

# Causes of Terrorism

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## Abstract

The term 'terrorism' came into use at the end of the 18th century, primarily to refer to violent governmental acts designed to ensure popular submission.<sup>1</sup> Terrorism comprises acts of violence meant to instill fear; that fear then generates alarm of future attacks perpetrated by individuals, groups, or governments against a civilian population, their symbols of power, and property. Rachel Monaghan, writes in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* that terrorism is the "use of violence in an attempt to achieve a change in, or the maintenance of, the status quo."<sup>2</sup> Perpetrators of these acts are human beings acting against other human beings with the intention to physically harm, psychologically terrorize, and inflict general destruction. Groups denied human rights, such as certain ethnic groups in submissive states, like the ANC (African National Congress) in South Africa, nationalist groups like the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) in Palestine, and certain religious groups, such as Christian fundamentalists in the U.S., have resorted to acts of violence over real or perceived injustices against their groups. Precursors to terrorist acts include poverty, persecution, lack of human rights, oppression, occupation, and ideologies, such as secular beliefs, and religious and ethnic discrimination. This is a timely and controversial topic. This paper provides an overview of the precursors and plights that culminate in these violent acts.

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## Factors that Cause Terrorism

Extremes in psychology, secular ideology, religion, ethnicity, and nationalism often lead to terrorism. Also, the perceived political grievances of occupation, poverty, religious influence, and military oppression are often precursors to terrorism. The reasons for the complaints by the aggrieved parties are based on factual evidence, as well as beliefs, or are fabricated by the strong. Most of these complaints are declared by the aggrieved in the form of harm done to them. The aggrieved may be responding in kind to those who inflict the harm on them or they want to attract attention or recognition. The PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), for example, is trying to establish a Palestinian state on part of their land while struggling under occupation. The Palestinian Arab group's military resistance against Israeli occupation is justified. Some of this violence is legitimate defense, protected by the U.N. rules--the right of people to use all means to defend them. "The principle of 'armed struggle' derived from the right of resistance accorded universally to all peoples suffering national oppression."<sup>3</sup> "Yet like

all people (including the Jews) the Palestinians responded on occasion to spectacular outrages, in order to dramatize their struggle and to inflict pain on an unremitting enemy."<sup>4</sup>

## International Injustice

An example of this international injustice is the response to the United Nation's action to create the state of Israel on Palestinian land after WWII. "Exhausted, the British turned the problem over to the United Nations, where the Soviets and Americans banded together to force a solution on the Arabs."<sup>5</sup> Cooperation occurred between the Soviet Union and the U.S. in the UN, where "the superpowers made the Arabs pay a part of the price for the German death camps."<sup>6</sup> The "Solution was the partition of Palestine to create a Jewish state along the Mediterranean coast, with almost indefensible borders."<sup>7</sup> The U.N. legitimized a group of people (Jewish immigrants) on other people's land (Palestine). The Jewish groups believe that God gave them the land. "Zionism became a driving force among world Jewry only in response to the Nazi Final Solution."<sup>8</sup> "Zionism, a [political] movement born in Russia, advocated that Jews return to their homeland in Palestine after two thousand years of wandering, in order to establish their own nation."<sup>9</sup> The Jewish groups expelled the Palestinians from their homeland and forced them to become refugees at the border of their country (called Israel today). This happened to the Palestinians by the Jews despite the help Palestinians extended to Jews after WWII, only to have Israel turn against them. The root causes are "a tragic legacy of mutual fears, suspicions, prejudices, passionate recriminations, preposterous self-righteousness, and blindness to the legitimate rights of an adversary."<sup>10</sup> The adversary is the Palestinian refugees that Israel expelled. The actions of the U.N. resolutions created turmoil in the region of these two groups and resulted in violence. The Jewish groups received help to settle on Palestinian land from the colonizing power of Great Britain at the time and later by the United States. During the first Arab-Israeli war,

*The Israelis asked the United Nations for help, and once again the United States and the Soviet Union worked together to bring about a four week truce. During this time, the Israelis procured quantities of heavy arms from Communist Czechoslovakia. When the shooting started again it was the Israelis who drove their ene-*

