did not respect any of their rights. Thomas Arnold, professor of contemporary history, cited this fairness of Muslim conquerors. He stated: "One of the important factors that made Islam spread all over the world, was that non-Muslims saw the ideal morals and equitable dealings of Muslims, who followed the instructions and guidance of their prophet as a supreme example."

Aggression is absolutely prohibited by our Islamic religion. It may never be justified even if it is against the enemy, if it is intended to cause material damage or weaken the morale of others.

Talking about peace in the relationship between Islam and others does not only mean safeguarding life, property and honor. It implies the broad meaning of peace, which includes even the sanctity of human feelings. This religion calls upon its follower to consider the feelings of aliens, Jews and

Christians down to the smallest details. One of the Hanafiya scholars clarified one aspect of this observance. He said, "As with Muslims, no harm shall be caused to an alien – and it is forbidden to talk about him in his absence." Also Al-Malikiah scholars said: "The covenant with aliens stipulates obligations toward them. If anyone causes any harm to them, even by word of mouth, calumniation or any other harm, or assists in that, he would be considered as breaching his own covenants with Allah."

Islam requires that we be more cooperative with aliens, respect their feelings and return their greeting. In this regard, Ibn Al-Qayem, a known Muslim scholar, wrote: "If the alien says 'As-Salamu Alaikum', (Peace be upon you), the Shari'ah and legal rules stipulate that we should reply, 'Wa Alaikum Assalam', (and peace be upon you, too). This is a type of fairness and Allah orders Muslims to be fair and kind to others."The matter here is not optional but it is obligatory to Muslims and they should abide by it as it is an order of Allah. Allah says in the Holy Qur'an: *"When you are greeted with a greeting, greet in return with what is better than it, or (at least) return it exactly."*(4:86) This obligation includes covenantees and non-Muslim protected people. The lives, dignity and property of those people are protected by the religion and Shari'a. Prophet Mohammed's teachings explicitly stated that "it is forbidden to cause harm to the covenantees". He said: "The one who kills a covenantee, will not get the scent of Paradise, even though it can be sniffed from a very long distance.

Also, based on the principle of peace that governs the relations of Muslims with others, the conclusion of peace treaties which Muslim interests necessitate is legally permitted. This permissibility, however, should not be interpreted to imply acceptance of treaties that violate the Qura'an or Sunnah, or pose a threat to the national security. Such treaties should be based on mutual agreement without any international pressure. They

should be worded in clear terms free of all ambiguity. Cases like war alliances and cease-fire should be included, provided that such cases are in favor of Islam and Muslims.

Such treaties are deemed binding to Muslims more than to others. Muslims are obliged to execute them in compliance with the requirements of Islam rather than the international laws. This obligation governs all Muslims, unless the other party violates any terms thereof, in which case only, Muslims are relieved from their commitments.

Allah said in the Holy Qura'n: *" (But the treaties are) not dissolved with those Pagans with whom ye have entered into alliance and who have not subsequently failed you in aught, nor aided anyone against you."*(9:4)

War in Islam is a necessity, which is nullified when the causes thereof no longer exist. It is a remedy for desperate cases and a rectification of unstable situations. With the prevalence of security, and the diminishing of enemies threat, the Islamic society returns to the principle of peace as dictated by Allah in its relations with others. Muslims cannot deviate at will from such principles but are subject to legal controls.

The above facts are not cited here to defend Islam as much as they are intended to show the greatness of this religion and to eliminate the confusion resulting from interpreting the behavior of some ignorant followers into facts that characterize Islam. I hope that whoever reads this will immediately start to conduct an unbiased and comprehensive study of the Holy Qura'n and the Sunnah of our Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, from all aspects. Surely, it is a religion which prohibits injustice and aims at achieving prosperity and happiness for all humanity.

PART FOUR

SAUDI ARABIA
AND TERRORISM

WAHHABISM AND

"EXPORTING TERRORISM"

Professor Abdulrahman Z. Al-Zunaidi

In his book: *Gods That Always Fail*, Dr. Edward Said noted that saying things against Arabs and their culture or against Islam, has become so easy these days that it provokes laughter. He attributed this to a cultural war between people in the West and those in the Arab and Islamic world. He pointed out that the most difficult thing to do for an intellectual in such a volatile situation is to be critical, to reject adopting an oratorical style, which is the verbal equivalent of the scorched earth.

Wahhabism: Complexity of understanding the term

Although there is factual truth in Dr. Said's vision, there is a category outside this portrait represented by some people who have preserved their sanity, and have remained open to facts whatever their sources. For those, and for others as well, a concerned intellectual feels a responsibility towards cultural sharing and finds comfort in contributing to solving issues under dispute.

(Wahhabism) is one of the issues that has recently received increased attention and become associated with the most important problem of the 21st Century, i.e. "terrorism". It is also an issue about which there have been contradictory viewpoints and attitudes.

In fact, interest in Wahhabism did not start with the Sep-

tember 11 events and its repercussions. Wahhabism has been the center of interest of the entire world since its rise in the eighteenth century. People, whether Muslims or Orientalists, were divided over Wahhabism, and each group had its own particular attitude towards it.

The problem does not lie in such a divergence of opinions and attitudes; for such a divergence is a universal practice of human life vis-à-vis all kinds of human phenomena. The problem, however, lies in the basis on which attitudes are built. A defect in the approach may result in inaccurate judgment and may affect the attitude towards it. Distinction should be made between one who bases his attitude toward a certain phenomenon on its clear ideology and leaders who represent it, and one who bases his attitude on outsiders, who might be rejecting it or be unfamiliar with it.

It is strange that Wahhabism is burdened with contradicting attributes, including its connection with violence and terrorism. In the past decades, during the revolutionary expansion of communism, Wahhabism was discredited as an ideology which prescribed submission on the part of the people to their rulers; and surrender on the part of the rulers to imperialistic forces. This situation was taken primarily from the extremist ancestors. It represents an anti-revolutionary situation and calls for tolerance of oppression and injustice[1].

Then the case changed completely to the opposite. Presently, Wahhabism has become synonymous with terrorism. Its religious teachings are alleged to be inciting opposition and severance of relations with others. The implementation of this ideology requires that its adherents should seek to translate it into reality. The dreams of a Wahhabi state moves forward, as "Dan-

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1 Hassan Hanafi, et al, Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilization, Part 2- 9/2(In Arabic).

iel Pipes" says, "to replace our Constitution with the Quran."[1]
To change America into a Muslim Country by force!"

Where is the truth? Is Wahhabism inalienably characterized
by terrorism to the extent that "to be a Wahhabi means you are
automatically a terrorist?"Or have some developments that oc-
curred during the past few years, during which terrorist vio-
lence has shifted from the exhausted radical communism to
Wahhabism? Or, is there some confusion resulting from the
situation Wahhabism found in itself after September 11. A
group accused of hijacking US airplanes are said to be Wahha-
bis. Also Al-Qa'eda is being linked to Wahhabism. As a result,
Wahhabism has been accused of terrorism. Such an accusation
has offered a favorable opportunity to those who benefit from
destroying Wahhabism, and who lost no time in hurling accu-
sations against it.

I maintain a lengthy record of what has been recently writ-
ten about Wahhabism and it salleged association with terror-
ism. The writings were by Muslims, non-Muslims, intellectu-
als and politicians. These writings can be summarized as
follows:

First: Writings seeking to absolve Wahhabism of any link
with terrorism and hostility. Those are mostly Wahhabi fol-
lowers or sympathizers who feel that the attack against Wah-
habism is, in fact, an attack against Islam, its teachings and
methodology.

Second: Baseless judgments of an absolute nature. These
judgments are not based on any logical or documented materi-
als. They are mere slogans like:

"Wahhabi Islam was the major pillar for waves of armed ex-
tremism resulting in brutal acts in the Middle East."

"Wahhabis continue to encourage institutionalized oppression

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1 Susan Katz, The Wahhabi Fifth Column- Front page magazine- 30 December 2002.

of women and to reject modernity, secularism and democracy as antithetical to Islam."

"Two members of the Al Al-Sheikh family are in the Saudi Council of Minisiters. They are known to be strict Wahhabis because their heads are covered but without a black band, the iggal, holding it in place."[1]

There are many similar examples, which are like commercial ads that try to allure someone and have him believe in them without stopping to consider how truthful or significant they are.

Third: Some people while trying to indicate or prove that Wahhabism is involved in terrorist activities give the following examples:

Printing Islamic books, hiring Islamic propagators in the West, building mosques and Islamic schools, printing and distributing copies of the Qur'an, launching Islamic internet sites, establishing chairs in some U.S. and Western universities with Saudi support and establishing Islamic charity organizations and societies, such as the Muslim World League (MWL) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).

Of course other examples are taken from certain practices in Saudi Arabia as proof of fanaticism and terrorism being practiced by Wahhabi scholars and the government against the people. This includes prohibiting women from driving; the existence of separate family sections in restaurants; no woman is

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1 Quotations as follows:

Dor Gold - Former Israel's ambassador to the United Nations - New York Post, April 6, 2003.

John Kyl - Republican Senator, Front Page magazine 3 July 2003

Arnod Dior Shajreev - Head of International Strategic Studies, Washington Times, July 16, 2003.

Simon Henderson in his testimony before of the Senate judiciary committee on terrorism in the Senate, September 10, 2003.

allowed to travel unless accompanied by a lawful escort; no mention of Israel in school geography textbooks; prohibition of eyelashes trimming and compelling people to pray five times a day. Last, but not least, Al-Qa'eda - Osama Bin Laden and those Saudis accused of hijacking US airplanes, and bombers in Saudi Arabia, all belong to Wahhabism.

No doubt describing such activities as terrorism is surprising. The Wahhabi activities mentioned above as indications of terrorism make us pose a question about terrorism. I don't mean its comprehensive definition; many forces that were served by keeping its definition fluid, and adaptable to their interests avoid this. Rather the query involves the concept of terrorism that is condemned by the world today. Maybe what gives those images a unified meaning is the definition that says that terrorism is a (non-rightful assault against people and property through terrorizing, murdering or damaging). Is Wahhabism involved in any of these acts? If the obvious answer is 'no', was the issue linked to the vision some people have of religion: those who view religion only as a motive for hatred, bloody conflicts and disputes with others and attributed their vision to Islam? Though the Westerners have changed their dark vision towards religion and the printing and distribution of the Bible are no longer considered acts of terrorism, the printing and distribution of the Qura'n is still considered a terrorist activity. Or, is there a wider objective underpinned by a deep-rooted conviction that the Wahhabi activities for the sake of spreading Islam are a source of threat to the interests of certain groups or forces who managed to exaggerate the activities of Wahhabism? By connecting Wahhabism with terrorism, these groups are looking forward to achieving their targeted objective, which is:

"America must respond aggressively to that threat. Americans must insist that the Saudis immediately stop funding

Wahhabi schools, mosques, charities and think tanks in this country. We can no longer tolerate such an overt onslaught on our national values."[1]

¢In summary, Saudi Arabia constitutes a clear visible threat to the United States and the international community."[2]

There are those who attempt to bypass this predicament by branding some ideological or sheer religious activities as acts of terrorism, by means of obvious lies they fabricate or borrow from what others allege. For example, they affirm that relief organizations support terrorism, although serious investigations proved their innocence of such accusation. Also, the lie of Steven Schwartz, when he said that Friday sermons are faxed from Riyadh, to the mosques in the USA. There is a final assumption to be understood for making those Western politicians and intellectuals believe that Islamic propagation and worshipping activities are acts of terrorism.

Fourth: I'm trying here to explain what Wahhabism is, as many refer to any Islamic activity whether related to culture, worshipping or call to Islam, as Wahhabist.

No doubt many of those who wrote about Wahhabism indicate first that Wahhabism is a doctrine that originated in the 18th century in the Arabian Peninsula by a person called Mohammed bin Abdul-Wahhab. This is a good starting point that will help explain what Wahhabism means and what is the link between Wahhabism and current events. But the problem lies in the fact that there is a group which labeled any activity it disagrees with as Wahhabism and those who are involved in it as Wahhabis.

Writing about Saudi institutions that have links with terror organizations, Simon Henderson cited a number of Saudi em-

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1 Susan Katz - Front Page Magazine, 30 December 2002
2 Steven Schwartz - Middle East Forum 27 February 2003

bassies around the world, the Muslim World League (MWL), the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB).

Steven Schwartz noted that the major Islamic institutions in the U.S., like the Council of American Islamic Relations (CAIR), Muslim American Society (MAS), International Institute of Islamic Thought (ISNA) and North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), are all representatives of the Wahhabi lobby in the U.S.

John Kyl, claimed that the Egyptian Al-Azhar mosque and university was taken over by Wahhabis. He said Al-Azhar mosque and university in Cairo, which not too long ago was a paragon of Islamic moderation has been taken over by the Wahhabis. He based this conclusion on two fatwas issued by Al-Azhar: one makes it a religious duty for Muslims to acquire nuclear weapons and the other justifying attacks against American troops in Iraq. He pointed out while none of the Muslim Brotherhood, The Gamaa Islamiya in Pakistan or the Deobandis movements were 100% Wahhabi originally, their ideological differences were insignificant and they have all become Wahhabi.

Lee Kaplan observed that Wahhabism has gone beyond Muslims; that many Western intellectuals in the educational institutions were influenced by Wahhabism. He cited university chairs endowed by Saudi Arabia. He alleged that "the money goes to what could be considered the Saudis (foot soldiers) on campus: Arab student activists."

Taking all these views into account, one can see how the situation is so confused and the image is so obscure about the reality of Wahhabism in the minds of many.

Within these visions, every activity practiced or position taken by Muslims and which does not agree with the interests

of those who voice these visions, is labeled as Wahhabism. If this is not the case, what does it mean to cast accusations against university chairs endowed by Saudi Arabia for the mere fact that a student criticized the Jewish lobby in the U.S. and that another student criticized Israel's position towards the Palestinians or a third said: In the books of the Jews "a non-Jew does not possess a true value", etc...[1]

Any individual who respects the human values of others and upholds the truth, will grieve at seeing the truth murdered and facts falsified. Such informative visions - in total - stimulate many queries, among the most important is the following query: Is Wahhabism - in its past and present surrounded with so much obscurity and instability? Is it so such in the minds of those who drew these derogatory pictures of it?

Proceeding from the inspiration of this query, the best way truth could be served in this matter, i.e. Wahhabism and its re-lationship with terrorism, is to give a vision about Wahhabism based on historical facts and literature of this movement.

Wahhabism: Authenticity of the mission

When we people say Wahhabism we are referring to the in-tellectual movement spread by the religious scholar Mo-hammed Bin Abdul Wahhab three hundred years ago. He was born in the central part of the Arabian Peninsula in the year 1713 A.D. During his youth he traveled around the Arabian Peninsula and to Iraq. He received Islamic and Arabic lan-guage education from a group of Muslim scholars. He was very upset about the condition of Muslims at the time and how Muslims were so involved in practices that ran contrary to Is-lamic teachings. Even American Orientalist Luthrope Steward has written about the situation of Muslims at that time. He

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1 Lee Kaplan - Front Page Magazine, 5 April 2004

noted that the Islamic world had reached its highest level of weakness; darkness prevailed over every part of its domain. Immorality spread out; what was left of Arab civilization had faded away. Mosques became empty of worshippers and most Muslims did not adhere to the Islamic teachings in abandoning what is not lawful like alcohol consumption.[1]

In this atmosphere Mohammed Bin Abdul Wahhab began his mission. After reaching an agreement with Prince Mohammed bin Saud, the then prince of Direyah, now one of Riyadh's neighborhoods, Wahhabism turned to be not only an ideological movement but also a political one. I don't mean to say that Wahhabism has turned to a means for achieving political interests, as may appear to those who do not know that relations between politics and religion in Islam are intermingled and that each is enhanced by the other.

