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The Israeli Military's Key Relationship To Hezbollah Terror

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THE ISRAELI MILITARY'S KEY RELATIONSHIP TO HEZBOLLAH TERROR

by

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the establishment and expansion of Hezbollah. It uses a policy perspective in explaining the growth of this organization. Moreover, it focuses on Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon as a major cause behind the very existence of Hezbollah. The analysis of Israeli policy will be done by examining three separate conflicts as case studies. These events are: the 1982 (Peace for Galilee) invasion of Lebanon that helped to create Hezbollah, the 1996 (Operation Grapes of Wrath) Hezbollah-Israeli conflict which served to bolster Hezbollah in Lebanon, and finally the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war which solidified Hezbollah as a military force in the region.

The first part of the study analyzes the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon to dismantle PLO bases and the resulting vacuum filled by Hezbollah. In an effort to eliminate Hezbollah, Israel again invaded Lebanon in 1996 allowing Hezbollah to expand its power based in Lebanon by providing a number of services including healthcare, financial services, and construction among others.   In 2006, Israel again invaded Lebanon resulting in an increase in weapons shipments and funding to Hezbollah from Syria, Iran and a number of other countries, further increasing danger to Israel. These invasions have served to bolster Hezbollah in Lebanon. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the repercussions of Israeli military invasions in Lebanon.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BATF- Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives
DSS- U.S. Department of State's Diplomatic Security Service
FBI- Federal Bureau of Investigation
IED- Improvised Explosive Device
INS- Immigration and Naturalization Service
JTTF- Joint Terrorism Task Force
NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PLO - Palestine Liberation Organization
SAR - Syrian Arab Republic
SISC- Strategic and Integrative Studies Center
SSSC- Supreme State Security Court
UN- United Nations
U.S. - United States

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

<u>Hezbollah Today</u>

In the current world system, the concept of a single world government remains an ideal that has not been fulfilled. As long as this remains the case, one of the major issues in international politics will be the state of anarchy that currently exists. This state of anarchy creates an environment where the theory of "Security Dilemma" remains strongly intact and plays an important role in international politics. Within the international system today, a state of anarchy exists where state/non-state actors distrust each other due to reciprocal misunderstandings. Because of these misunderstandings, security becomes the number one priority for the survival of the state. Most state actors and many non-state actors attempt to gain security by acquiring a strong military edge over their opponents. This creates an arms race whereby real security becomes impossible. In effect, the goal for security creates insecurity. This is what has become known as the "Security Dilemma".[i]

If the ultimate method of securing the state is found through the military buildup of armaments, the resulting issue becomes at what point does the effort of one state to ensure its security become perceived to be a threat by another state? If by building up arms one state feels safe, at what point does it make another state feel unsafe? Since all states currently exist in this self-help system, low levels of trust exist, further exacerbating the issue. [ii] One state cannot be certain that another states' defensive buildup cannot or will not be used for offensive capabilities. In the case of Israel, the government has repeatedly proven that it will use its arsenal in an

offensive capacity. Moreover, even when used in a defensive capacity, it will do so with the use of disproportionate force. This behavior exists in an international system, where a lack of authority in the form of institutions capable of formulating specific rules of behavior and enforcing those rules within an international consensus continues to exist.

When legal experts use the term "disproportionate use of force," they have a specific meaning to convey. The former President of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague, Rosalyn Higgins, has noted, proportionality "cannot be in relation to any specific prior injury - it has to be in relation to the overall legitimate objective of ending the aggression. [iii] While there is no definition that is agreed upon internationally for what is proportionate in response to militant attacks, "Just War Theory" or "Bellum iustum" , a military ethics doctrine of Roman philosophical and Catholic origin states that 'action must not be taken in which the incidental harm done is an unreasonably heavy price to incur for likely military benefit. Harm needs to be weighed particularly but not only in relation to the live and well being of innocent people. The lives of friendly military personnel need to be brought into account, and sometimes even those of adversaries. The principle of avoiding unnecessary force always applies'. [iv]

Since Hezbollah's creation in the early 1980s it has been viewed as a terrorist group by many, especially by Israel and the United States. Begun as a militant group based in Lebanon, Hezbollah tactics have included kidnapping foreign journalists and suicide bombings, to using anti-tank rockets and versions of cruise missiles.   Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the 1980s and the subsequent battles that have occurred, many have focused on Hezbollah's creation

and its militant actions. With this information, much emphasis has been placed on seeing the rise of militancy in Lebanon within a vacuum.