*mies from the field. The United States forced a ceasefire resolution through the United Nations, but it was generally ignored and Israel continued to conquer Galilee and parts of the Negev Desert.*<sup>11</sup>

Moorhead Kennedy, in his article, "The Root Causes of Terrorism," stated that terrorism "had a lot to do with the creation of Israel and the withdrawal of Britain from that country's then Palestine Mandate."<sup>12</sup> Both the Israelis and the Palestinians fight for the same piece of land, which creates tension and turmoil. The consequences of the fight are dire for both sides and the world. Currently, the PLO, for example, is trying to establish a Palestinian state on part of their land and solve the refugee problem according to UN resolution 194, while also resisting Israeli military occupation. On the other hand, Israel is resisting change in its Jewish-ness by not accepting resolution 194 and the return of the Palestinian refugees. The UN and the international community are trying to get the parties to solve the problem peacefully.

### **Psychological Means**

One point of view on the causes of terrorism argues that American culture inflicts psychological terror on people in Third World countries. American "Culture [is] rife with bad schooling, racism, poverty, and devastations of drugs and violence. Crime is rampant there."<sup>13</sup> Indeed, there is a gap between the cultures of impoverished countries and the capitalist society that is America. Terrorist groups argue that the practice of hegemony is the "American way," an oppressive practice that is meant to dominate other cultures. The infiltration of the American way of life into other societies occurs through manufactured products, movies, TV, and other media, resulting in the Americanization of other cultures. "Television images portray and even glamorize the fast life, and movies such as the *Godfather*, *Set it Off*, *Boyz'n the Hood*, and *Menace II Society* feature gratuitous violence that helps legitimize violence for many young men."<sup>14</sup> In other words, U.S culture has violent consequences for American youth and extends beyond the U.S to other countries with very different cultures than the U.S.

The governments of Third World countries rigorously embrace Americanization because of incentives given by business, such as agreements and deals promising a better life by employment through industrialization. American "power, in turn, can be defined as the ability to get people to do something they would not otherwise do, in this case to accept policies in opposition to those preferred."<sup>15</sup> But perhaps most significant in this clash of

cultures is individualism versus community orientation. American culture is based on individualism, while most Third World countries are community oriented. The focus on individualism in America causes conflicts in Third World countries. The globalization movement, embedded in American corporations, communication technologies, and its military superpower status led by America, is a dominant factor adversely affecting Third World countries. As Kennedy asserted, "The United States, the West, still penetrates the Middle East. We [the U.S] do so commercially. We do so culturally. We do so psychologically. Middle Eastern terrorism is a response to a great many of these factors."<sup>16</sup> One outcome of American penetration is the magnification of the gap between rich and poor. This influence impacts members of some cultures negatively. In "Codes of the Street: Decency, Violence ... of the Inner City" "Films, along with rap music as well as their everyday experiences, help youths become inured to violence and, perhaps, death itself."<sup>17</sup> This also influences the youth in other countries. Within certain Middle Eastern cultures, people buy American products, watch Western films, feel oppression from authoritarian regimes (Arab and Islamic American allies), and sell the West their resources, mainly oil. The differences between these two cultures cause tension, which can lead to violence. America claims to stand for freedom and human rights, while its authoritarian allies practice oppression through the denial of human rights to certain groups. This hypocrisy outrages many in the Third World.

### **Ideological Causes**

Ideologies are beliefs and value systems on which programs are built, including social, economic, and political agendas. These beliefs and values are often subject to extreme interpretations. "Ideologies play a crucial role in terrorist's target selection: it supplies terrorists with an initial motive for action and provides a prism through which they view events and the actions of other people....ideology also allows terrorists to justify their violence by displacing the responsibility onto either their victims or other actors."<sup>18</sup> Three of the most visible extreme main ideologies are secular left-wing communism; right-wing-capitalism; and religious ideologies such as Islam, Christianity, or Judaism.<sup>19</sup> The political left comprises groups such as communist left-wing terrorists in Colombia and Peru, the German Red Brigades, and the Italian Red Army Faction. The Argentine government's "dirty war" and the Contras of Nicaragua represent right wing terrorist groups. Christian Identity, a right-wing ideology that terrorist Timothy McVeigh was associated with, and the anti-abortion groups that killed doctors in abortion clinics in the U.S. are examples of extreme right wing religious ideologies. Other groups

organized around religious ideologies include Bin Laden's Al Qaeda network, as well as the Jewish Defense League in the United States. Ideology motivates such religious groups to attempt to change governments through violence. "Ideologies provide an initial range of legitimate targets and a means by which terrorists seek to justify attacks, both to the outside world and to themselves."<sup>20</sup> These groups claim that the political, social, and economic injustices of capitalism are the roots of their grievances. Religious ideologies may be embedded in a state. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, for example, claims to have a biblical mandate for Israel's seizure of Palestinian land.