The Wahhabi philosophy in bringing about social change is to have Muslims return to the origin of Islam as stated by the Qura'n and the Sunnah (sayings and deeds) of the Prophet and to refrain from any practices that run contrary to the true Islamic teachings. Therefore, the Wahhabis did not feel that they had created a new doctrine. They knew very well that their doctrine was the Islamic way of life at the early years of Islam and that what they were trying to propagate was not something peculiar to them. As most Islamic factions announce that they represent true Islam, the Wahhabis called on them to refer to the original teachings of Islam and use them as their guide.

Many Muslims and Orientalist researchers, who studied Islam, have realized this fact about Wahhabism. Buckart, for in-

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1 Massoud Al-Nadawi, The Presence of Islamic World, , Translated by Hajjaj Nuwaihed and other Quotations reflecting the views of Mohammed Bin Abdul Wahhab / Page 32

stance, noted: "Wahhabism, if we want to classify, is but Islam in its early purity."The Encyclopedia Britannica defined Wahhabism as: "An Islamic puritan movement and Wahhabis follow the instructions of the Prophet only."[1]

Bases of Wahhabism:

Maybe of the most prominent Wahhabi thoughts are the following:

Rectification of monotheism, worship should be of Allah the Creator exclusively.

Propagation of education and knowledge, establishing culture based on a rational ideological movement: Although Wahhabism did not, in its early stages, reject secular knowledge, due to its religious tendency, for one reason, and the environment it appeared in, for another, it stressed religious knowledge only. That is why when Saudi society opened up in the twentieth century, the education movement was directed toward those perceptions which give educational priority to religion.

The political movement: Since the social system is part of Islam, Bin Abdul Wahhab could not confine himself within the religious and worship aspect, but had inevitably to direct his attention to the social aspect. Based on the historical experience Muslim scholars had with politics and its temptations and seductions, they led a mid-way rationale between complete alienation from politics and complete immersion in it. This is what made Wahhabis isolate themselves from getting involved directly in the political movement. They worked closely on reforming it without becoming associated therewith.

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1 Abdullah Al Ruwais,The Truth of Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdul Wahab Call "mission" Page 120 (in Arabic).

Within this framework, Mohammad Bin Abdul Wahhab allied himself with Mohammed Bin Saud, Prince of Deriyah Emirate, to take up Wahhabism in the social and political domains, so as to establish peace and security, to safeguard justice, and deal with the others in compliance with Islamic values.

Of course, Wahhabism did not find the way smooth but faced several hurdles. It suffered before it could consolidate its existence in the Peninsula. It suffered from the deep-rooted existence of corruption and from the surrounding forces which were worried over their interests which were closely connected with the status quo. Provocations continued, both politically and intellectually by the various groups. There were accusations and military skirmishes and clashes that ended with the complete destruction of the state by the ruler of Egypt at that time, Mohammad Ali, in 1819. Chaos returned to the Arabian Peninsula. Then the second Saudi state rose and fell. At the beginning of the twentieth century there appeared King Abdul-Aziz, father of King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah. The present Saudi state was formed when its name "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia" was proclaimed. The new state declared its loyalty to Wahhabism, a loyalty, which in the conviction of its people starting from King Abdul-Aziz, is a loyalty to Islam itself.

Wahhabism - as Saudis believe - is an intellectual and practical representation of Islam in this era. They also observe that other Muslims and non-Muslims have the right to confront them and expose any deviation, intellectual or behavioral, from Islam on the part of Wahhabism and any false attribution to Islam on its part.

On this foundation the Saudi state built its internal personality in education and judiciary systems, dealt with this era with the necessary modernization, also built its foreign relations. These relationships are represented as follows:

Peaceful co-existence with Muslims.

Rejection of aggression and oppression regardless of the source.

Signing international treaties that aim at safeguarding human dignity and achieving justice.

Spreading Islam and serving Muslims in their religion, by publishing the Qura'n and the Prophet's Hadith, building of mosques for worship and so on.

This is the Wahhabism of the state, on the other hand, the Wahhabism of society (the people), is manifested through the following activities:

Rectification of their faith in Allah, and purification from what they consider as polytheism or aberration.

Performance of worship in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah.

Behaving with others according to the rules of Islam.

Making peace with those who believe in peace and wishing them well regardless of their religion or race.

Resisting aggressors and rejecting oppression but without committing acts of injustice or tyranny.

This is the picture that Saudis think they are dealing with as regards to the others. This picture, as they see it, is not mere courtesy, not an emotional outcry of being civilized, not a sweeping faith passing through. It is a picture of Islamic teachings absorbed by society through educational and cultural institutions and diffused by the media and educational and cultural organizations which are erroneously described by detractors as Wahhabi teachings.

Suspicions about Wahhabism

It is easy for a critic to say: Beautiful are the ideas you present on your Wahhabism but what I deal with must be practical reality: it is what some of your people practice such as hijacking, murdering, bombing and destroying, acts that we all

agreed on considering as acts of terror. Perpetrators of such acts belong to Wahhabism or are graduated from its schools. which means that Wahhabism is a movement that motivated those terrorists. Here, we go back to the rightful standard we referred to earlier of who represents the truth in a disputed issue.

We refer here to two points:

Firstly: Current history of Saudi Society, that is longer than a century since King Abdul-Aziz began unification, is based on the inherited Wahhabi mission. Regional and international relations between the state governing this Wahhabi society and the other states were established. Its society was opened to the world around it. All sectors intermingled with all categories of people within the Saudi society and outside. History witnesses that during this period, that exceeded a century, this society with its education and judiciary systems based on Wahhabism did not occupy other peoples' lands, did not usurp rights that do not belong to it, did not support mercenary gangs in their bid to destabilize any country and did not interfere with the sovereignty of another country. United Nations reports, and intellectuals testimonials around the world, confirm that through their long experience they have found that Saudi Arabia is a country that respects treaties and agreements, preserves peace, strives for reform, and is keen on positive participation in organizations which aim at sustaining justice, initiating reform, preserving rights, and achieving human welfare and prosperity.

Tens of thousands of Europeans, Americans, and others have lived in the various provinces of Saudi society for decades; they did not encounter any violence or terror even from those extremely religious. Orientalists who visited the Arabian Peninsula, in the past or recently, and memoirs of those who worked for years among these people, all draw a picture full of admiration for them and their dealings with the others.

The image of the Saudis abroad, was not known during the past decades for resorting to violence and terror. Is it justifiable to ignore all that and concentrate on a limited, isolated group that represents disharmony in a society that is afflicted by their belonging to it and by their wrongdoings?

Secondly: Against that limited number of terror practitioners, we have a multitude of legitimate Wahhabi scholars and Islamic intellectuals who condemned acts of violence and destruction, along with the other forms of terror committed against individuals and their inalienable property. Also the Senior Ulema (Muslim scholars) Commission, issued a number of statements condemning explicitly terrorism from an Islamic point of view. One of those statements says: "These kinds of terrorist act are prohibited in Islam. They are tantamount to treachery, betrayal, injustice, aggression, and criminality and intimidation of Muslims and others. All of these are shocking atrocities that Allah, His messenger, and the faithful reject and despise." The Commission indicates that "Islam is blameless and innocent of such acts, and so is every Muslim who has faith in Allah and the Day of Judgment. It is the behavior of a twisted mentality and a faith that has gone astray. A person with this kind of mentality and twisted faith bears the responsibility for his sins and crimes. His actions cannot be attributed to Islam and Muslims guided by the holy Quran and Sunnah, for such acts are sheer criminality and depravity and are rejected by faith and morality. The legitimate religious texts are definite in prohibiting such acts and befriending their perpetrators."[1]

Also scholars, including Muslim ones, issued many statements in this regard. Thus, who is the true representative of Wahhabism, is it Saudi society, its scholars and scholars

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1 ¢ Terrorism" an Arabic publication issued by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs in Saudi Arabia in 2004. The publication compiled statements issued by the Commission of Senior Ulema (scholars) on terrorism

throughout its history with their clear visions, or those young individuals, most of whom confessed that they obtained their terrorist ideas from organized movements which claimed to be fighting for Muslim rights?. The oppression in Palestine and elsewhere, a compelling desire to face it and the hurdles in the efforts to find a logical solution gave rise to these endeavors on the part of those terrorists, endeavors which were more destructive to them and their societies than to others.

A viewer of what the afore-mentioned elements state about Wahhabism and their description of it which distorts facts as well as their groundless fabrications will feel that he is facing a political agitation which aims at realizing its own personal objectives even if it has to resort to dishonest means.

While reading those erroneous views about Wahhabism and the unjustified slandering of its picture, I remembered what the Muslim Brotherhood faced seventy years ago. The British High Commissioner in Iraq at that time, Major Dickson, on the last days of his life confessed that rumors of Ikhwan (Brotherhood) movement's brutality and terrorism were fabricated by the British agencies, he said: "Although much has been written about the cruelty of the Brothers and their terror. Yet, I must say now: The picture was too exaggerated with intent and design to serve political objectives, at the time. I developed a feeling of admiration for the brotherhood. Maybe that was the special magic of the truly faithful and believers in God, who think they are commissioned to purify religion from evil. I confess that when I got acquainted with some brothers, I found only a small difference between them and the normal good bedouins; they loved their women, were kind to their children, camels, and horses like everybody else."

I wonder if the conscience of those casting accusations against Wahhabism and going as far in their aspersions as

their pens can write, will wake up, and whether the day will come when they'll regret their inhumane stances towards the truth and people.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding of what the Wahhabis say that Wahhabism is only concerned with implementing Islam in all its purity through its two original sources, the Quran and the Sunnah, it is appropriate to emphasize that Wahhabism is a reformative movement that appeared in a specific historical period and in a specific location. This has its influence on Wahhabism, as is the case with other reform movements. Yes, Wahhabi pioneers strived, especially during the twentieth century as Saudi society opened to the world to adjust to surrounding social and cultural changes asserting in all their re-adjustments their strict adherence to the basic pivot of Wahhabism, the Quran and Sunnah. This is what made them present themselves as committed to this faith and call other Muslims to join them.

However, does that mean that the concept and application of an Islamic background for Wahhabi followers represent the genuine equivalent to the text of the Quran and Sunnah? The answer is no. They are only efforts, some of which may represent the only meaning to the text. Others may represent correct meaning with some other meanings. In some, there could be some deficiency, especially regarding social matters, that modern Wahhabism aims at Islamizing, or establishing an Islamic reference for it. That is why there could be more than one interpretative implementation in Wahhabism and others; these implementations could be legitimately accepted without there being conflicting economic and political aspects and so on; exactly as Muslims are distributed among the various Sharia doctrines through interpretations that meet at times and differ at others, each considers the other as a Muslim, although a follower of a different doctrine.

Here, at this point, some followers of Wahhabism may exaggerate; they claim absolute correctness for their doctrine alone in all aspects while denying the legitimacy of interpretative endeavors by other doctrines. The same attitude is taken by followers of the doctrines towards Wahhabism. Here also some followers may go beyond their authority by taking some fatwa and upgrading them to the status of a legitimate ruling valid for all time and place. Some of those who at present rely in matters of Jihad and expiation on Wahhabi scholars' fatwa issued a century ago or more, are of this category: they apply doctrinal fatawa called for by particular circumstances and targeting practical ends arising from particular circumstances and particular people to other circumstances and other people. These are pictures of religious excess which are rejected even if they came from Wahhabi members; whereas, Wahhabism which originally confines the infallible text to the "revelation", and advocates fata changes with changes of time and place; and refers differences to the Quran and Sunna, rejects this exaggeration.

Needless to say, Wahhabi followers are humans like all others. A Wahhabi scholar could err in an interpretation. Ordinary individuals may commit improper acts either from an Islamic or a human perspective. However, it remains in its individual framework whether it resulted from erring interpretations, or was a drifting away under pressure of circumstances. The general course of Wahhabism remains above these errors and falls. Direct interaction with Wahhabism by the various sects of Muslims and non-Muslims - made those groups comprehend this fact, sympathize with it, and realize the oppression Wahhabism is under from the outside.

Rational Muslims in general realize that the activities of Saudi Arabia, like distribution of copies of the Quran, construction of mosques, relief work and others, labeled as Wah-

habism, has no connection whatsoever with terrorism. On the contrary, these activities help to instill the spirit of peace and cultural interaction between Muslims and others. The activities of the Islamic centers, supported by Saudi Arabia, are a good example of this.

THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT

AND AL-QAEDA

Khaled Almaeena

Those of us who, post Sept. 11, have had the opportunity to meet with the world media and discuss the issue of terrorism with men and women from other countries and cultures have found ourselves facing a wide range of reactions - from bewilderment, through curiosity and skepticism, to outright hostility. There were many who genuinely wanted to know, after hearing the instant experts that TV channels produced in their hundreds, if the Kingdom was really the fountainhead of terrorism that so many so-called specialists maintained it to be.

To such people we explained time and again that there was no truth in this. We told them that the fact that 15 of the 19 men involved in the terror attacks on New York and Washington were Saudi nationals did not mean that Saudi Arabia was a factory producing terrorists. If an entire nation - its people and government - were to be held accountable for the crimes and insanity of a few of its citizens, there would be no nation in the world that could not be indicted for every crime in the book. The shoe bomber who tried to blow up a plane from Paris to the States was British, as are some of the detainees in Guantanamo Bay; the militant who killed the *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Daniel Pearl in Pakistan was British; a pair of suicide bombers in Israel in 2003 were British: yet no one in their right mind accuses Great Britain of being behind their actions.

Time and again, we begged those seemingly swayed by the allegations against Saudi Arabia to ask themselves certain fundamental questions: Was there any record of the Saudi government using violence against civilians as a political tool in its relations with other

states? Had it ever encouraged private groups or organizations to commit such acts? At the very least, had it allowed any group to organize, with its support or within its borders, training camps to teach terrorists how to slam aircraft into skyscrapers or plant bombs in nightclubs? If the answers to these questions were yes, it would be right to blame Saudi Arabia for terrorism. But the answer that came from those who were prepared to weigh up the evidence rather than rely on innuendoes or private agendas, has been a resounding "No".

That resounding "No" has been confirmed by the 9/11 Commission, set up by President Bush and Congress to investigate every aspect of the attacks. The report is available on the Internet for everyone to read. The Commission absolved Saudi Arabia of any involvement in the 9/11 attacks, in the money trail, in events beforehand such as the 1998 embassy attacks in Nairobi and Dar es-Salam and the attack on the USS Cole at Aden in 2000. It found the Kingdom had provided no assistance nor support for the terrorists.

Yet headlines continue to assert that Saudi Arabia's links with terrorism are an "absolute truth" - in the sense Eric Hoffer defined it: "Add a few drops of malice to a half truth and you have an absolute truth." Worse, while there was actually little outright malice among commentators, there was plenty of ignorance, fear and a dangerous herd instinct to make up for it. It is sometimes very hard for journalists to go against what becomes the accepted wisdom.

When the three hijacked aircraft brought war to America's shores for the first time in its recent history, it was a situation that the American people could not comprehend. How it could have happened and why? All they knew was that most of the terrorists were Saudis. They also knew that Osama Bin Laden was born in Saudi Arabia; they could hardly miss the connection since with every mention of Bin Laden in the media went the adjective "Saudi-born" tagged on to it. Instant experts took it from there.