Successive Israeli governments have put a strong emphasis on how military strategy can be used as a solution to the growing power of Hezbollah. However, they have overlooked key issues as to why Hezbollah has become so strong over the years. For example, were it not for the Israeli invasion in 1982, Hezbollah may have never been created. Furthermore, the 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah war greatly bolstered Hezbollah in the region and solidified its power base due to the fact that Hezbollah was able to sustain itself against the Israeli military. These previous examples point to the fact that Hezbollah power has increased as a direct result of Israeli military strategy in Lebanon.

It is important to mention that Iran and Syria have both been important conduits for Hezbollah in Lebanon. For all practical purposes, they have both provided support for Hezbollah from its inception. Elements such as the rise of religious extremism in response to post-colonial powers and militant nationalism among others are important factors relating to Hezbollah's growth of power. While it is certainly arguable that elements outside of the Israeli military's use of disproportionate force assisted in creating a favorable environment for increasing Hezbollah's power in Lebanon, this author would like to focus on the extent to which Israel's use of disproportionate force has increased Hezbollah's power over the last three decades. Rather than examine Hezbollah's causation through an extremist lens, this author wishes to give an alternative that shows Hezbollah's growth in power in Lebanon is directly associated with the disproportionate use of force by Israel and not due to the rise of religious extremism as others

have suggested in the past. To provide an examination of this idea, an expansive look will be taken to show how Israeli military force increased Hezbollah's power in Lebanon. The primary purpose of this paper is to explain the rise of Hezbollah power in reaction to Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon rather than as a response to religious extremism.

<u>Use of Force</u>

I hypothesize that Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon has increased Hezbollah's power over the last three decades. . The central focus of this research is to examine and analyze why Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon has led to the creation of Hezbollah. This will be done by examining three separate conflicts. The 1982 (Peace for Galilee) invasion of Lebanon that helped to create Hezbollah, the 1996 (Operation Grapes of Wrath) Hezbollah-Israeli conflict which served to bolster Hezbollah in Lebanon, and finally, the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war which solidified Hezbollah as a military force in the region. The causal factor here is the Israeli military's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon while the effect is the increase in Hezbollah power.

Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations (UN) states that if a country or non-state actor attacks another country, that country is allowed to defend itself.[5] You cannot however defend yourself with a disproportionate amount of force. While it is not unheard of for militants to operate in or near civilian areas, the Israeli military seems to disregard this when operating against militants. Furthermore, the targeting of civilians goes against the 1949 Geneva Conventions.[6] Among many high profile individuals, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillar, and French President Nicolas Sarkozy have condemned Israel's "disproportionate use of force."[7] While there is no agreed upon definition of what constitutes a proportionate response to attacks, a state is legally allowed to unilaterally defend itself and right a wrong provided the response is proportional to the injury suffered and is immediate and

necessary. It must also refrain from targeting civilians and requires only enough force to reinstate the status quo.[8]

In an interview with an Israeli newspaper, the daily Yedioth, the General Officer Commanding or GOC Northern Command, Gadi Eisenkot presented his "Dahiyah Doctrine." This doctrine is an Israeli doctrine of military strategy relating specifically to asymmetrical warfare in an urban setting. The doctrine provides for the deliberate targeting of civilian infrastructure as a means of inducing suffering for the civilian population which thereby creates deterrence.[9] First used by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), the doctrine is named after a Hezbollah stronghold in Beirut. Dahiyah consisted of large apartment buildings which were flattened by the IDF during the 2006 Lebanon War.[10] "We will wield disproportionate power against every village from which shots are fired on Israel, and cause immense damage and destruction," Eisenkot stated.[11] Colonel (Res.) Gabriel Siboni recently authored a report through Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies backing Eisenkot's statements, "as soon as a clash breaks out, the IDF will have to operate in a rapid, powerful and disproportionate way against the enemy's actions."[12]