*The Jordan Valley is an inseparable part of the State of Israel, Shimon Peres, the man of peace, declared while touring Israeli settlements in 1985, consistent with his unwavering stand that 'the past is immutable and the Bible is the decisive document in determining the fate of our land' and that a Palestinian state would 'threaten Israel's very existence.'*<sup>21</sup>

In religious ideologies,

*The Bible was invoked both to justify slavery and to abolish it, invoked for missionary imperialism and revolutionary response that its cadences were intoned at the birth of various nationalisms and its verses infused not only the rhetoric of Zionism and the liberation theologies of Latin America and South Africa, but also considerably less overt biblical politics.*<sup>22</sup>

Religious ideologies built on holy writ

*a text that had once posited collective identity as the fiat of God ('I will be your God if you will be my people') came to posit collective identity as the fiat of the nation authorized by God ('one nation, under God'). Nationalism has stubbornly [held] fast to this [legitimizing] by transcendence. National borders are the will of God. National expansions expansions and colonization are the will of God. National military confrontations are the will of God.*<sup>23</sup>

## Religious Causes

In religious terms,

*This is to warn that, if we do not think about the Bible [the Koran or the Old Testament], it will think (for) us." Why we should need the Bible to 'authorize' at all, why our ethics and our codes*

*of conduct are not felt to be sufficiently compelling without the Bible's validation, may well be a complicated question (the mechanisms of projection? Mystification?), but certainly the hazards of authorizing that text – any text – whether it is the Bible, the Quran, or Protocols of the Elders of Zion, are palpable.*<sup>24</sup>

Mark Juergensmeyer, in his book Terror in the Mind of God, wrote about the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the groups activities against the Egyptian secular government. The Muslim Brotherhood's motivation was their government's perceived lack of moral values. For example, the Egyptian government sent troops into Kuwait during the Gulf War. According to Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, this war resulted from foreign interference. Sheik Omar, a leading figure in Egypt's radical Muslim community, resides in an American jail, convicted of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Omar's contention was that Egypt's support of and participation in the U.S. led war was wrong. Juergensmeyer wrote that, "Followers of Sheik Omar were also believed responsible for two other killings in Egypt: the murder of parliament Speaker Rifaat Mahgoub, and a secular writer, Farag Foda. They also attempted to assassinate President Hosni Mubarak and the Nobel – Prize winning novelist Naguib Mahfouz."<sup>25</sup> Some religious radicals, as these incidents illustrate, commit acts of murder against secular figures. To the Muslim Brotherhood, proponents of secularism are heretics, who have committed crimes worthy of violence.

## Political and Religious Reasons

Further, the conflict is religious as well as political. The Palestinian religious movement Hamas, has a program against their enemy - the Israeli settlers on their land, as well as the injustices of occupation - an element of nationalist cause. According to Hamas leader Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, "One-third of the Gaza Strip is allocated to 1500 Jewish settlers, and the remaining two-thirds to the approximately one million Palestinians crowded there, many as refugees. Such developments led to frustration."<sup>26</sup> Palestinian religious groups react to oppression in self-defense according to their religious beliefs, for the honor of their homeland. The extreme Jewish aim is to cleanse the land of the Palestinians before the Jews settle in Palestine. This extreme is illustrated by the actions of Dr. Baruch Goldstein, an American Jewish extremist who pulled out an assault rifle and fired indiscriminately into a crowd of men and boys who were kneeling in prayer on the carpeted floor at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron. Goldstein killed 36 people and injured scores more. As Juergensmeyer wrote about the reaction by Palestinian Islamists: "If we

are aggressed against, if our land is usurped, we must call for hitting the attackers and the aggressor to put an end to the aggression."<sup>27</sup> In the eyes of extremist Jewish settlers, their religious belief is to liquidate the infidels, the intruders on the land that God gave them. Similarly, in the eyes of Islamic Hamas, their religious goal is to cleanse their land from the non-believers, the intruders on their land. Both cases have led to a vicious circle of terror. An attempt at a secular solution by the PLO in 1974, that Arabs and Israelis live on the land and share it as equals, in a secular political system, was not accepted by Israel.