They harked on constantly about "incontrovertible evidence" that Saudis were natural terrorists - they were Wahabis, they wore long robes, their women were not allowed to drive, they hated freedoms,

"civilization" and the American way of life - and of course they were anti-Semitic because they questioned Israel's right to occupy Palestine.

The majority of the good men and women sitting in front of their TV sets in the US accepted this analysis unquestioningly. They did not pause to ask themselves, for example, why, if Saudis hated America so much that all that they were waiting for before bringing down the Twin Towers was for 15 Saudis to reach US shores and get flying lessons, the millions of Saudis who had previously flown to the US had shown no desire to hurt America. Nor did they wonder about the hundreds of thousands of Westerners who, over the previous three decades, had worked in Saudi Arabia, the overwhelming majority of them Americans, bringing their expertise in engineering, administration and medicine, their curiosity about a people and land they had known mostly through travelers' accounts or the Arabian Nights. These people had been eager to help the Kingdom develop so that it could be a partner in the development of their own countries. Yet how was it that they did not meet any Saudi terrorists in all that time? How come, if Saudis were thirsting for Western blood, their wives and children found the roads and streets of Saudi Arabia's cities, their residential compounds in its villages, the expanses of its deserts, safer than their own towns and cities?

In all those years, while all these millions were interacting, living and working together, there was not a single case of violence against Westerners driven by motives of religion, nationality, culture or civilization. At that time Saudis were Muslims and followed the same Wahabi school of thought that they follow now. The Saudi relationship with the West, at government levels, was the same as it is today - one seeking mutual benefit, informed by mutual good will and a culture of sorting out policy differences through discussions. Nothing has changed in Saudi Arabia to make its people or government responsible for the 15 psychopaths deciding to get rid of their bitterness by killing around 3,000 people who had nothing to do with the causes of that bitterness.

Then why were 15 of the Sept. 11 attackers Saudis? Those who ask that question should ask, first, another question about the common denominator between all the factions now linked with Islamist terrorism. That common denominator was the Afghan war against Soviet occupation. That war, let us not forget, has had no critic in any political quarter in the US. It was the straw that broke the brittle back of the Soviet Union. The United States is the sole superpower today because the Soviet Union received the coup de grace from the Afghan Mujahedeen. No one has heard the Americans complaining about this.

The Afghan war had many backers, all for their own reasons, but the one that provided the Mujahedeen with the technology, arms and ammunition, training camps, military advisers, and all the other things that made a fighting unit out of an odd collection of people drawn from a variety of nations was the United States.

The physical muscle came from the Arab-Muslim world. Young men who saw it as a war to liberate one of their lands occupied by an aggressor volunteered to be Mujahedeen. But their recruitment drive was organized by the United States, with the support of Muslim governments. They were sent to Afghan training camps and trained by US military personnel in the use of bombs, explosives and other sophisticated weapons, and in guerilla war techniques.

At the same time, they were trained to develop a tunnel vision: The enemy is defined for you, and your mission is to take him out, no matter what the cost to you or to any one else in the entire world. This job of indoctrination was done for the Americans by the same people who are now called "fundamentalists" and the recruitment drive was channeled through the same madrasas that are now reviled by America's instant experts as terrorist recruitment centers. Of course, they were not terrorists then, but Mujahedeen. Though, still sporting beard and garbed in the same coarse dress as today, they were freedom fighters worthy of being received at the White House.

Young Muslim boys - "freedom fighters", Washington called them - poured into Afghanistan from all parts of the world. According to the figures released by the US Council on Foreign Affairs, "While not

all saw combat, some 5,000 Saudis, 3,000 Yemenis, 2,800 Algerians, 2,000 Egyptians, 400 Tunisians, 350 Iraqis, 200 Libyans and dozens of Jordanians served alongside the Afghan Mujahedeen in the war." Of these, it says, between 1,000 and 1,500 returned to Algeria to form the backbone of the Islamic radicals who continue to fight the government in a nine-year civil war that claimed more than 100,000 lives. Those who went back to Egypt became valued members of the Gamaa Islamiya and the Jihad group, but in the 1990s many were arrested and prosecuted en masse as 'the returnees from Afghanistan.' Some Egyptian volunteers, who saw that they also would be imprisoned if they returned home, remained in Afghanistan or took refuge wherever they could. The US Council on Foreign Affairs also reports: "According to US authorities, as many as 200 Afghan alumni settled in the New York/New Jersey area, some of them congregating around the New Jersey mosque where Omar Abdul Rahman preached."

It continues: "Largely at the request of Egypt and Algeria, Pakistan has cracked down on its Afghan veterans. Some so-called 'Afghani Arabs' also headed to Asia and joined up in the Philippines with the Abu Sayyaf group - named after a famous Afghan mujahed. Other Afghani Arabs continued to fight the Russians in Tajikistan while still others continued to participate in other conflicts where Muslims were involved, mainly participating in the wars in Bosnia and Chechnya."

Those who set out, on Sept. 11, 2001, as they thought, to deal with the problems facing the Muslim world - its underdevelopment, poor standard of education, corrupt governments and, of course the Palestinian tragedy, by exploding bombs in New York and Washington, were inspired by what they learned in Afghanistan. The curriculum in those camps was not prepared by the Saudi government; nor were the teachers recruited by Saudi Arabia. The course was supervised by the Americans and the teachers guided by Americans. Osama Bin Laden was a permanent presence in Afghanistan - feted, not hunted, by the Americans.

The 15 misguided men were Saudi nationals, but they were not products of a Saudi "hatred for the American way of life." If any-

thing, they were products of the American way of war. They could have come from any place even from among the "200 Afghan alumni settled in the New York/New Jersey area". If that had happened, then using the perverse logic that now makes Saudi Arabia a sponsor of terrorism because 15 of the 19 were Saudis, it would have been right to label America as the sponsor of terrorism, would not it? Of course not. The 15 happened to be Saudis, not New Yorkers, because it was that particular group that went mad.

It was pure chance that 15 of the 19 were Saudis. Until this is clearly understood, the war against terrorism cannot effectively even begin - because, all its tumult and din notwithstanding, it will be fought between different victims of terrorism, not between victims on the one side and terrorists on the other.

Nor does it help for any one victim to behave as though it has a monopoly on victim hood. It is not just America that has suffered terrorist attacks, even though it is the one that has taken the most monstrous hit so far. Saudi Arabia is also a victim. Indeed more so. It has suffered more attacks, on a much wider scale and over a much longer period. All analysts agree, and the statements that have come from Al-Qaeda and its allies and offshoots confirm, that their ultimate target is Saudi Arabia. The ambition is to overthrow the government of Saudi Arabia, to overthrow governments in all other Arab states and all other Muslim countries. They want power - total power - in the Muslim world. They want to turn back the clock to the seventh century and re-create the Islamic empire of the caliphs. For them, the US, the West, is a secondary target. They attack the West because they see it as a means of rallying support within the Muslim world. They attack it because they see it as supporting and being the friends of those in power in much of the Arab and Islamic world.

This is actually the overarching truth. Saudi Arabia, not the US, is the terrorists' prime target. Those who link Saudi Arabia with these terrorists thus make a claim that strains all credulity, that the Kingdom is supporting and financing its own destruction. For Saudi Arabia to support the terrorists is like turkeys voting for Thanksgiving.

There is a mass of other evidence that proves the nonsense of the allegations. Saudi Arabia has been a firm friend to the US. It has worked hard in OPEC to stabilize oil prices. It provided the US with a military airbase to patrol Iraqi air space between the first and second Gulf wars. It continues to collaborate with the US on intelligence relating to the terrorists. Saudi Arabia is as firmly and as determinedly anti-Al Qaeda as anyone in US. And there is yet another factor that makes nonsense of the idea that Saudi Arabia supports the terrorists. We have seen the terrorists' notion of good government. They put it into effect in Afghanistan: Women not allowed to work, no music, no television, no dancing, men beaten up if they did not turn up to the mosque at prayer time. If Saudi Arabia wanted this, these things would be happening in the Kingdom. They are not.

The war on terrorism must be fought on many fronts. Since terrorists stick the label of Islam and Muslim causes on their murderous wars to market their perversions, Islamic scholars and Muslim leaders must make it absolutely clear to humanity in general and Muslims in particular that the actions of these thugs are a negation of everything that Islam brought to this world and that they are damaging Muslim causes everywhere. This truth is indeed being broadcast in Saudi Arabia and throughout the Muslim world. The message is going out from scholars and leaders and from the media and the pulpit warning Muslims against being misled by those who want to use Islam to ride to power and glory.

However, this is only one part of the battle. Another part must be fought by others - by America more than anyone else - and that involves understanding why ordinary Muslim men and women across the world buy into the sales pitch of the terrorists. For nearly half-a-century - that is the entire lifetime of the generation now living, its young and old - Muslims have seen America working as an active partner in perpetrating Israeli crimes against Palestinians. They have seen successive American administrations providing the aggressor with weapons, funds, logistical and strategic support and diplomatic cover while it occupied Palestinian land, killed its people, demolished their homes and violated their dignity. They have seen it using

veto after veto at the United Nations to defeat motions aimed at stopping Israel from violating international covenants and conventions.

They have also seen America's outrage when Israelis are killed and its silence when Palestinians die. They have seen its moral misjudgment: that it is all right and civilized to kill with missiles, bombs and shells delivered by aircraft, helicopter gunships, and tanks; that is what "men of peace" do. It is, however, loathsome and immoral to kill with bombs delivered on human bodies, because Palestinians have no other way to deliver them. For the US, the man or woman who gives his life while delivering the bomb is "cowardly"; those who deliver them from the safety of their aircraft or tanks are "brave soldiers."

Will a fair solution to the Palestine problem that guarantees them dignity, honor and security within the internationally recognized borders end international terrorism? Not immediately. But it will pull the carpet from under those who are using the Palestinian tragedy as the justification for their crimes. An American initiative, a Washington determined to make Israel behave, would change Muslim perception of the US and leave the terrorists no resource of good will to draw on.

Sadly, there seems to be little chance of this. Israel will use its supporters in America, its immense media clout and its hold on the superpower's decision-makers to see that this does not happen, because it would mean Israel giving up the expansionist dreams that have driven its campaign of lies, aggression, occupation and savagery over the decades. And be sure that Al-Qaeda will also use its terror power to kill a just peace that would mark the beginning of its own end.

But sometimes, America must listen. It must recognize that it shares responsibility for fuelling terrorist support. It must recognize why it is being cast as the enemy. It is no good simply blaming the Muslim world. Sure, the Arabs should take some responsibility; but America cannot ignore its own baleful contribution to the rise in international terror.

This means that Americans and Arabs must abandon many of their certainties and acknowledging the wrongness of some of their actions. That will not be easy. Leo Tolstoy, one of the keenest observers of human nature was absolutely correct when he wrote: "I

know that most men, including those at ease with problems of the greatest complexity, can seldom accept even the simplest and most obvious truth if it be such as would oblige them to admit the falsity of conclusions which they have delighted in explaining to colleagues, which they have proudly taught to others, and which they have woven, thread by thread, into the fabric of their lives."

There is one last suggestion. The 9/11 Commission which so firmly absolved Saudi Arabia of any involvement in those barbaric attacks, nonetheless rebuked both it and the US for keeping their long-standing close ties quiet and behind the scenes. The result was that neither the US nor the Saudi people appreciated the dimensions of the relationship. "The problems in the US-Saudi relationship must be confronted, openly," the reports states. "The United States and Saudi Arabia must determine if they can build a relationship that political leaders on both sides are prepared to publicly defend - a relationship about more than oil. " That is in both our interests. To do that, we need to build bridges at people level.

Washington can achieve this in a very particular field. It needs to make it easy again for young Saudis to study in the US. Students who go to university in another country often become ambassadors for that country when they return home. A Saudi student in a US university later means a Saudi official, a Saudi businessman, preferring to buy US goods, preferring to do deals with US companies, understanding where the US is coming from, in short being an Americophile. Shutting the door after 9/11 was understandable but shortsighted. Yes, a potential terrorist could slip through, but proper intelligence and screening should deal with that. We need to interact, to know each other, to understand each other. It is not going to happen if there is an impenetrable brick wall at people level.

And the absolute key truth that Americans must understand about Saudi Arabia is that the Kingdom has no links to Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda is in fact the Kingdom's deadly enemy.

AL-QAEDA TARGETS SAUDI ARABIA

Yevgeny Primakov

Introduction

International terrorism has emerged as a major challenge to humankind. It has a centuries-long history, and poses a particularly serious threat today as terrorists resort to increasingly atrocious methods.

Terrorism used to be associated with the activities of certain individuals or local organizations. Such organizations were often a tool in the hands of the countries that funded them. However, those organizations remained rather constrained in their nature.

This model of international terrorism began losing the support of state bodies in the late 20th century. However some terrorist groups continued to enjoy state support although it was obviously abating. This was largely thanks to the policy pursued by the major "players" on the international arena, i.e. the former "cold war" foes. The United States has relied on pressure, sanctions and even military force in its anti-terrorist efforts. Russia has advocated a balanced approach and largely political measures. Many European Union countries have shared the latter approach.

In the second half of the 1990s, Libyan leader Muammar Kaddafi broke up with Italy's Red Brigades, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), expelled Abu Nidal's terrorists from the country, severed relations with the radical groups of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, General Command and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Individuals suspected of engaging in terrorist activities while fighting against the incumbent regimes in Egypt, Yemen and Jordan were expelled from Libya.

The 1990s also saw positive changes in Iran. Influenced by changes in public opinion, Iran almost totally abandoned the export of the Islamic revolution, i.e. the forceful spread of Iran's religious model of government and society.

All these state policy changes should have delivered a substan-

tial blow to terrorism and weakened it. However, this was not so. Terrorism has evolved into an international, self-financing organization that is not linked to any specific country, but has spread its tentacles throughout all continents. Afghanistan has emerged as a major terrorist base.

"Local" terrorist organizations like the IRA or the Basque organization in Spain still exist. However, they do not "set the tone" any more because it is now Al Qaeda, with branches in many countries, which is the center of international terror.

Fighting terrorism has become even more difficult in the current circumstances. Today, terrorists use force against peaceful civilians without advancing any demands as they try to intimidate a country, paralyze its society and deprive it of moral stamina. The Sept. 11, 2001 destruction of the two skyscrapers in New York, which claimed the lives of thousands of Americans, is the most shocking example of such tactics. However, it doesn't take a horrific attack like the one on Sept. 11 to paralyze a country, intimidate its leaders and make a nation tremble in fear of the next attack. Smaller, less grandiose attacks, like the series of recent terrorist acts in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and Russia were designed to subdue the regimes and cause instability in these countries.

Al Qaeda ideology

Why have Al Qaeda and its branches chosen these countries as targets for massive terrorist attacks? Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden has declared the goal of creating a radical Islamic caliphate on the territories populated by Muslims. He intends to create the caliphate on an empty territory. But what will happen to a whole number of countries located on that territory? The answer is clear: Al Qaeda plans to "clear the ground" for the caliphate by doing away with both secular Muslim countries (like Turkey) and even moderate regimes in Muslim-populated countries (Saudi Arabia). It is not just coincidence that terrorist acts are most frequently perpetrated in Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

Bin Laden has also declared a "merciless" war on the United States that provides military, economic and political support to secular and moderate Islamic regimes.