The relationship between the variables presented is positive and very strong. Each separate Israeli invasion into Lebanon positively affected Hezbollah, both politically and militarily. The theoretical importance of this topic may allow scholars and policy makers to take a second look into Israel's disproportionate use of force and rethink the overall use of military force as a deterrent in Lebanon. The policy importance and significance of this research is that it may allow policy makers and researchers to redirect their efforts towards finding a peaceful

solution in the region by analyzing Israel's use of military force in Lebanon. While Israel has been able to defeat the armies of the surrounding Arab states, the creation of Hezbollah has become a thorn in the side of the Israeli military apparatus and after a number of conflicts, Israeli military actions have yet to be successful. This is the first time a non-state actor has been able to successfully stand up to Israel.

<u>The Lebanese Dilemma</u>

Since the year 2000, Israel has been implementing a policy founded on the principle that there is no partner for peace and that its military can impose Israeli will on its adversaries. This policy has been carried out multiple times against Hezbollah, causing major damage to economically challenged Shiites in Southern Lebanon and increasingly the country as a whole. Under the Ottoman Empire, Shiite Muslim rights were not recognized as shown by the formation of the *Kaymakam* (districts) in the 1800s. With the outbreak of the 1845 confessional troubles in the mountains, the great powers, mainly Britain and France, began talks with the Ottoman authorities to end the conflict.[13] Due to the influence of foreign powers, Shekib Effendi, the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, decided to create a mixed council, bringing together representatives of the various communities of the Lebanon Mountain including the Maronites, the Greek Orthodox, the Catholics, the Sunnis and the Druze. In the continuation of previous policies, a Sunni magistrate was chose to represent the Shiite Muslims as well.[14]

Ottoman discrimination continued until the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the recognition of Shiite Muslims in 1926. While this recognition was a major step forward, the annexation of peripheral regions of Lebanon also expanded Shiite barriers, as historical Syria was divided and other religious groups further complicated the makeup of the modern day state of Lebanon.[15] Receiving increased autonomy under Ottoman rule, "lesser Lebanon," referring to Lebanon before its expansion, was able to advance in terms of the development of education, culture and infrastructure. Private foreign schools began to operate in Beirut, along with Lesser Lebanon, which was able to advance its infrastructure with a system of roads, a railroad and a port. Healthcare was strengthened with modern hospitals and an expanded healthcare system.[16]

In 1920, the Southern region of modern day Lebanon including the cities of Tripoli, Saïda, and the Bekaa Valley were annexed. Many of these areas did not want to be added to greater Lebanon. They historically depended on the former Ottoman state and did not benefit from the new growth occurring in lesser Lebanon.[17] Cultural and socioeconomic advancement did not take place as fast as in other localities in Lebanon proper.[18] These annexations created a disparity that lasted long after the formal declaration of independence of Lebanon in 1943. The annexations created the environment for a lacking socio-economic situation where the Muslim Shiite community faced multiple disadvantages. The Lebanese national pact created in 1943 provided a power-sharing agreement amongst the Maronites and Sunni Muslim communities and led to the marginalization of the Shiite Muslim community in Lebanon. Furthermore, despite the fact that the Muslim Shiites were now the majority of the population in the peripheral areas, they

were excluded in the overall development plans of the country's central authority. Moreover, the post Ottoman elite remained in power despite facts on the ground showing major changes in demographics.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Palestinian factions began establishing themselves in Shiite Muslim populated areas of Lebanon, further degrading the situation. These armed Arab-Palestinian factions were escalating Fedayeen operations against Israel, and in turn, Shiite Muslim populated areas were taking the brunt of Israeli retaliation. Consequently, many Shiite Muslims began moving towards the suburbs of Beirut and slowly creating their own neighborhoods around the capital. During this period, a number of Shiite ulemas (or, "learned individuals") began to gain popularity. A number of these ulemas began rapidly distinguishing themselves by their religious jurisprudence and providing a vision for a better way forward for the Shiite Muslim population.