### **Ethnic Causes**

The apartheid regime of the white minority in South Africa was one of the most oppressive regimes that existed in the 20th Century. The white minority comprised 30% of the population, subjugated by the black majority. The ruling minority violated the black majority's basic human rights; blacks had no right to vote and lived in poverty in one of the richest countries in Africa. The white minority, ruling class, subjugated them as an ethnic black majority group through brutal treatment by white military forces. Consequently, the ANC (African National Congress) used violent resistance to combat injustices. The apartheid system kept its oppressive apparatus through military establishments that violated most codes of ethics against an ethnic majority in South Africa. The ANC was built on human solidarity for their moral and ethnic causes to sustain a strategy to defeat the apartheid regime with help from the international community. The ANC strategy included a period of non-violent resistance to the apartheid regime.

### **Nationalist Causes**

"President Woodrow Wilson's idealism and the call for self-determination of the people of the Middle East clashed with, and was opposed by, the Zionist movement which sought a Jewish homeland in Palestine."<sup>28</sup> Nazis persecuted Jews in Europe. The Jewish Zionist aim is to establish a secure statehood for the Jewish people. After WWII, the victorious Allies created the United Nations. The U.N. created the Jewish state on Palestinian Arab land in 1948. Bruce Hoffman, in his book *Inside Terrorism*, discusses some tactics of one Jewish terrorist organization, the Irgun: "The Irgun's strategy was [Menahem] Begin's use of daring and dramatic acts of violence to attract international attention to Palestine and thereby publicize simultaneously the Zionist's grievances."<sup>29</sup> Some of the Irgun's acts of violence include "The King David Hotel ... bombing [which] still holds an infamous distinction as one of the world's single most lethal terrorist incidents of the twentieth cen-

ture."<sup>30</sup> The Irgun's terrorists were an illegal gathering of professional soldiers from WWII to fight the Arabs for a homeland on Arab land. Hoffman claims that Britain was "trying to stem the flood of illegal Jewish immigrants attempting to enter Palestine."<sup>31</sup> The British action was in response to the indigenous people's armed resistance against the Jewish flood of illegal immigrants on their land. On some occasions, especially in 1936, with lack of complete control, illegal Jewish settlers flooded Palestine. British colonial oppression resulted in the violent Palestinian resistance in 1948.

*Israel was born, thanks in part to Russian military support and American negotiating skill. Her boundaries already exceed those assigned her by the U.N. partition, and included thousands of unhappy Palestinian Arabs. There were, in addition, other Palestinians who had been forced out by the fighting, thus beginning the Palestinian refugees.*<sup>32</sup>

To solve the Palestinian refugee problem

*President Truman put exceedingly strong pressure on Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion for concession on both the refugee, and boundary issues, only to meet with an indignantly negative response, backed by the veiled threat that the American Jewish Community would turn against Truman if he persisted.*<sup>33</sup>

According to the UN records of 1948, the Israel military occupation created hundreds of thousands of refugees. This military occupation is the root cause of terrorism in the Middle East. Indeed, Simha Flapan wrote in her book, *The Birth of Israel*: that

*The harm and danger that would result from dis-possession, neglect, and denial of the rights of the refugees, and from the perpetuation of their life in exile: There is no human force that could stop the personal revenge of individual refugees against the party that sentenced them to death. It is inconceivable that the refugees should be left to die with their children in caves and deserts in Arab lands, while watching European families of various extractions living by force in the homes that they had built with their own sweat and blood, enjoying a peaceful life. Nothing could prevent these refugees from infiltrating, as individuals, and blowing up those houses over their own heads and the heads of those now living in them.*<sup>34</sup>