The countries in which Muslims make up minority groups have become new targets for terrorists. They try to shatter the regimes in these countries, ensure appropriate conditions, as well as establish radical Islamic groups for promoting separatist ideology there.

Thus, the dividing line that separates Al Qaeda from the rest of the world (formally the organization is not backed by any country) does not lie in the domain of civilization and religious differences. It is not the line between Muslims and non-Muslims as some Western experts suggest. If the world pursues this logic, the ideological dividing line that was "eroded" after the "cold war," will be replaced by the line based on civilization and religious differences. This can lead to terrible, irreparable consequences both for Muslims and non-Muslims.

Extremists with their medieval, animal attitude to people and nations, on the one hand, and the rest of the world pursuing universal values irrespective of the religions being practised in the countries, on the other hand, are those who do have differences and are separated by a line of confrontation. The global civilization's development is based on different cultures, and Islamic culture is, undoubtedly, among them. Understanding this is essential for creating a united front of all robust forces and countering international terrorism. Muslim states, which face no less serious a threat emanating from terrorism than the non-Muslim world, can and must contribute to combating terrorism for the global alliance's success.

Al-Qaeda targets Saudi Arabia

It is not just bad luck that has caused Al Qaeda to focus, among other countries, on Saudi Arabia. Extremists clearly seek to undermine the ruling regime in that country. They have made no secret of their plans. The statement a terrorist group connected to Al Qaeda issued following a terrorist blast in Riyadh that killed several

policemen and civilians, Saudis, as well as foreigners, was aimed against the Saudi regime.

Radicals have focused on Saudi Arabia because they are not happy with the moderate regime of the country, which is now undergoing liberal reform. The policy pursued by Saudi leaders has clashed with the activities and plans of terrorist organizations that are part of, or linked with, Al Qaeda.

It is well known that Bin Laden was deported from the country and then stripped of Saudi citizenship. "Terrorist No 1" did not regard that as a serious warning. Al Qaeda and Afghanistan's Taliban movement apparently qualified the Saudi authorities' moves as a show staged for the West. They thought they would continue receiving money from charity foundations, while the authorities would remain neutral. Islamic radicals might have expected that Saudi Arabia would be an Al Qaeda stronghold. However, they were in for a big disappointment. The Saudi ruling dynasty, "the keeper of two main shrines of Islam," has never followed a radical line. Saudi leaders sought and, obviously, continue to seek to promote true Islam rather than extremism.

Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdul-Wahhab played a leading role in Saudi Arabia's religious and political movement to establish an Islamic state in the country. He is still revered in the country. However, Saudi Arabian leaders have never regarded Wahhabism and its excesses as their official ideology. King Abdul-Aziz of Saudi Arabia said back in 1946: "They say we are Wahhabis, but in fact we are Muslims following the Book of Allah, the Sunnah of his Messenger." When I met Crown Prince Abdullah in January 2003, he almost exactly repeated the phrase and emphasized that the Saudis were Sunnis in the first instance. Therefore it is not surprising that Saudi Arabia's Senior Ulema (Muslim scholars) Commission, issued statements condemning terrorism, as well as religious fanaticism, calling them "phenomena that are utterly alien to the essence of Islam."

However, the Saudi authorities do not confine themselves to pursuing an appropriate ideology. They have demonstrated their

disagreement with the radical circles that employ terrorist methods through practical measures. Hundreds of individuals suspected of involvement in terrorist acts were arrested in Saudi Arabia and many others were put on the wanted list. The country's law enforcement bodies have conducted operations to track illegal groups. They also have toughened control over financial flows that can be channelled to terrorist organizations and exerted tight monitoring of charity foundations.

Escalation of confrontation

After realizing that it is not happy with the Saudi regime, Al Qaeda resorted to terrorist attacks in order to bring instability to the country. Bin Laden was in a hurry. Al Qaeda perpetrates frequent attacks on Saudi Arabia, an indication that the terrorists are afraid of "losing time." Indeed, they stage attacks on the country whenever the Kingdom's popularity and authority begins to grow. The Kingdom's prestige has grown after the United States had to withdraw its troops from Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom emerged as a leader of the movement for a just settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict after putting forward the "land for peace" formula. When the country took a firm position with regard to the U.S.-led military operation against Iraq and also launched internal reforms it only made regional and internal support grow. These factors have all contributed to Saudi Arabia's growing authority.

The fight between the Saudi authorities and terrorist organizations is far from over. Terrorists' supporters are continuing their activities in Saudi Arabia. The Crown Prince warned those who tried to justify terrorism by religious beliefs that they were "terrorists' partners and they will share their fate."

There is one final danger. Al Qaeda is re-deploying some of its fighters from an area on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan to Iraq. This Arab country that is located close to Saudi Arabia can be used by Al Qaeda as a springboard for spreading its activities to other countries in the region.

The events accompanying the redeployment of Al Qaeda fighters from Pakistani and Afghan territories to Iraq indicate once again that in today's world every nation faces security problems. International terrorism exists in a pattern of terrorist cells. Afghanistan, Kosovo, Chechnya and recently Iraq are Al-Qaeda's major springboards. The organization relocates its fighters mainly within these limits. Its bases are, undoubtedly, used for perpetrating terrorist acts in neighboring states as well.

Therefore, convincing evidence is surfacing that independent organizations have appeared on the world arena, which use mass terror as the means of pursuing their objectives. So far, we have spoken about one organization of this kind, Al Qaeda, but who knows, others may follow.

A gloomy outlook

The problem is aggravated by the possibility that self-governing terrorist organizations may come into possession of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), i.e. chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. Moreover, a whole bunch of terrorist organizations seek to possess WMD. According to CIA Director George Tenet, bin Laden's Al Qaeda is only one of about ten terrorist groups that have shown an interest in chemical, biological and nuclear weapons or have acquired them already. Bin Laden has said acquiring WMD is a "religious cause" and added: "It is our business how we will use the weapons."

Developments in the early 21st century have been rather conducive to nuclear terrorism. First, having detached from state bodies, terrorist organizations gained "autonomy" and greater room for maneuver. Second, their financial independence raises their potential capabilities. Third, nuclear terrorism is promoted by the globalization process, which has made information more accessible and helped terrorists get round all restrictions. Fourth, arms development has resulted in the emergence of more compact types of nuclear weapons and facilitated bacteriological and chemical weapons pro-

duction, which obviously makes WMD more accessible to terrorists.

There are reasons to believe that Al Qaeda has come closer than others to acquiring nuclear weapons. Former Attorney General John Ashcroft said Abdallah al-Muhajir, also known as Jose Padilla, who was arrested at the Chicago airport on May 8, 2002 when he arrived from Pakistan, had prepared to detonate a "dirty nuclear bomb." The blast was to go off in Washington, DC.

This means the world is facing the possibility that terrorists may soon resort to some types of nuclear weapons. Terrorists can stage attacks on facilities storing nuclear weapons, or even on vehicles delivering weapons, nuclear power plants or factories processing nuclear fuel. There are hundreds of such potential targets in every large country, while an attack on each of them may lead to a nuclear catastrophe. As of early 2002, another 43 countries have built nuclear power plants or nuclear reactors that can be used to produce nuclear weapons. More than 100 countries continue to accumulate radioactive material. Obviously not all these stockpiles are under reliable control or are appropriately guarded.

The global community has to understand that under the circumstances it should revise many of its old approaches to the methods of ensuring security and of establishing and maintaining stability on both regional and global scales. An adequate response to terrorists who have armed themselves with new methods appears to be a pressing need. All the robust forces of the world have to join their efforts to make this response effective. Muslim states, and individual Muslims guided by Islam, must be among those forces uniting to end terrorism. I would ignore the truth if I did not conclude by saying that if the Muslim world assists in the peaceful and just resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the region will occupy a place of historic importance in the world.

PART FIVE

CONFRONTATION OF TERRORISM IS WITHIN SAUDI ARABIA'S INTERNAL POLICIES

SAUDI ARABIA ENSURES ITS SECURITY

Amb. (ret) Edward S. Walker, Jr.

Following the terrorist attacks that hit Saudi Arabia in the past two years, a number of measures were adopted by the Saudi government to counter terrorism and bring to justice the perpetrators of these attacks. Lately the Saudi Government has been taking far more aggressive steps to meet the terror threat on three related fronts: security, religion, and reform.

The first front - security

On May 12, 2003 Saudi extremists attacked three Western residential compounds in Riyadh killing 34. A series of attacks of diminishing proportions have taken place since with the most recent in September, when a British citizen and subsequently a French citizen were assassinated.[1] The nature of the attacks that took place in 2003, and particularly those targeted against Westerners led to US Embassy warnings to the 37,000 US citizens living in Saudi Arabia and the voluntary departure of non essential diplomats. The British also warned against all non-essential travel to Saudi Arabia. According to several Saudi officials, the warnings have led to the departure of about a third of the Westerners in the Kingdom, but the

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1 Taken from a chronology included in the Center for Strategic and International Studies working draft, "Saudi National Security: Military and Security Services-Challenges & Developments" by Anthony H. Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, pp 106-113, dated September 30,2004. based on information compiled by the National Council on US-Arab Relations, news reports and documents from the Saudi embassy and other fact sheets.

bulk of those who left were family members and their departures were temporary. No vital services or production capabilities have been adversely affected as recent ramp ups in Saudi oil production have demonstrated.

The threat in Saudi Arabia, while it existed previously, has been much more visible since the 2003 attacks inside the Kingdom. This is particularly true because of a continuing, well-publicized - and at times violent - Saudi effort to destroy the terrorist network. The Saudi Embassy in Washington issued a report in September 2004 which listed over 40 separate incidents since May 2003 in which terrorist suspects were either arrested or killed in firefights with security authorities. In the course of these incidents the Saudi Embassy reports that 58 terrorists were killed and 98 captured. In the same period 36 police officers were killed and numerous others wounded.

On December 6, 2003 the Ministry of Interior published the names and photos of the 26 most wanted terrorist suspects, an FBI style tactic that was unheard of in Saudi heretofore. By August 2004, 11 were still at large, 12 had been killed and three arrested.[1] The fact of the announcement itself was unusual, inasmuch as the families of the individuals had agreed to publicizing the list. In the family oriented society of Saudi Arabia, the families' agreement to help capture their sons was an indication of the revulsion and embarrassment that many Saudis felt over attacks on foreigners who were guests in their country. This sense was particularly acute after the terrorists included Muslims among their victims.

The terrorists have not succeeded in gaining the support of the population and that has led to a greater flow of tips and information about suspected terrorist locations and activities. The Center for Strategic and International Studies, in a draft report by Anthony

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1 Taken from a report of the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia Information Office, Washington, DC, titled "Initiatives and Actions Taken by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to Combat Terrorism, of September 2004 and an AP report by Donna Abu Nasr in Riyadh dated Oct. 13, 2004

Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid of September 2004, concluded: "As yet, there seems to be little broad social support for violent extremism anywhere in the Kingdom. To the extent there are relevant public opinion surveys, they show that young Saudis are far more interested in education, jobs, and a career than any form of radicalism and that the most polarizing political issue is the Arab-Israeli conflict and not religion."[1]

The Saudi record of the past two years is one of an aggressive effort to root out terrorism in the Kingdom. It is the belief of Saudi security authorities and the belief of many officials in the United States that those efforts have born fruit. In the rollout of the US State Department's annual report "Patterns of Global Terrorism - 2003₵, Deputy Secretary of State Armitage, on April 29, 2004, praised Saudi Arabia for its actions: "As you can see in this report, last week's bombing in Riyadh was not the first of its kind in Saudi Arabia. These two attacks last year did not have the effect the perpetrators surely intended; and that was that brutality would serve to weaken Saudi resolve. That brutality only served to strengthen Saudi resolve; inject more urgency into ongoing counterterrorism efforts and open entirely new avenues of cooperation. Saudi Arabia has launched a sweeping campaign against terrorism -- one that includes military and law enforcement measures, but also soul-searching and internal reforms. That's the kind of commitment that will allow us all to prevail."[2]

According to the Interior Ministry spokesman, Brig. Gen. Mansour al Turki, since the crackdown, Saudi authorities have noticed a decline in the quantity and quality of terrorist operations in the Kingdom. They have less access to sophisticated explosives and are falling back on fertilizers and drive-by shootings rather than

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1 Op cit "Saudi National Security" pp 147, 148

2 April 29,2004 US State Department statement by Deputy Secretary Armitage on the release of the 2003 "Patterns of Global Terrorism" Annual Report

large-scale operations against residential compounds and government buildings. There is also an indication that the quality of new recruits to the terrorist ranks is down as the Afghan graduates have been killed or captured. The new recruits do not have the technical or organizational skills to carry out sophisticated attacks or organize secure cells and safe houses.[1] No one is prepared to say that the threat is over, but it certainly has been reduced. And as the government has arrested more terrorists, the information it has gleaned from interrogations has increased exponentially.

Saudi actions against the terrorists have been matched by Saudi efforts to strengthen their installation security and the security forces themselves. Of obvious and deep concern is the security of oil production facilities and of foreign personnel working in Saudi Arabia. In fact, Saudi Arabia began a significant build up of security at oil installations as a result of the Iran-Iraq war, but the strongest reaction has taken place since terrorists in the Kingdom targeted oil workers and Western oil companies. Saudi Aramco, the Saudi national oil company, has increased its in house guard force and reinforced perimeter fences and access points into their installations. It has also extended its patrolling to create a first line of defense well beyond the installation perimeters. Security on residential compounds across the Kingdom has also been enhanced and armed guards are now a visible fixture in the capital, Riyadh.

Significant expenditures have been made to upgrade security across the board including a contract of several billion dollars being tendered for sophisticated border monitoring devices to stem the cross border movement of terrorists and smugglers, particularly from Yemen. This effort has undoubtedly been enhanced by the large additional revenues coming from higher oil prices. In addition, Saudi security forces, including the National Guard, the Min-

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1 "Saudi Arabia Exposes al Qaeda Operations" AP, Sep 10, 2004, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

istry of Interior's General Security Service, the Public Security Special Emergency Forces and backed up by the military have improved coordination and cooperation, eliminating, to a large extent the stove-piping that used to impede rapid reaction as orders had to go up to the ministerial level for approval before they could be implemented.

The second front - religion

The second front of the Saudi confrontation with terrorism is being waged at the level of Islam. As Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal pointed out at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York in April of 2004: "It is the religious establishment in Saudi Arabia that in fact is proving to be the body most qualified to de-legitimatize al-Qaeda's claims,..." His statement followed a series of statements from the royal family and the religious establishment that sought to discredit terrorism and the deviant Islam that advocated it. Insofar as al Qaeda and other 'Islamic' terror organizations are following a deviant form of Islam, then who better can deal with it than the religious establishment in Saudi Arabia?

After we had identified September 11th as having been carried out by Osama Bin Ladin and the majority of the attackers as having been Saudi, many people seized on the concept of Wahabism, an austere brand of Saudi Islamic religious practice, as the motivating factor behind the terrorists. Very few people knew then or know now what Wahabism is. And despite what you may think about the source of Bin Ladin's philosophy, according to the 9/11 Commission Report, the genesis of the ideology Bin Ladin has been following is not Wahabism: "Bin Ladin relies heavily on the Egyptian writer Sayyid Qutb. A member of the Muslim Brotherhood executed in 1966 on charges of attempting to overthrow the government (of Egypt)." Qutb warned that more people, including Muslims, were attracted to material comforts than to his austere

view of Islam. No middle ground existed for him or his followers and, unless Muslims literally took up arms in the fight, ignorance and materialism would win over Islam. He lumped Arab regimes, Westerners and Muslims who advocated tolerance into the class of enemies that had to be destroyed.