Within a very brief span of time, Imam Mussa Sadr distinguished himself as the most political of the ulemas, vying for influence in the region. Toward the end of the 1960s, Imam Sadr became the mouthpiece of the Muslim Shiite community in Lebanon. After attempting to obtain more concessions for his community against the establishment in Lebanon, Imam Sadr was reduced to a position lacking any real power for his community although he was still regarded as a threat. Because of his inability to create real change through the central government, Imam Sadr decided to create a popular movement, known as the Movement of the Disinherited. The goal of this movement was to provide social and political needs to the

Muslim Shiite community of Lebanon, especially those living in Southern Lebanon and the poor suburb of Beirut.[19]

Just five years after being appointed the first head of the Supreme Islamic Shiite Council (SISC), Imam Sadr gave his defining speech in 1974 where he told a crowd of spectators that the Shiite community would no longer be divided with allegiances to Arab nationalist parties and Palestinian factionalism among others.[20] Through action, the Shiites would achieve their goals of unity and strive to better their socio-economic plight.[21] The Muslim Shiite community in Lebanon was a prime target for social mobilization because traditionally they lacked any real power compared to the Maronite Christians and Sunni Muslims.[22] The Shiite Muslims in Lebanon were the poorest, least educated, and least likely to benefit from government-provided services such as health facilities or public utilities.[23] Also because of their location, they were taking the brunt of the impact of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)-Israeli fighting. The 1979 Iranian revolution provided hope to the Muslim Shiites in Lebanon who were demoralized and exhausted from the fighting taking place in Lebanon. The revolution provided an illustration of what a determined Shiite effort against oppression could accomplish.[24]

The Movement of the Disinherited became the first successful sociopolitical movement accessible to the Muslim Shiite community since the fall of the Ottoman Empire. While learning from the armed Palestinian groups striking Israel, Imam Sadr created the armed *Afwāj al-Muqāwamat al-Lubnāniyyah or (*AMAL) militia which was trained by the Palestinians during the 1970s. This movement coupled with the negative situation of the Shiite Muslim community in Lebanon and the repeated Israeli interference stemming from Palestinian militants led the way for the creation and strengthening of the Hezbollah movement. This movement would later

overtake AMAL as the strongest of the Muslim Shiite movements and become Israel's frontline foe.[25]

Iran also provided Hezbollah with substantial material assistance and weaponry to carry out military operations against Israeli targets.[26] Moreover, it assisted in creating an Iranian based social service network, which was active in spreading Iranian ideology and generating collective action.[27] Beginning in the early 1990s, Iran also encouraged and assisted Hezbollah to push into the Lebanese political sphere. In addition, Hezbollah received significant assistance from Syria. This came in the form of financing, weapons and a transfer point for Iranian weapons and training. Syria viewed assistance to Hezbollah as a means to sustain an alliance with Iran and project its foreign policy goals.[28] This triangular relationship provided a way for Hezbollah to grow, for Iran to export its revolution throughout the Arab world and for Syria to maintain an alliance with Iran, creating a stronger force against Israel.

<u>Past Works</u>

The literature dealing with Israel's use of force in Lebanon is large and consists of a wide range of authors weighing in from varying disciplines. These authors apply a number of theories ranging from geopolitical and economic influences to religious and ideological elements. This thesis will cover a wide selection of previous works explaining Israeli actions in Lebanon. Because most of the literature in English focuses on how Israel's use of force has had constructive results, this study will use this foundation as a source to show how Israel's use of force in Lebanon has been counterproductive. This does not mean that no literature exists on

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Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon however; the majority of the literature focuses on a lens though which Israel has been justified in its actions. Through this research I will trace the historical background of Hezbollah and argue that Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon has increased Hezbollah's power. This research will be presented in a chronological fashion to trace how authors have evolved in their research.