Through time, Palestinians created military and

political resistance movements to fight these injustices. The Palestinian national movement consists of religious groups like Aljehad, while other groups are secular, such as Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, (PFLP), National Palestinian Liberation Movement, (FATH), and Democratic Liberation Front of Palestine, (PFLD), and others fighting Israel for a national home. They argue their grievances from an international point of view, because they are in all out war with the "other," from non-believers to capitalists. These Palestinian groups view international law, according to Kennedy, as "... rules by which ... rich, industrialized countries—justify what [the West] do to poor, developing countries."<sup>35</sup> The U.N., which holds the rules and regulations, formulated by the victorious West after WWII, enforces international law upon the international community. The arrogance of those in power, illustrated by their inability to listen to Palestinian grievances, is a reason, the Palestinian resistance groups believe, to respond to Israel military occupation through violent means.

### Perceived Political Grievances

The core characteristic of terrorism is the existence of a political motive.<sup>36</sup> This political motive is to force a group's demands for their human and civil rights, for a national home on their own land, and to fight the injustice forced upon them. The goal is to get refugees, the oppressed, deprived groups out of their degraded environment, and out of the injustice. These groups want their grievances heard and their cause recognized and granted attention. Most scholars agree that terrorism is a concept based on an extreme reaction to grievances and injustices by violent means. This theory of extreme reaction by the aggrieved explains the core characteristic of the causes of terrorism. The Armenian nationalist movement in eastern Turkey, for example, used terror against the Ottoman Empire as a reaction to the genocide of one and a half million Armenians by the Turks. The Kurdish youths' distressing situation and defiance to the Turkish human rights violations caused them to use violence against the Turkish state. Johnson claimed that, "during the past 10 years the PKK [Kurdish Workers Party] has killed more than 25,000 Turks, most through fierce attacks inside Turkey."<sup>37</sup> The motivation of these groups is to gain political national independence and a place under the sun. These causes are born from crises of injustice, and are defended and rectified by violent means. The South African case is another example, as are the political grievances of the PLO. The PLO aims to end the occupation of their land and to enable the return of about 3-4 million Palestinian refugees living in refugee camps in or around the borders of Palestine. Other examples are the Irish Republican Army (IRA) who sought a peaceful solution through negotiations with

Britain, and the East Timorese who ended the Indonesian occupation of their land.

### Occupation Causes Oppression

Occupation is the disease, violence is the symptom. During the British mandate and after the occupations of their land in 1948 and 1967, the Zionist groups committed violence and terror against the Palestinian population. The state of Israel became an entity of terror to occupy and terrorize a population for over 50 years. The Israeli state makes sure that the Palestinians are kept out of the Israeli military and puts other restrictions on them, like the purchase of land. The Palestinians are kept off of their land. Their homes are demolished. Trees are bulldozed from their gardens and agricultural fields. They live in refugee camps in misery, while Israel prospers on Palestinian land, using Palestinian resources. If there is no American reaction against these actions, the conditions that result induce terror. The lack of response to Palestinian grievances by the U.S., the most influential supporter of Israel, is partly why Palestinians use violence against the Israelis. They cannot get Israel to listen if there is media bias, misinformation, or the silencing of critics. Continued occupation and oppression leads to terror and counter terror.

### Poverty and Religious Influence as a Cause

"Most systems of ethics are predicted upon the assumption of scarcity, the notion that there is not enough to go around."<sup>38</sup> "The law assumes that we cannot have what we want, and so we will covet, steal, or even kill our neighbor to get it."<sup>39</sup> Some of those who live in poverty resort to terrorism. Indeed, impoverished young people lack hope. They have no jobs, little education, no freedom, and seemingly no future. Their need for survival results in their manipulation by others. Often, these others are the educated ones who have a political agenda or ideology, the leaders who are trying (or claiming) to improve their social situation. As former U.S National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger and Mona Sutphen asserts:

*Bin Laden had been no champion of the Palestinian cause, although conflict in the Middle East has allowed him to more easily coalesce a wide range of terrorist groups under an Al Qaeda umbrella. Nor is Bin Laden's cause social equity; he is not some distorted reflection of the 'anti-globalization' movement, although despair, inequity, and corruption provide him camouflage. If any evidence of this is needed, five million starving Afghans are poignant testimony to his passion of social justice.<sup>40</sup>*