The roots, then, of our problem reside in early 20th century Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood. The Brotherhood is seeking respectability today but its past has been marked by terrorist events in many Arab countries. The Egyptian and Muslim Brotherhood influence was further extended into the Saudi fabric by the expulsion of the Brotherhood from Egypt and Syria in the 1960's and 70s. They found refuge in Saudi Arabia where there was a human resource deficit, largely in the areas of teaching, the judiciary and the mosques. A number of commentators in the United States discounted as an evasion of responsibility the Saudi Minister of Interior Prince Nayef's charge in November 2002, and more recently in the summer of 2004, that the Muslim Brotherhood was the cause of the terrorist problems in Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, he was right in the sense that the al Qaeda ideology grew out of the Brotherhood and out of its disciples who had taken refuge in the Kingdom.

The Saudi Senior Ulema Commission, in February 2003, specifically discredited the al Qaeda religious arguments and declared: "The acts of shedding the blood of innocent people, the bombing of buildings and ships, that the destruction of public and private installations are criminal acts and against Islam. Those who carry out such acts have deviant beliefs and misguided ideologies and are to be held responsible for their crimes....Islamic law clearly prohibits leveling such charges against non-Muslims, (and) warns against following those who carry such deviant beliefs,..."[1]

1¢ Public Statements by Senior Saudi Officials Condemning Extremism and Promoting Moderation" , September 2004 Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia Information Office, p25

In December 2003, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd set out the Saudi agenda on religion's role in attacking terrorism and made a comprehensive challenge to religious authorities and scholars at the Islamic Fiqh Academy in Makkah incorporating the following demands and calls for action among others:

Scholars must "highlight the dangers which extremism poses to Muslim faith and conduct and combat 'deviant thinking' that has led to terror in Kingdom."

Scholars should use religious arguments to annul "aberrant fatwas" referring to religious edicts by some who legitimized militancy and suicide bombings.

They must combat the practice of branding others, including good Muslims, as infidels and subject to jihad as preached by the Egyptian ideological patron of al Qaeda, Sayyid Qutb.

Scholars must formulate clear meanings for terms such as jihad, jamaa, dar al harb and dar al salam, "we expect that you clarify the correct meaning of these terms to serve as a reference for the young."[1]

The Saudi Embassy has reported that "during 2003, two thousand imams who had been violating prohibitions against the preaching of intolerance were disciplined or removed from their positions, and more than 1,500 others have been referred to educational programs." In addition the Ministry of Islamic Affairs was reported to have begun a "three-year program to educate imams and monitor mosques and religious education to purge extremism and intolerance."[2]

Action by the authorities against radical religious leaders was based on an official order that Minister of Islamic Affairs, Shaikh Saleh al-Shaikh, issued on December 7, 2002 "to prohibit unauthorized persons from making speeches at

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1 Arab News Sunday, December 14, 2003

2 ₵ Political and Economic Reform in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", September 2004, Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia Information Office, p6

mosques...and warned speakers at mosques against making provocative speeches and inciting people." He also warned against using mosques as a political platform.[1] The Saudi action was punctuated in May 2003 by the arrest of three clerics who had called for support of the terrorists who had carried out the May attacks in Riyadh. The three recanted their positions and their fatwas on national television in November and December of that year.

The third front - reform

There is very little consensus on the motivations of terrorists. That may simply be due to the fact that motives differ between nationalities and individuals. But if it is indeed true, as polls tend to indicate, that young Saudis strive for education, jobs, and a career, then it would make sense for the Saudi authorities to concentrate on the shortfalls in these areas.

To fulfill the promise that Saudis expect of their government, the Kingdom must undertake an aggressive reform process directed at the economy, the educational system and democracy. King Fahd reacted to the terror attack in Riyadh with the following statement on May 20, 2003: "No one can ignore the seriousness of our move toward reform. And I say to every citizen that each one of us has a role and a responsibility in this endeavor. I say to each government official that public service is an honor, which has obligations to the public good, but does not convey any special privileges. I say to every businessman that our economy is not just a source of capital and profit, but it is an investment in national security and safety. I say to every woman that this nation is for all and you will be a partner in making its future. And I say to officials in education that they are shapers of future generations. Good

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1 ₵ Public Statements by Senior Saudi Officials Condemning Extremism and Promoting Moderation" , September 2004 Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia Information Office, p28

education promotes character and instills values in the young for the benefit of this nation."[1]

The King offered an ambitious agenda on economic reform, corruption, women's rights, and education reform - all critical areas for action in the fight against terrorism. To bring the king's ideas to fruition, Crown Prince Abdullah established in August 2003 a National Dialogue to promote public exchange of ideas on reform. Three rounds have taken place on education, extremism and the role of women. A fourth round on youth was held in December 2004. In March 2004 King Fahd approved the establishment of an independent "National Human Rights Association." And, in a revolutionary move, in October 2003 Saudi Arabia approved plans to hold elections for half the representatives of 178 municipal councils across all cities and villages in the Kingdom's 13 provinces. The election was to be held early this year.

Quite a few important economic reforms have also taken place in the context of the Saudi drive to accede to the World Trade Organization. Legal reforms on copyrights, patents the capital markets, foreign investment, and capital gains have been undertaken in connection with the negotiation of 35 bilateral trade agreements with WTO members.

In the area that is most crucial for Saudi Arabia's future - education - the pace of reform is complex and slow. While the Saudis have evaluated their textbooks for inflammatory material and have identified about 5% of the texts as unsuitable, and while they are reviewing their curriculum with a view toward modernization, there has been little change, as yet, in educational methodology. The Saudis have set up two pilot programs in Riyadh and Jeddah to experiment with new teaching methods - a welcome development. In addition, the Sau-

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1 Op cit "Public Statements" p 17

dis have set up student councils in public schools to begin educating young Saudis about civic responsibilities and participatory governance. It is a start.

Conclusion

Saudi Arabia still has more work to do in improving the sophistication and effectiveness of its security apparatus. The Saudis have a willing ally in the United States. Saudi Arabia might also expand beyond its borders its efforts to enlist religion in the war on terror. And here it should be able to count on help from other Islamic countries plagued by radical terrorism. In both these areas, the Saudis have made significant progress. But they have a longer road to travel in the area of reform. Nevertheless, the Saudis have made a promising start, first by recognizing the problems at the very top, second by developing a series of steps to move forward on all three fronts, and third by enlisting the broad support of the Saudi people against the terrorists and what they stand for. There is no question that Saudi Arabia is safer today than it was a year ago and that, if it continues on its current path, it will be safer yet in the years to come.

SAUDI ARABIA SUFFERING

FROM TERRORISM

Khaled Al-Malik

It was the September 11 attacks that gave new meaning to the term terrorism and its daily use in the media. Had there been no such incidents, the term would not have come in so frequent in use in our daily discourse and would not have been chosen as the subject and theme of conferences and seminars.

The term terrorism is no longer an insignificant word. It has now become as dangerous as a rapidly spreading wild fire.

Terrorism, as we understand it, is the act of destroying peace, killing innocents and creating a state of chaos and instability in any part of the world. It is, no doubt, abhorrent and never resolves an issue or vindicates a rightful cause. It involves activities that are mad, thoughtless and desperate, and those embracing it are immoral perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

Terrorism, with its destructive effects, is not only perpetrated by individuals, organizations or certain cells that have limited resources, but it is also often perpetrated by certain states and in this case it is called state terrorism. An example is Israel, which is busy perpetrating the most heinous acts of assassinating the Palestinian leaders and killing innocent women, old men and children. It is also demolishing houses, hospitals, schools and mosques under the pretext of fighting terrorism.

It was, however Israel itself that outpaced all other countries in using the term terrorism at state level. It called the

Palestinians terrorists by branding their legitimate fight against occupation as terrorist acts, which ought to be fought back in a way that Israel is doing today. It is a tactic Israel is continuously and constantly employing since long to cover its own acts of terrorism against the Palestinians who are defending their right to establish their independent state with Al-Quds (Jerusalem) as its capital.

What gives rise to doubts about the intentions and objectives behind the ambiguous questions that ought to be answered is the fact that the world showed its concern and made efforts to reduce the effectiveness of terrorism only after the centers of power in the United States were attacked and the pride of the sole superpower was severely wounded on September 11, 2001. On that day President Bush initiated his campaign which is continuing till today. The so called war on terrorism is on and there are no signs of its success in drying out the sources of terrorism or narrowing down its efficacy even after the passage of three years since the 9/11 incidents.

As Saudis, our view on terrorism and its networks is the same as it was before 9/11. Our view is constant and we believe in supporting those who are fighting this evil. We support, with all lawful means at our disposal, the efforts made to contain it, do away with its elements, and eliminate the perpetrators indiscriminately. What Al-Qaeda is doing, in our view, is similar to the acts of Israel. The acts of terrorism are not different from one another whether perpetrated by an individual, a group or a state.

Every country has become a home for terrorism, with its connotations and painful effects. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as peculiar to a particular group, country or religion. It is a destructive phenomenon and it is fed by elements, groups and states that aim at harming peoples and countries

without any fear or hesitation prompted by a wrong view about what should be the future of the world. Any assertion contrary to what is said above needs proof to support it.

Since the 9/11 attacks, Saudi Arabia has been labeled, by certain circles in the United States, as a state supporting and exporting terrorism. These elements, who own the active propaganda machinery are not happy with the amicable relations and bonds of friendship that have tied the two countries for the last fifty years. The anti-Saudi Zionist lobby in the United States exploited the alleged participation of fifteen Saudis in the 9/11 attacks to disturb the strong relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. This lobby is busy trying to convince public opinion in the US that the events of 9/11 are the reflection of the enmity the Saudi state harbors against the American people. They are trying to misguide the masses in that country into believing that the time has come to break this bond of friendship between the two countries.

We are not in need to deny any connection of Saudi Arabia with any act of terrorism cited for the purpose of painting a picture of the Kingdom as the supporter of terrorism. To prove the innocence of Saudi Arabia, sufficient is the report released by the US Congress that absolved the Kingdom of any involvement in the tragic events of 9/11. The comprehensive and scrupulous investigations conducted by the congress concluded that there was no link between the Kingdom and those who allegedly took part in these attacks.

Everybody knows that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the state that has been harmed the most at the hands of the terrorists. It has been suffering from such ruthless acts since long, long before the incidents of September 11. Long before those attacks it warned the countries of the world against the dangerous phenomenon of terrorism. For this warning it cited

the explosions that were triggered from time to time on its soil and other attempts aiming at undermining its security and stability. But these calls fell on deaf ears and did not arouse the concern the Kingdom was expecting the civilized world to show. This apathy might be because the countries now in the forefront of the war on terror have themselves not been targets of terrorism. Probably this was the reason why these countries did not take the Kingdom's warnings seriously. Consequently, they did not contribute towards smothering the raging fire.

Similarly, as the United States had suffered terrible negative effects on its economy and security as a result of terrorist attacks, the Kingdom's security and economy were also affected. There is clear evidence of these negative effects and any visitor to the Kingdom may see the effects of the blasts in different cities of the Kingdom. This leaves no room for a claim that the Kingdom is immune against terrorist attacks because some of those who have allegedly carried out the attacks in the US are Saudi citizens.

The Kingdom has also experienced bomb attacks against residential compounds. These terrorists also targeted security personnel by blasting their buildings and killing them in the streets. Even the civilians including citizens and expatriates were not safe from their inhuman acts, which are contrary to the teachings of Islam. These acts roused public reaction and all sections of Saudi society condemned them. Their consensus was that such acts are against Islamic teachings and the Saudi people oppose any such acts.

That is why we are surprised by the media campaign against Saudi Arabia in the wake of 9/11 attacks despite the clarity of vision prevailing now and the revelation of the truth. We are at a loss to understand whether those who are running this vicious campaign against the Kingdom are con-

vinced that with this campaign they are serving peace and security in the world. Or are they spurred by a desire to add fuel to the fire with the aim of spoiling international relations?

However, the Kingdom confronted terrorism with standards as per its own policies that safeguard its interests without taking orders from outside. In other words, Saudi Arabia's war against this phenomenon has not been as a result of foreign pressures. It was in line with developments on the ground. The circumstances broadened the scope of combating the perpetrators of these terrorist acts, targeting their extremist approach and the culture of those who reneged on the real teachings of Islam.

It is clear that the decision of the Kingdom about setting up the Higher Relief Commission was based on a careful study of the subject conducted by the Shoura (Consultative) Council and then by the Council of Ministers. It is tantamount to have state monitoring of all financial donations the charitable organizations were remitting abroad. The decision of setting up this commission was in line with the general policy of the Kingdom and its keenness to see that these funds are spent for the purposes they have been allocated for.

King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah issued their directives for setting up a committee under the chairmanship of Prince Sultan, Second Deputy Premier, the Minister of Defense and Aviation and Inspector General. The committee was charged with reviewing school curricula, developing them and purging them from extremism, perversion and radicalism.

Terrorism in the words of US State Department has no specific definition acceptable at the international level. However, in our perception, it is the sinful aggression committed

by states, organizations and individuals alike against the security and stability of the people. What Israel is doing with the Palestinians is one example of terrorism and what the terrorists did when they bombed residential compounds in Riyadh and other towns of the Kingdom and killed innocent people is another example. These acts of terrorism should not be confused with the lawful acts of defense a man carries out in pursuit of a free honorable life. An example of this is the resistance of Palestinians against Israel which has occupied their land for more than half a century, while the rest of the world watch indifferently.

The Kingdom's measures in fighting terrorism

Suliman Al-Robei

Far more dangerous than the terrorist attacks the Kingdom is currently facing, are the systematic efforts being made outside the Kingdom to spread the notion that there is a strong and vital link between the Kingdom and terrorism. Since the September 11 attacks, the Kingdom is faced with an agonizing situation because of the malicious propaganda let loose on a large scale by various forces through different means and methods. The safe object behind this campaign is to exert pressure on the Kingdom to change itself. The change they want is not only quantitative and partial, but also an overall and qualitative change targeting the ideological background of the Kingdom as well as its cultural identity and social structure.

The danger in the picture they are painting and the way they are portraying the Kingdom is consequential and twofold, because it is based on false and mistaken premises. The fact that some hijackers of the aircrafts that hit New York and Washington were Saudi nationals was enough for these forces to take a hostile stand against the country and employ all conventional and non-conventional means to malign it at a global level. In carrying out this notorious propaganda, they violated all the norms and academic principles to reach the facts. This was the repetition and revival of the sophistries that once prevailed in Europe.

Here at least, we need not take upon ourselves to lay bare the fact that this method utterly lacks any objectivity and defies any logical explanation. One can answer this propaganda and cite tens of examples when Western organizations car-

ried out organized crimes of terrorism inside their own socie-
ties and abroad[1]. These acts of terrorism were neither blamed
on the religions of the perpetrators nor on their countries. The
responsibility was laid following the principle of individual
accountability. This is in total contradiction to the Western at-
titude in the case of 9/11. There can be no evidence more glar-
ing to show the double standards of the Western, particularly
American, policy.

In dealing with these incidents, the American policy miserably
failed. This problem should have been dealt with by objectively de-
termining the causes of the crisis, in compliance with academic
rules and precepts that are the minimum requirements which are
supposed to be fulfilled by the sole superpower for resolving its
problems. Instead, it chose to take recourse to vengeance, which
tends to ignore careful examination and it resorted to revenge. This
attitude became manifest in two ways: one was practical whose ex-
amples are the wars of Afghanistan and Iraq; the other is intellectu-
al which is closely connected with its practical manifestation. The
intellectual dimension is evident in sharply dividing the world into
two axes of good and evil, based on particular views, most promi-
nent being the religious view. It was referred to by US President
George Bush when he said, while describing the war his adminis-
tration waged on others on the pretext of fighting terror, that they

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1 According to a report published in USA Today magazine, more than 5,500
  terrorist militias with a membership of more than 50 thousand are operating
  in 24 states. They voice their opposition to the federal government and in-
  terpret the constitution as it suits their purpose. The report says the militias
  are continuously growing and the period between 1996 and 1997 recorded
  a growth of 20 percent. As for the American Model, it is enough to refer to
  the example of Timothy McVeigh who bombed the building of a Federal
  department in Oklahoma in 1995. He is associated with a terrorist militia in
  the Michigan State. The militia not only declares violence as a means for
  change, but a means of expression also, as asserted by its leader, Clergy-
  man Norman.

were holy wars. This expression implies, in essence, a theocratic policy.

The absence of a correct analysis of the crisis, and a domineering mentality that manifested itself in the "shock and awe" attacks, only led to an ideological war.[1] It proved counterproductive and further aggravated the crisis at all levels.

At the internal level, the American propaganda machinery for enlisting support for its policy, exaggerated the danger. This created a fear psychosis in the whole nation and led it to reject of the other view. This propaganda machinery painted the picture of a world envious of America's freedom and prosperity. This machinery, responsible for promoting this rejectionist attitude, posed the famous question : Why do they hate us?

At the external level, a deep hatred against America has emerged as never before because of its supremacy attitude. Another cause that led to these virulent emotions against the United States are its stances vis-à-vis humanitarian issues. The countries of the world are looking for alternative political and economic alliances and the people have got fed up with the slogans of democracies that are striving to mould the world according to their Machiavellian plans.

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1 It is dangerous that this mentality as expressed by the US Defense Secretary, Rumsfeld is nurtured by the views of highly influential thinkers in US politics. These views are expressed by employing two prominent methods. First, theoretical religious preaching about the end of the history at the American hegemony, if the expression is permissible. This hegemony will be political, economic, intellectual and civilizational. The most prominent exponent of this method is the American thinker of Japanese origin, Francis Fokoyama. The second method is the call for enforcement of American hegemony on other civilizations and cultures in two ways : a- Rousing with the logic of exigency and universal development as is evident in the studies of Samuel Huntington ; b - Rousing sentiments in favor of imperialistic expansionism according to the law of force or cowboy law, as done by persons like Daniel Pipes. This approach is subscribed to by the American Politicians and thinkers alike. This has been championed, since long, by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

An alternative to this unilateral vision for the United States was to formulate a positive rational method that would work internally to absorb the shock felt by American society. This could have been done by proper evaluation of the problem in a realistic framework and refraining from laying the responsibility for the acts of individuals and organizations on a country as a whole or on a particular religion.[1] This should have been synchronized with positive and active international participation, on the basis of the recognition of religious differences and with a full consciousness of the manners and morals of mutual negotiation.

No doubt, the Kingdom is one of the victims of this mentality that has misled the world public opinion over reality. However, history, both in theory and practice, is a witness that the reality, howsoever it may be concealed, does not die.

The American committee set up to determine the causes and factors that led to the September 11attacks, absolved the Kingdom from any responsibility in these attacks. Despite the relative importance of this report, it can, in no way, serve to rectify the tarnished image of the Kingdom. It only deals with the political aspect of the issue and political stances change with changing interests and with calculations of profit and loss. The changing political stances do not build permanent peaceful relations. It is evident from the fact that despite the release of this official report, the rightist forces did not cease their odious dogmatic methods of misleading the public perception. What we basically need is to expose the facts to the public opinion in the West, as they are our objective partners in global matters. We believe that public beliefs are firm and deeply rooted.

Therefore, the Saudi efforts to reveal the truth will overshadow attempts to spread falsehoods. The Kingdom has made it clear that

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1 Some moderate American politicians have called for it. The last among them is Randy Cunningham, who expressed this view in his testimony before the House Select Committee on Intelligence, on October 4, 2004.

it is against terrorism and rejects it totally, not only theoretically but in practice as well. It confronted the very idea of terrorism and laid bare its contents. It elucidated that terrorism and extremism are ideas alien to Saudi society and that those ideas do not represent the nature of Saudis. Terrorism and extremism did not emanate from the factors that influenced the Saudi thinking and moulded the attitude of Saudi society. The religious, educational and social influences that are responsible for formulating the Saudi society are free from the blemishes of terrorism and extremism. On the contrary these influences fight these evils. These perceptible facts about confronting terrorism and the efforts being made in this field should not end until it is rooted out completely.

The reality about the Kingdom is based on two important factors: **First, the religious background that represents the identity of the Kingdom rejects terrorism and considers it a crime.** Here it should be clarified that this background is purely Islamic and nothing else, whether based on a particular jurisprudence school of thought or ideology. This explanation is necessary because efforts are being made to isolate the Kingdom religiously by branding it as the champion of a special religious concept which is different from generally acceptable Islamic concepts. For this purpose, the people making these efforts are employing various means, the most prominent of them being the use of the term Wahhabism. With this they intend to give the impression that the creed is a special Saudi one. The fact is that there is nothing in the religion called Wahhabism. Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab was no more than a reformist scholar who called for a return to the original concept and roots of Islamic faith. He warned against the heretic acts and ignorance and based his revivalist movement on the principles presented and practiced by the Prophet, peace be upon him, and his companions. As for the school of thought, he followed the Hanbali School, which is one of the four schools of thoughts recognized and followed in the Islamic world.

This religious background which is the foundation of the King-

dom, rejects terrorism and holds it unlawful. It, for example, holds unlawful any act of oppression, corruption, crime and usurpation of the rights of others. The basic tenets of Islam say that whoever kills a person irrespective of his personal beliefs, is considered having killed the whole of mankind. It is taught to the Muslims that whosoever kills a non-Muslim covered by a pact shall not snill the fragrance of paradise. Not only this, the Prophet of Islam said that he, in the Day of Judgment, would stand against whoever betrays and acts treacherously, even if a non-Muslim is the victim of this treachery. The Prophet stressed the importance of the values of justice and goodness and urges that these values must serve as the basis of any dealing between two persons with different faiths. Faith has its own importance. But the Prophet once expressed his willingness to enter a pact similar to the one concluded by various tribes of Arabia before Islam for the support of the oppressed and which the Prophet also entered. This was despite the fact that the parties to the pact were pagans. Deep rooted in the tenets of this religious background is the importance of peace as an essential condition for human existence, in its positive sense, i.e, in the fields of faith, worship, morality and economy.

The tenets of Islamic faith that form Saudi society, emphasize the respect of a human being because it is part of its belief that Allah the Almighty has accorded an honor to man as a human being. That is why Islam calls for liberating human beings from the bonds of slavery of any being besides Allah. It holds unlawful any act of injustice and oppression against a man, regardless of his religious beliefs. It says that the act of saving a person from death is akin to having saved the entire humanity from death. A human being, regardless of his faith, is respected even after his death. The Prophet once stood up when a funeral passed by, though it was the funeral of a non-Muslim. When asked about the reason he said, "Was not he a human being?"

The Islamic consciousness is distinctive in its values and respect for human beings. This attitude is constant and remains un-

changed even in extraordinary and exceptional circumstances. For instance, during wars when many democracies violate humanitarian principles, Islam urges people to resort to peace. It provides a vast and unlimited space for settling disputes with agreements of peace and reconciliation. It affirms the relationship of a Muslim with non-Muslims on the basis of granting asylum and sanctuary to them and warns against fighting non-combatants. It forbids killing of old people, women, children and hermits. The humanitarian values have been emphasized by Islam to the extent that it prohibits sudden and surprise attacks on the enemy and sets a precondition of prior notice for the legality of war.

Truly, there are erroneous interpretations and applications attributed to this religious background of the Kingdom. But the fact is that such interpretations are no more than the output of the minds of certain people who have no academic weight or scholarly standing. Therefore, these concepts do not truly represent pure Islamic thought, nor do they reflect the ideas of the true representatives of Islam i.e. the reliable scholars whether they are inside the official religious establishment or outside it. These scholars are continuously issuing edicts and statements about Islam's disavowal of this deviant thinking and such erroneous interpretations of the religion.

One of the main objectives of the Kingdom's fight against terrorism is to offset the damage done to the image of Islam by some deviant Muslims. This objective has not been absent, even for a single day, from its strategic targets. The moderate course of Islam that embodies the reality and essence of the religion is decidedly broad and forms the basis of politics, educational curricula and day to day life. Highlighting the moderate Islam is the primary concern of the Kingdom as it is fully aware of its religious responsibility. Its concern about this becomes twofold as it is the center of Islam and as it houses its religious sites. Therefore, the Kingdom's efforts to lay bare the extremist view and confront its applications are in the forefront of its programs. These efforts began before the events

of 9/11, and it may be claimed that these events were not the cause of these efforts, but only brought them under the spotlight.

Second: **Promoting an awareness of the negative impacts of terrorism**. The Kingdom's war against terrorism is based on its religious and moral stances. But at the same time, it has a deep understanding of the negative consequences of terrorism. This has no selfish overtones, in the sense that it does not reject terrorism out of fear about its narrow national interests. It rejects it because it is injurious to the interests of humanity at large. Incidentally, these stances are also supported by the religious background of the country which calls for realizing the objective of human interaction, embodied in the terminological expression of 'Ta'aruf' or mutual dealing, under Islamic law. This Ta'aruf is based on two principles of truth and justice.

The absoluteness in this regard is enough to prove that the rejection of terrorism by the Kingdom is unwavering and constant, as it is based on principles. Terrorism can be either a means to record political stances or to achieve economic targets or a means to export a specific ideology. The Kingdom is not a revolutionary organization, which intends to achieve some political objectives through violence, nor is it materially incapable of achieving economic prosperity by such means. Similarly, it is not an ideological organization to adopt the cause of struggle for promoting its ideology. It is a state which has a legal base and which believes that the world cannot realize its interests and cannot continue the process of development while terrorism exists.

So far, we have discussed the principles adopted by the Kingdom. As for the practical application, the permanent feature of the Saudi policy, which reaches the degree of sensitivity, is the dimension of non-interference in the affairs of other states and the avoidance of conflicts with others, irrespective of their consequences. Such facts, however, cannot remain obscure from the eyes of a just and fair observer. For its policy of non-interference and adopting the policy of accommodation and compromise as well as refraining from unduly reacting to events,

the Kingdom suffered much from the actions of the leaders of other countries who sought to create crises for it. It always believed that for a speedy realization of development projects it has to pursue certain values, specially the values of peace and stability. It shows that it is in its interest to fight terrorism as it is doing now at a steady pace.

These factors are interconnected from an academic viewpoint as well as from the angle of their political efficacy. As these two factors highlight aspects of conformity with the efforts of other states fighting terrorism in pursuit of their own interests, they also bring to light the points of difference with them. But these points of difference did not emanate from conflicting views about the two factors that form the Kingdom's stance towards terrorism. They are merely the result of a contrary vision that leads to many pitfalls from a moral and humanitarian viewpoint.

In this context, comes to mind the most important issue that concerns the Kingdom and other Arab and Islamic states, i.e. the use of the term of terrorism. The academic methodology presumes rather stipulates for the success of the war on terrorism that the world should abide by a draft statement that gives an academic, objective and exhaustive definition of terrorism and that it should be drafted under the supervision of official international bodies. This will clear the vision and add to the value and effectiveness of the efforts made for combating the evil. Further, this statement will provide a guarantee against disagreements, which may prevent cooperation in this field or may impede the success of this war.

While the Kingdom and other Islamic states are calling for it, the United States and those who rally around it are running away from even talking about it, because it will be a test of their methods, intentions and objectives. Therefore the vision remains foggy and the efforts fragmented. The mentality of domination is the core of American methodology and they invent ideas and terminology that suit their beliefs and serve their interests in openly dominating the world when globalization failed in yielding the desired results.

In the view of Saudi Arabia and other Arab and Islamic states, the terrorism that ought to be fought tooth and nail by the entire world is the terrorism that targets the innocent people. This definition of terrorism

excludes the resistance of an occupied people against the occupation forces that are perpetrating oppressive acts in the occupied lands, destroying its culture and civilization and ruining its population. This resistance is legal and in total conformity with a straight and honest nature and a sound mind. At the same time terrorism is applicable to states that are members of the United Nations but practice state sponsored terrorism by murder, torture and other gory tyrannical acts. Included in this category are also the silent spectators, particularly those who are capable of preventing these acts of aggression, but are helping the aggressor state by arming it, giving political cover and even protecting it against condemnation. With this implicit and explicit support they are deemed to be participating in these acts of state terrorism.

In order to concede to the reader his right to participate in this discussion, we leave it to his intelligence to specify the victims, the hangmen and the silent spectators who are capable of stopping this terrorism.

On 25th of Thul Hijja 1425 (February 5, 2005) a conference was held on terrorism. This conference was not held at the initiative of UN or human rights organizations or other international agencies, because there bodies have become utterly helpless. Nor was it organized by any country that raises the slogan of fighting terrorism, but itself is involved in various kinds of terror. The conference was convened by Saudi Arabia and it was proof enough that this country is the land of Islam and peace. Through this meeting, the Kingdom emphasized its total rejection of terrorism, which is rejected by all sane people and on whose unlawfulness all the religions agree. Through this conference, the Kingdom also declared its refusal to take part in the sin of giving false testimony and supporting oppression. It also provided an occasion to assert that the Kingdom rejects the concept of believing in certain values and rejecting others.

PART SIX

SAUDI ARABIA AND
THE WESTERN
MEDIA CAMPAIGN

NEWS COVERAGE OF SAUDI ARABIA'S RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

Philip Seib

One of the reasons that Saudi Arabia remains something of a mystery to so many in the West is that news coverage of the Kingdom is often so simplistic that it can be confusing and misleading, often with an intensely negative slant. As Saudi Arabia works to redefine its relationships with the rest of the world and further develop its responses to terrorism, this kind of coverage is a significant impediment.

In America, with increasing attention being paid to matters related to terrorism, perceptions of Saudi Arabia have changed recently. Whether this should be attributed to news coverage, government policy, or more sweeping issues concerning the war on terrorism, this shift cannot be ignored; it must be addressed by both Americans and Saudis. Concerning these perceptions, the scholar Shibley Telhami has noted the increasingly widespread view in the United States that the current Saudi political system "radicalizes opposition groups" and further that "U.S. support for the royal family is seen as a central reason why these groups target America."[1]

That may be regarded by many as a particularly unpleasant diagnosis because the U.S.-Saudi partnership had been considered, wrote Telhami, "one of the longest-standing friendly relationships the United States has had in the Middle East."[2] Nevertheless, this is the state of affairs at present and the negative perceptions of the relationship are made more

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1 Shibley Telhami, The Stakes: America in the Middle East (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004), 159.

2 Telhami, The Stakes, 132.

pervasive by the content and tone of news coverage.