Young children have been orphaned and left in poverty as a result of Afghan civil war. Children were introduced to Madrasas (Islamic school) and trained to be part of the Taliban. This doctrine attracted Islamic radicals from all over the globe to Afghanistan to participate in all out war against the infidels. Radical religious leaders claim to support the poor, creating a noble cause to eradicate poverty to achieve their goals for power. The support they give creates loyalists recruited and ready to defend their cause and their leaders by violent means as the situation in Afghanistan illustrates. Others hold strong religious ideologies, and different motives for their cause, such as being soldiers of God to defend fellow believers. They hold extreme religious views. "Al Qaeda and affiliated groups have successfully sought young educated Muslim men, often within European universities. ... Officials and experts believe that video images of an American-led invasion of Iraq may ultimately hand Mr. Bin Laden his most useful recruitment tool."<sup>41</sup> Not only the poor and uneducated join his organization. Rich, religious, and educated individuals, like those involved in the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the U.S, have also joined.

## Oppression

Occupation is the highest form of violence and a cause of terrorism. According to Larry C. Johnson's, article, "The Future of Terrorism,"

*The disintegration of the colonial empires after WWII created a dynamic that further contributed to the growth of terrorism. Groups—some religious, some ethnic, and others nationalist—spawned by those events turned to terrorism as an alternative tactic to attack the status quo and promote their causes. One of the sharpest and most protracted of these conflicts pitted Jews against Arabs vying for control of Israel/Palestine.*<sup>42</sup>

The British military, for example, occupied the colonies, imposed taxes and occupied homes by force, to name a few injustices. The colonies' revolt is used as an example of valiant bravery, while the revolt by the Palestinians is ignored by the Israelis and the U.N. Indeed, when a population is oppressed by military occupation, subjected to harsh, inhumane treatment, terrorism often results. The majority of this refugee population is expelled across neighboring countries' borders because newly immigrated Jewish settlers from all over the world confiscated their land. The Jewish settlers' actions created injustices among Palestinian refugees. The refugees gatherings in camps away from their homes became, in the refugees' view, a legitimate cause conducive to ter-

rorism. The Palestinian nationalist movement is a good example of how colonial powers created an environment where violence could escalate. Israel is a new colonial power supported by Western wealth and technology (\$4-5 billion annual economic and military aid from the U.S. alone) which created one of the modern causes for terror.

## The Refugee Factor

The Palestinian refugees in the Gaza strip live in one of the poorest and most over populated spots in the Middle East. They live in a war zone under occupation. Arab and Israeli children have been orphaned and live in poverty as a result of the violence. Those young are introduced to violence by the Israeli military occupation. Freedom attracts the young to participate in revolt through the uprising (Intifada) against state terror and the Israeli state apparatus in order to end occupation and injustice. These injustices are suppression: the demolition of houses, bombing and killing, collective punishment, assassination, and political and economic sanctions. The 'Intifada' "had its roots in poverty, in the miserable living conditions of the refugee camps, in hatred of the occupation, and above all, in the humiliation that the Palestinians had to endure over the preceding twenty years."<sup>43</sup> Radical religious and nationalist leaders supported the poor, creating a noble cause to eradicate poverty. Nationalists, for example, mobilized the masses in a popular resistance to achieve their goals for power and liberation. Supporting the people under occupation in their struggle for freedom created loyalists ready to defend their cause and their citizens by violent means, as one can see in the situation in Palestine.

In her book, Flapan recounted words of wisdom uttered by a Palestinian refugee, to the nation occupying his homeland:

*The refugees, if they remain dispossessed and disinherited outside their homes, are the closest thing to wild animals. They will be on the lookout for an opportunity to bounce back and destroy your security, they will remain forever, infiltrating your borders, chasing and getting chased, killing and getting killed, stealing and getting robbed. War has no guarantee and its outcome cannot be predicted. Forever is a very long time for you to live without any feeling of security. ... If the refugees remain outside, they will be the greatest motivation for [a true Arab awakening] ... and this awakening will be filled with hatred and a desire for vengeance. Some of you might now say there is no place for such qualities among nations; we say that if this were true of all*

nations, the only exceptions would be ourselves and you.<sup>44</sup>

## Conclusion

Terrorists use violence to attract attention to a cause, to instill fear, and to enforce demands. There is a subtle difference between a terrorist and a freedom fighter; the distinction is in the eye of the beholder. The motives are political. Terrorists' grievances over such issues as persecution, oppression, poverty, discrimination, lack of human rights, and living under military occupation, often lead to violence. These groups' plights are based on ethnic, nationalist, and ideological beliefs of a secular or religious nature. Their violent actions are a means to change their situation and the status quo. Their aims are to acquire power. These causes are based on five factors: resistance to colonial rule, ethnic separation, internal political factors, support for external factors, and ideological beliefs. The distressing conditions often stem from poverty, persecution, lack of human rights, oppression, and ideologies (such as secular beliefs), religion, and ethnic discrimination. These conditions are all causes for terror and political violence. For the sake of international peace, any country's policy is to create and support methods of how to prevent people from becoming recruits for terrorism. Indeed, "A first line of defense is to prevent people from becoming terrorists. ... ignoring the causes of these perceptions risks misidentifying causes and solutions for terrorism."<sup>45</sup> Currently the U.S. led war against Iraq is considered by the majority of the world population as unjust, contrary to international law, and unnecessary. A war of aggression (as an invading force) against Iraq is, in the eyes of Arab nationalists, a cause to create and enhance military resistance endorsed by the UN Charter against preemptive attack by the U.S. and Britain against Iraqi Arabs and Muslims, and as terror in the eyes of most in Western circles. This is the prophetic goal of the clash of civilization that political scientist Samuel Huntington aspired to between the west (United States and the United Kingdom), against Iraq (Islam), the seeds which will flame the emotion of a crusade and exacerbate terrorism. History will repeat itself. It is a sad thing that injustice continues.

## Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Chomsky, 1
- <sup>2</sup> Monaghan, 256
- <sup>3</sup>Said & Hitchens, 153
- <sup>4</sup>Said & Hitchens, 153
- <sup>5</sup>Ambrose & Brinkley, 100
- <sup>6</sup>Ambrose & Brinkley, 99
- <sup>7</sup>Ambrose & Brinkley, 100
- <sup>8</sup>Ambrose & Brinkley, 99

- <sup>9</sup>Ambrose & Brinkley, 99
- <sup>10</sup> Flapan, 5
- <sup>11</sup>Ambrose & Brinkley, 100
- <sup>12</sup> Kennedy, 5
- <sup>13</sup> Anderson, 313
- <sup>14</sup> Anderson, 135
- <sup>15</sup> Snow & Drew, 5
- <sup>16</sup> Kennedy, 7
- <sup>17</sup> Anderson, 135
- <sup>18</sup> Drake, C. J. M., 53
- <sup>19</sup> Heywood, 7-11
- <sup>20</sup> Drake, C. J. M., 53
- <sup>21</sup> Chomsky, 46
- <sup>22</sup> Schwartz, 8
- <sup>23</sup> Schwartz, 11
- <sup>24</sup> Schwartz, 9
- <sup>25</sup> Juergensmeyer, 67
- <sup>26</sup> Juergensmeyer, 74
- <sup>27</sup> Juergensmeyer, 79
- <sup>28</sup> Suleiman, 14
- <sup>29</sup> Hoffman, 53
- <sup>30</sup> Hoffman, 51
- <sup>31</sup> Hoffman, 55
- <sup>32</sup> Ambrose & Brinkley, 101
- <sup>33</sup> Ambrose & Brinkley, 101
- <sup>34</sup> Flapan, 220
- <sup>35</sup> Kennedy, 7
- <sup>36</sup> Monaghan, 257
- <sup>37</sup> Johnson, 905
- <sup>38</sup> Schwartz, 34
- <sup>39</sup> Schwartz, 34
- <sup>40</sup> Hoge, 124
- <sup>41</sup> Van Nata Jr. & Butler, 3
- <sup>42</sup> Johnson, 904
- <sup>43</sup> Shlaim, 451
- <sup>44</sup> Flapan, 238
- <sup>45</sup> Atran, 1435-6

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