The news media - particularly television news and other news products aimed at a mass audience - do not consistently deal well with the complexity that is an integral part of Saudi Arabia's culture, politics, and relationship with the West. Understanding Saudi Arabia requires knowing something about Saudi Arabia, and this is where the Western news media - as well as many parts of the education system - do a poor job. Complex issues related to Islam and oil do not lend themselves to journalistic or pedagogic shorthand, and yet these matters are often treated as one-dimensional matters that can be described in a flashy headline or a terse generalization.

This has consequences that have become visible within Saudi Arabia as well as in the West. The 9/11 Commission Report says that "many educated Saudis who were sympathetic to America now perceive the United States as an unfriendly state." The report also cites a Saudi reformer who noted that "demonization of Saudi Arabia in the U.S. media gives ammunition to radicals, who accuse reformers of being U.S. lackeys."[1]

A comparable situation illustrating weaknesses in the work of the Western news media can be found in the ways that news coverage links terrorism and Islam.

Terrorism, Islam, and public perceptions

Among some members of the American public, the word "Islamic" has come to be associated with the word "terrorism." That unfortunate state of affairs is the product of flawed education and also flawed news coverage. To change this - to give Americans, and others, a better and truer picture of the world - news organizations must address the new realities that are shaping how the world works.

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1 The 9/11 Commission Report (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 373.

This also affects perceptions of Saudi Arabia. Flawed news coverage (which makes worse the problems created by flawed education) contributes to many in the West making sweeping generalizations: all Arabs are alike; all Muslims are alike; all Muslims are terrorists. Such simplistic foolishness passes today as accepted wisdom in some quarters and predisposes a credulous public to think the worst of countries such as Saudi Arabia. The Saudi story could be told but it is complex, and many in the news business recoil from complexity. The reasons vary; they include laziness, attempts at cutting coverage costs, and condescension toward news consumers who are thought to be uninterested in the world around them. The end result is a negative tone in coverage of Saudis and others in the Arab and Muslim worlds. That negative outlook then pervades public opinion.

The realities that should be addressed are grounded in an understanding of history and culture. Middle East scholar John Esposito wrote that "many of us have forgotten what the twentieth-century map of the Muslim world reveals. The names of regions (the Middle East) and countries as well as the boundaries and rulers of countries were created by European colonial powers." He added that "nation building in the Muslim world with its artificially drawn borders superficially uniting peoples with diverse centuries-old identities and allegiances was a fragile process that bore the seeds for later crises of identity, legitimacy, power, and authority. When we ask today why much of the Muslim world remains politically unstable or underdeveloped, we need to remember that most modern Muslim states are only several decades old, carved out by the now-departed European powers."[1]

This leads to an issue concerning news coverage of Saudi

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1 John L. Esposito, Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam (New York: Oxford, 2002), 75, 79.

Arabia and the rest of the Muslim world: whether coverage should focus on states or on the more amorphous ummah, the worldwide Islamic community. This latter approach presents special difficulties. Given the contentiousness that flares among Islamic factions, treating that community as a cohesive whole can be misleading. Esposito said that "like tribal or ethnic communities and nation states, they often pull together when faced by a common external threat but then fall back into intrareligious conflict."[1] So when the news media treat "Islam" as a cohesive religious-political entity, they risk slipping into oversimplification and stereotyping, which the public then adopts and perpetuates. In this process, coverage of entities such as Saudi Arabia may be inadequate due to the effort to concentrate on the "big picture." But the big picture comes into focus only when its many constituent elements are clearly depicted.

Despite the challenges inherent in designing coverage of Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Islamic community, this coverage deserves higher priority from news organizations partly because the unifying power of information technology is doing much to reinvigorate the concept of the ummah as a supranational entity. Easily accessible information, such as the news presented by CNN, the BBC, and more recently Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and other Muslim-oriented television organizations with global reach, can foster solidarity within an audience. The Internet carries this even farther, providing not just a flow of information but also an interactive medium that can bring unprecedented cohesion to the most far-flung community. Scholar Gary R. Bunt has noted that "it is through a digital interface that an increasing number of people will view their religion and their place in the Muslim worlds, affiliated to wider communities in which 'the West' becomes, at least in cyberspace, increasingly redundant."[2] As the Internet continues to reduce the significance of national borders and oth-

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1 Esposito, Unholy War, 39.
2 Gary R. Bunt, Islam in the Digital Age (London: Pluto Press, 2003), 211.

er boundaries, the entire array of global media and information technology may help create virtual communities that are as worthy of coverage as traditional states have been. Saudi Arabia can be expected to play a significant role in the reshaping of the global Islamic community and news coverage should reflect that.

These new political realities and advances in communication technologies necessitate reassessment of the scope of news coverage. To provide accurate, comprehensive journalism, news organizations must address structural reconfigurations and social and political realignments among states and peoples. The news media should take the initiative in this, rather than waiting for policy makers to alter their approach to the world, which too often is merely reactive, consisting of unplanned responses to unanticipated events.

As countries and constituencies throughout the world develop new ways to address terrorism and other geopolitical developments, the news media can play a vital role internally and externally. In addressing terrorism, they can provide information and can help to unify the global antiterrorist effort. Portrayals of key players such as Saudi Arabia are important elements of this. In a larger context, the news media can contribute to the eradication of stereotypes that poison public opinion and public policy. This is a big task, but it can be accomplished if news organizations and individual journalists decide that they will look at the world in new ways.

The news media and the "clash of civilizations" theory

Ever since Samuel Huntington presented his theory about a clash of civilizations in a *Foreign Affairs* article in 1993, debate has continued about whether his ideas are substantive or simplistic. For the news media, this debate is important because it helps shape their approach to covering the world. For Saudi Arabia, this debate is a factor in determining the under-

lying attitudes that guide news coverage of the Kingdom.

In Huntington's original article, which he refined and expanded in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, he argued that "the clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."[1] In the book, Huntington said that "culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world." Huntington's corollaries to this proposition, in summary form, are these:

* "For the first time in history, global politics is both multipolar and multicivilizational."

* As the balance of power among civilizations shifts, the relative influence of the West is declining.

* A world order is emerging that is civilization-based.

* "Universalist pretensions" are increasingly bringing the West into conflict with other civilizations, especially the Islamic world and China.

* If the West is to survive, America must reaffirm its Western identity and unite with other Westerners in the face of challenges from other civilizations.[2]

One reason that Huntington's clash theory initially had appeal was that policy makers, the news media, and others were moving uncertainly into the post-Cold War era without much understanding of how the newest world order was taking shape. They were receptive to a new geopolitical scheme, particularly one that featured identifiable adversarial relation-

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1 Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs, vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993), 22.

2 Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 20.

ships that would supersede those being left behind.

Today, a principal figure in this view of geopolitical conflict is Osama Bin Laden. He does not in himself constitute a "civilization" that is clashing with the West. He can be dismissed as a murderer who has merely proclaimed himself to be a defender of Islam, or he can be regarded as a more substantial figure - an advocate of a political agenda that many find legitimate, even if they do not agree with all of his tactics. There is, however, more to a decade of terrorism than one man's persistence. Whether Huntington's theory is validated by these terrorist events and whether Huntington's view of conflict should guide the planning of news coverage remains debatable. International relations scholar Charles Kupchan said that "the ongoing struggle between the United States and Islamic radicals does not represent a clash of civilizations," but rather is the result of extremist groups preying upon discontent within Islamic states.[1]

Some observers, while not embracing Huntington's theory, do not write it off altogether. They note gravitation toward "civilizational" interests. Shibley Telhami noted a shift in self-identification in the Arab world. "Historically," he wrote, "Arabs have three political options: Islam, pan-Arabism, or nationalism linked to individual states." A survey Telhami conducted in six Arab countries in June 2004 found that "more and more Arabs identify themselves as Muslims first." This trend is not uniform. Telhami noted that in Egypt and Lebanon, people identified themselves as Egyptians and Lebanese more than as Arabs or Muslims, while in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, the United Arab Emirates, and Jordan, majorities or pluralities cited their Islamic identity above others.[2]

The clash theory is important when considering how

1 Charles A. Kupchan, The End of the American Era (New York: Knopf, 2002), 70.

2 Shibley Telhami, "Arabs Increasingly Define Themselves as Muslims First," Daily Star, July 16, 2004.

Western news media view Saudi Arabia. As they look for a post-Cold War and now post-9/11 perspective on how the world works, conflict among civilizations has appeal as a master plan. Under it, categorizing countries such as Saudi Arabia is done with convenient speed. The problem, of course, is that convenience and speed are usually not compatible with complex analysis of nations and cultures. Nevertheless, there is a pronounced tendency in Western news coverage to treat Saudi Arabia, as well as other Arab and Muslim states, with casual superficiality. This is as damaging, in the long run, to news consumers as it is to the subjects of such coverage.

The supply of theories - and theories about theories - is inexhaustible. Journalists need not - and should not - adopt just one as the foundation for building their approach to coverage. They should, however, become familiar with the diverse array of ideas about how the world is changing. In news coverage, as in politics, a vacuum exists if there is no "enemy." Professor Adeed Dawisha wrote that "in the wake of the demise of international communism, the West saw radical Islam as perhaps its most dangerous adversary."[1] This was apparent immediately after the 2001 attacks, when mainstream American newspapers featured headlines such as these: "This Is a Religious War"; "Yes, This Is About Islam"; "Muslim Rage"; "The Deep Intellectual Roots of Islamic Terror"; "Kipling Knew What the U.S. May Now Learn"; "Jihad 101"; "The Revolt of Islam"; and so on. Several discussed the Crusades and were illustrated with pictures of Richard the Lion Heart.[2]

Events have pushed many in the news media toward a de facto adoption of the Huntington theory, regardless of its nu-

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1 Adeed Dawisha, "Arab Nationalism and Islamism: Competitive Past, Uncertain Future," International Studies Review, vol. 2, issue 3 (Fall 2000), 89.

2 Ervand Abrahamian, "The U.S. Media, Samuel Huntington, and September 11," Middle East Report, no. 223 (Summer 2002), 62.

merous critics. The 9/11 attacks, the resulting Afghanistan war, and the Iraq war begun in 2003 all lend themselves to political and journalistic shorthand: We have a new array of villains and they have Islam in common. That must mean that a clash of civilizations is underway.

Political and journalistic treatment of Saudi Arabia often reflects this predisposition to label even longtime friends as villains. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks on the United States, there seemed to be a feeling that Al-Qaeda was not enough of an enemy - there had to be more to this new kind of war than a foe that did not even have its own state and just occupied wasteland in Afghanistan. There followed a reflexive lashing out at the larger presence of Islam, and as one of the most visible Islamic states, Saudi Arabia attracted some of this anger and the accompanying overheated news coverage. The result was a change in the U.S.-Saudi relationship, not so much at the top of government as at the mid-levels of public opinion. The coverage exaggerated problems and in other ways was misleading.

Occasionally corrective voices make themselves heard, as is the case with the 9/11 Commission Report. It paints a different picture of Saudi Arabia than the one that many news organizations have adopted. It presents information that Western news media tended to ignore:

* Osama Bin Laden was rebuffed by the Saudi government as early as 1990, when Bin Laden wanted to organize a jihad to liberate Kuwait and the Saudi government instead joined the American-led coalition.

* The CIA learned in 1998 that the Saudi government had been disrupting Al-Qaeda cells that were targeting American interests.

* Also in 1998, the Saudi government terminated diplomatic relations with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

* The Saudi government pressured the government of Pa-

kistan - beyond what the U.S. government would do - to pull away from the Taliban and Bin Laden.

* The commission found that there was no evidence that the Saudi government "as an institution or senior Saudi officials individually" had funded Al-Qaeda.

* Despite media reports to the contrary, Saudi nationals did not fly out of the United States after 9/11 until national airspace reopened; there was no evidence of White House political intervention on behalf of the Saudis; and the FBI screened the Saudis who left on charter flights.

* The report found that "the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is now locked in mortal combat with Al-Qaeda."[1]

The commission's report does criticize Saudi Arabia about matters such as strained U.S.-Saudi relations in intelligence sharing during the late 1990s, Bin Laden's use of Saudi contacts in his fund raising, and generally Saudi Arabia being "a problematic ally in combating Islamic terrorism."[2] But this report features a balance that has often been lacking in news coverage. Criticism is presented in the context of a larger and more accurate depiction of U.S.-Saudi relations. It is this kind of context that is so often missing from the news media's product.

Looking ahead: How the news media may adjust

Of perhaps greatest concern to those who want to see a solid relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States was the 9/11 Commission's finding that "many Americans see Saudi Arabia as an enemy, not an embattled ally."[3] If this is to change, the news media - like policy makers and the public - must guard against accepting convenient stereo-

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1 The 9/11 Commission Report, 74, 115, 122, 123, 171, 329, 373.

2 The 9/11 Commission Report, 122, 170, 371.

3 The 9/11 Commission Report, 373.

types and judging cultural differences in simplistic ways. Otherwise, news coverage of Saudi Arabia will contribute to divisiveness.

Meanwhile, there are those who for their own purposes may wish to foster a violent clash of civilizations. A case can be made that this is a goal of Al-Qaeda, and if so the chances of reaching that goal are enhanced by the opinion among many Muslims that the purpose of the U.S. in Iraq is in part "to weaken the Muslim world."[1]

Emerging from these and other plausible examples of civilizational conflict - current or prospective - is a complex mandate for 21st century journalism. For starters, the volume of international news coverage must become more consistent. Anyone thinking that the 2003 Iraq war might mark a lasting turnaround in international coverage by Western news organizations will probably be disappointed. News coverage even of major crises evaporates quickly, and reporting about ongoing issues receives minimal attention.

These concerns extend beyond the civilizational conflicts that Huntington describes. Policy makers and journalists should have similar interests in grappling with these matters. The 9/11 Commission's report addressed the need to engage in a "struggle of ideas."[2] News coverage is part of that. While governments decide how to adapt to these new realities, the news business must realign its own priorities if journalists are to help the public develop a better sense of what is going on in the world.

Such matters are at the heart of the Western news media's approach to covering Saudi Arabia. Those who are concerned about news media depictions of Saudi Arabia might benefit

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1 Shibley Telhami, "Manipulating U.S. Elections Is Not an Al-Qaeda Goal," Daily Star, July 26, 2004.
2 The 9/11 Commission Report (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 375.

from taking a holistic approach in their search for remedies. General trends in news coverage are shaped by more than the specifics of Saudi policy related to internal politics and the U.S./Western presence in the Middle East. These and the events of the day certainly remain important, but they are manifestations of deeper issues. The roots of those issues are also the roots of the problems and successes of news coverage of Saudi Arabia.

Responsibility for flawed coverage rests primarily with the news media, but other players must also share the blame. Over the long term, official or unofficial obstruction of reporting does not produce less critical journalism but rather will lead to distorted coverage that benefits neither the subjects of news stories nor the audience for those stories.

The 9/11 Commission recommended that "the problems in the U.S.-Saudi relationship must be confronted, openly," and that a renewed relationship should "include a shared interest in greater tolerance and cultural respect, translating into a commitment to fight the violent extremists who foment hatred."[1]

The news media can play a significant part in this renewal of the U.S.-Saudi relationship. In line with the 9/11 Commission recommendations, achieving more accurate journalistic representation of Saudi Arabia will require more openness and sophistication on the part of all parties involved in covering the kingdom and reporting the many complex aspects of the response to terrorism.

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1 The 9/11 Commission Report, 374.

ISRAEL-FIRSTERS WAGE
NEGATIVE MEDIA CAMPAIGN
AGAINST THE KINGDOM

By Richard H. Curtiss and Delinda Hanley

Ask any American to describe a Saudi Arabian national and the likely response will be a negative stereotype. Whatever Saudi Arabia does or doesn't do, the Kingdom is the target of an ongoing defamation campaign. Why is the Kingdom under attack? Who is working night and day to keep it going? How is the battle waged?

Saudi Arabia is being targeted because it has great international influence, not only in Islamic and Arab countries, but also throughout the world. More than 1.3 billion Muslims look toward the Qibla to pray five times a day. The Kingdom helps shape the policy of the world's Muslim community.

In addition to its moral standing, Saudi Arabia has one-fourth of the world's proven crude oil reserves and provides 17 percent of U.S. crude oil imports. Saudi Arabia's opinions are highly respected in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which works to achieve stable oil prices that are fair and reasonable for oil producers and consumers. OPEC can make or break the world's economy. The Kingdom employs more than six million people from 120 different nations. In February 2003, total worldwide Saudi investment was conservatively estimated at $700 billion; 60 percent of those investments are in the United States. If Saudi Arabians suddenly decided to sell their American assets it would wreak havoc on the U.S. economy. Saudi Arabia's financial clout has few rivals.

Saudi Arabia's wealth and power should have earned the Kingdom influence, respect and vital input into world affairs. Its actions, peacemaking efforts, and financial assistance in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Kosovo, Kuwait, Iraq, and most especially in Israel/Palestine should have borne fruit. But the Kingdom is attacked in the American media mainly due to its support for Palestinian statehood. If Saudi Arabia were not a leading voice for peace in the region, it would not have inflamed its enemies. Its enemies are those who don't want peace.

Which brings us to the next question: Who is out to get Saudi Arabia and take away its powerful voice? The answer is Israel and its supporters, both Jewish and Christian Zionists. Without Saudi Arabian financial aid Palestinians would literally starve and Israel could complete its ethnic cleansing project. Without prodding from Crown Prince Abdullah and other moral statesmen, the world could ignore Israel's illegal occupation, the apartheid wall, and the political isolation and economic strangulation of the West Bank and Gaza. Pro-Israeli zealots have worked hard to silence Saudi Arabia's strong moral voice and keep the Kingdom on the defensive. They have labored to turn America's longtime friend and business partner into "public enemy number one".

Americans who care first and foremost about Israel's welfare at the expense of America's future or honor are called Israel-firsters. There are plenty of Israel-firsters in Congress, the media, clergy, and in and around the White House. They don't think of themselves as traitors but they are. They do great harm to the United States by damaging our credibility in the world as well as our reputation for fairness and courage. Their support for Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian land gives the lie to any American efforts to achieve freedom, equality, peace and justice.

Israel-firsters are not born that way. They are carefully

nurtured. Members of Congress, governors, mayors, police chiefs, movie stars, businessmen and clergymen are sent on all-expenses-paid junkets to Israel. They never meet Palestinians to hear their side of the story, walk through a checkpoint, or witness a home demolition.

When returning politicians say the right things and vote correctly, they are rewarded by campaign contributions appearing from pro-Israel political action committees (PACs) with disingenuous names like Delaware Valley PAC or Sun-Pac or Americans for Good Government. If they misbehave, their political opponent receives that largesse.

Who decides which politicians get contributions from PACs? The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), one of the most effective and controversial lobbying groups in the United States, decides who needs a holiday in Israel and who gets special treats later. While AIPAC does not make contributions to candidates directly, AIPAC coordinates payments by such pro-Israel PACs as Women's Alliance for Israel or To Protect Our Heritage. AIPAC even writes legislation for Congress; for example, the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. AIPAC's slick magazine, Near East Report, publishes articles with titles like "Iran's Illicit Nuclear Weapons Program" and "Rooted in Terrorism: Hezbollah's Radical Islamic Agenda."

AIPAC's power and influence is frequently discussed in the media, especially when a member of Congress like Paul Findley, Cynthia McKinney or Earl Hilliard is targeted by AIPAC for stepping out of line. Those stories and those election losses are trumpeted across the country in order to intimidate other politicians and keep them in step. The pro-Israel lobby's strong influence on the U.S. political system cannot be overstated.

In addition to AIPAC, there are numerous other pro-Israeli organizations in the United States. The Anti-Defamation

League, which has been caught conducting illegal surveillance and using stolen police files for possible illegal use against private individuals, is another. The American Jewish Committee, the United Jewish Communities, the National Jewish Democratic Council and the Republican Jewish Coalition all lobby for U.S. support for Israel and keep an eagle eye trained on the media.

One of the largest of these groups influencing America's foreign policy is the Zionist Organization of America, founded in 1897. The ZOA was instrumental in mobilizing the support of the U.S. government, Congress and the American public for the creation of Israel in 1948. According to its web site, this 50,000-member tax-exempt organization works to strengthen American-Israeli relations through educational activities, public affairs programs, support for pro-Israel legislation on Capitol Hill, and by combating anti-Israel bias in the media, textbooks, travel guides and on campuses. The ZOA's youth division, Masada, sponsors one of the largest programs for sending young Jews to visit Israel.

One method used by ZOA and other pro-Israeli organizations is exemplified by a recent letter-writing campaign ZOA and the ADL launched to intimidate Duke University, which had agreed to host the fourth national student conference on the Palestine Solidarity Movement in October 2004. While ZOA President Morton Klein admitted that college students have the right to free speech and academic freedom, he wrote "those rights are not absolute and they must give way when other equally important and valued interests are at stake." That is to say, free speech must give way to Israel's interests.

The last paragraph of Klein's letter states: "We urge Duke to rescind its decision to host the Palestine Solidarity Movement's national conference. At the very least, the university should issue a public statement strongly and unequivocally condemning the views and actions of the Palestine Solidarity

Movement and the International Solidarity Movement. To do any less implicitly condones these racist, anti-Semitic, hate-filled and violence-promoting groups and gives them legitimacy. In an age of increasing radical Islamic terror and hatred, it is imperative that you act now." Duke received more than 3,000 letters from all over the country asking the university to cancel the conference.

This is one example of how pro-Israel groups intimidate universities, media, and legislators. If a public figure criticizes Israel or tries to be even-handed, he or she may be slapped with the "anti-Semitic" label the kiss of death to a career in politics, the film industry or most businesses. Pro-Israel groups also organize letter-writing campaigns, sending faxes and e-mails with copies to news editors and political leaders full of innuendoes about Muslims, Arabs and peace activists supporting terrorism. The result of this combination of intimidation and bribery is that most officials work hard to keep the Israel lobby happy. It's easier and more lucrative to play it safe than to speak out.

Pro-Israel Jewish groups are joined by fundamentalist Christian Zionist organizations, including the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem, Christian Friends of Israeli Communities, and the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews. Christian Zionists believe that the state of Israel must exist until the second coming, when Jesus will return to earth and Jews will convert to Christianity or die in the battle. There are 50 to 80 million Zionist Christians in the United States whose leaders are happy to support any efforts to praise Israel and bash Islam and Arab countries. They don't mind stoking the fires of hatred and hurrying the world toward Armageddon.

Israel and its supporters in the United States invest a lot of money and effort in public relations. After all, as the recipient of more than $3 billion in U.S. aid each year, Israel can

afford to invest some of it in earning future aid. In addition to paying for the expertise of public relations firms, Israel's embassy in Washington, DC and consulates in Los Angeles, Atlanta, Houston, Miami, Chicago and other U.S. cities work closely with the press. If an article critical of Israel appears, the response is immediate and devastating. Supporters of Israel may threaten the publisher with a loss of ad revenue if a more "balanced" article doesn't appear the next day. The offending journalist may be labeled "anti-Semitic" and his or her career may be threatened.

Even our magazine, the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, suffers from intimidation. Our advertisers have told us that anonymous callers tell them not to advertise in our magazine. They wrongly say we are "anti-Semitic." When they respond that Arabs are also Semitic, and that anyway, many of our writers are Jewish, the harassers say they must be "self-hating Jews." One Jewish man called us incessantly for years on our toll-free number, costing us untold hours of staff time, aggravation, and telephone bills. Finally on New Years Eve 2000 the FBI overheard him threatening to destroy us. He stopped calling.

When our magazine wrote a letter signed by more than ninety former diplomats to President George W. Bush critical of his Middle East foreign policy, we received a barrage of angry letters. Most U.S. newspapers refused to carry articles about the letter or subsequent news conferences. When C-SPAN broadcast a news conference after the diplomats returned from a trip to the West Bank, another flood of letters castigated us for supporting terrorism by talking about Palestinians' suffering under Israel occupation.

Time and time again the *Washington Report* has attended conferences and lectures with a favorable focus on the Middle East. Outside our own coverage in the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, these events went unreported.

By applying constant pressure on the press, supporters of Israel have created a media conspiracy of silence when it comes to anything critical of Israel. Most daily newspapers, virtually all television stations, and many radio stations are deathly afraid of offending advertisers and readers supportive of Israel.

And it is for this reason that the media also tend to keep their distance from Arabs and anything to do with Islam. Or they may instead jump on the Arab- and Muslim-bashing bandwagon. So long as the Israeli-Palestinian problem remains unsettled in the Middle East, Islam is going to be slandered, even in an otherwise respectable media, in the United States. And there are going to be attempts to make the words "Muslim" and "terrorist" virtually synonymous.

The media has focused on "if it bleeds it leads" when Israelis are bleeding. We read all about the hopes and dreams of Israeli victims of suicide bombs, and we get to know their grieving friends and relatives. When Palestinians are killed, they are nameless, ageless, and faceless. Palestinians are dehumanized, robbed of their identities, and reduced to numbers. "Four Palestinians died in Gaza today." They are not killed or shot or murdered by Israeli soldiers or settlers. They just die. The media selects phrases to shift the blame from killer to victim. Israel attacks in response to Palestinian terrorism (we are told), or to punish the families of terrorists or to prevent future terrorism.

We see the same word games now in Iraq. The U.S. media pretends to have balanced reporting in the Middle East. But the words don't add up to truth.

The U.S. media repeat hurtful stereotypes and catchphrases until many Americans believe the libels are true: "Muslims and Arabs are terrorists." They "don't value human life." Muslims belong to a "religion that supports terrorism." Muslims are "anti-Western and anti-American." Muslims "segre-

gate and suppress women." Jihad is a "holy war." The worn-out script is rarely challenged.

The relentless media campaign against the Kingdom and the Arab world did not start on Sept. 11, 2001. It began in Hollywood decades ago. Films and TV shows, whether accidentally or intentionally, have imprinted on American minds the image of "rich sinister oil sheikhs,"¢ Bedouin bandits" and "rabidly anti-American Arab evildoers."

In his comprehensive study of nearly a thousand films and television shows, documented in his book *Reel Bad Arabs*, Prof. Jack G. Shaheen examined the U.S. media's images of Arabs. The terrible depiction of Arabs and Muslims in the American film industry, Shaheen concludes, is relentlessly racist. Hollywood both entertains and educates young people around the world; this industry has created attitudes, feelings and negative images devastating to the Arab world.

Both before and after September 11, anti-Muslim bigotry spawned a lucrative book and periodical-selling industry. The "Islam" section in most bookstores in the United States will not contain holy Qur'an or books about the Prophet. Instead it will include titles like American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us by Steven Emerson and Militant Islam Reaches America by Daniel Pipes. American Muslims regard Pipes as "the nation's leading Islamophobe." In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, self-described "terrorism expert" Emerson, who has close connections with Israel and pro-Israel institutions in the United States, immediately sought to implicate Muslims, although they had nothing to do with the tragedy. Both men have been discredited again and again. Nonetheless, the media still turn to them for outrageous anti-Muslim quotes. After the 1993 World Trade Center bombing both writers made their living by warning that the entire Muslim world was at war with the West.

Books highly critical of Saudi Arabia like Dore Gold's *Ha-*

tred's Kingdom and Stephen Schwartz' *Two Faces of Islam: the House of Saud from Tradition* to Terror instantly become bestsellers. Saudi-bashing books are highly promoted and often result in a barrage of articles and interviews that feed the flames of those pushing "the clash of civilizations." Dore Gold, former Israeli ambassador to the U.N., is an adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Schwartz is a member of the pro-Israel Bradley Foundation in Washington, DC. Neither Schwartz nor Gold ever set foot in Saudi Arabia, which makes their expertise highly questionable.

Americans are repeatedly reminded that 15 of the 19 hijackers on Sept. 11 were Saudi Arabian and Osama bin Laden was born in the Kingdom. It is rarely pointed out that Saudi Arabia is also the victim of Al-Qaeda terrorism and bin Laden is a dissident who was stripped of his Saudi Arabian nationality in 1994. Saudi Arabia's own efforts to fight terrorism at home and abroad are downplayed or even discounted. Financial contributions made to war-torn communities are also denigrated, and U.S. headlines scream that Saudi Arabian charities support terrorism.

Whatever Saudi Arabians or other Muslims do or don't do, they are targets of an ongoing defamation campaign orchestrated by the Israel lobby in the United States. Elements in the mainstream media have cooperated to conduct smear campaigns and other acts of intimidation against Muslims and their allies. They work night and day to drive a wedge between the United States and the Islamic countries.

After 9/11, the U.S. media, elected officials, and the man on the street wondered how the perpetrators of this crime could do such a thing. Each asked the question "Why do they hate us?" Some of the answers reflected the anti-Arab bias that has been created by the media over the years: They "hate our freedoms" or they "want to kill all infidels." The list goes on. Few Americans asked how we ourselves had come to

denigrate an entire people on the basis of the actions of a few terrorists.

New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd, on April 22, 2001, tried to explain one reason people still use hurtful stereotypes. "Stereotypes are not only offensive but they are also comforting. They...exempt people from any further mental or emotional effort. They wrap life in the arch toastiness of fairy tale and myth. They make complicated understandings unnecessary."

What happens to American policies if they are surrounded by tales of Western heroes combating Arab villains. That formula has been used in movies, TV shows, computer games, and now even in real-life war. The campaign to create these stereotypes has worked. When Americans reflect on the September 11 attacks, the war in Iraq, or the Palestinian intifada with their minds clouded by anti-Arab stereotypes, they don't have to examine uncomfortable truths. The fact is U.S. foreign policy today is extraordinarily destructive throughout the world. Despite tireless work by American diplomats, missionaries, scholars and businessmen in the Middle East over many years, current U.S. foreign policy finally may be creating real anti-American sentiment in real live Arabs, just like in the movies.

U.S. policymakers need to take a step back and look at our foreign policy from 2001 to 2004. This policy is devoid of moral authority thanks to our support for Israel's occupation and our own invasion and similar occupation of Iraq. Like Israel, the United States now depends on force rather than negotiations and international law to settle disputes. Americans are told that we are helping to build a better world and bringing freedom and democracy to the Middle East. Some Americans may believe that fighter planes, helicopter gunships and tanks attacking populated cities create peace. They may believe that freedom fighters trying to end foreign occupation

are evil insurgents. Some truly think might makes right and Geneva Conventions and UN resolutions do not apply to American actions. A lot of Israelis have believed those types of stories for decades.

If Israel-firsters continue to mold U.S. foreign policy, ignore international law, recommend attacks on Islamic countries, and discourage U.S. friendships with both the Islamic and European communities, they will succeed in bringing a terrible end to world peace and security. If they succeed in building a wall between "them and us" or "Muslims versus Christians and Jews" they will polarize the planet.

Saudi Arabia will be at the center of the battleground even if the war is waged with only media slander and political or religious mudslinging rather than soldiers and bombers.