The literature review on Israeli actions begins with Ehteshami and Hinnesbusch. Their text lays out the framework for understanding Iranian and Syrian foreign policies and the historical and contemporary reasoning behind the two state alliance. Syria, a secular state that has used all of its might to push down religious activities in its own country; and Iran, a theocratic state that has attempted to expand its religious revolution throughout the region have found a way to create an alliance despite high pressure from powers in the region and abroad.[29] This test also explains the unstable environment in which the two countries operate and argues how Syria is not a rogue nation as so many authors have suggested; rather, Syria is a power exerting weight in the region based on its own interests.[30]

Furthermore, it is argued that Syrian foreign policy follows the realist view and that through its alliance with Iran, is attempting to counter Israeli interference in Lebanon and throughout the region.[31] Importantly, the authors explain the factors related to understanding the Syrian-Iranian alliance and the reasoning behind the intervention in Lebanon. This study also illustrates how Syria's actions show it to be a conventional actor using Hezbollah's influence to counter Israel in Lebanon. Overall, the author indicates that states such as Syria and Iran are no

more than middle powers on a world scale attempting to exert increased influence in their own region.[32]

Another view is provided by Cordesman where he suggests explanations for the region in a strictly militaristic comparison. The militaries of Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, the Palestinians and Israel are compared for their effectiveness. The text explains the rise and importance of asymmetry in conflict and that asymmetric war is not only a risk, it is a constant reality. After the state to state wars that took place from the 1940s to the 1970s, lower level guerilla style battles began to take place, lasting over a period of years rather than weeks or even days.[33] The author expounds on the idea that in an army-to-army battle, Israel would be triumphant over any of its opponents. On the other hand, in situations of asymmetrical warfare, the Israelis find more difficulty and this is increasingly becoming the case, especially due to Hezbollah activities.

As of the date of the texts publication, the author discusses the fact that three major occurrences of asymmetrical warfare have occurred with Israel. Specifically, the second one dealing with Shiite militias backed by Syria and Iran and the Israeli army allied with Christian militias in Southern Lebanon.[34] On the Israeli side, tactics to physically separate Israeli territory from the enemy have been a major strategy used. These tactics seem to be increasing the fortress like mentality being proposed by many Israelis. On the other hand, this has also emboldened Israeli opponents and has led to more attacks on Israeli soil. Moreover, Cordesman explains that Hezbollah views the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an extension of its own conflict with Israel and this increasingly places Hezbollah within Israel's radar.[35] These dynamics provide even

more impetus for Syria to provide support to Hezbollah, using it as a measure of deterrence against Israel.[36]

In another case study Giraldo and Trinkunas stress the fact that financial and material resources are correctly perceived to be the life blood of Hezbollah's operations. The United States government and its allies have determined that along with military action, fighting the financial infrastructure of Hezbollah is the most direct way to defeat it.[37] While the military aspect of fighting armed groups is very important, it is also imperative to remember that a great deal of information has been learned about sources and mechanisms used to finance organizations such as Hezbollah.

This study looks at Iranian support for Hezbollah as a means of continuing to further its ideology in the region, particularly in Lebanon. Estimates report that Iran funds Hezbollah with hundreds of millions of dollars per year.[38] This is accomplished through private charities and front companies as well as from a number of other sources from around the world; this includes the United States, and countries in South America and Africa.[39] Iran also provides Hezbollah with various weapons routed through Syria. These weapons range from assault rifles to rockets. It has now been cited that Hezbollah is now in control of scud missiles as of 2010.[40] Overall, the text provides background information on Hezbollah's well oiled fighting machine including its media and social outlets aimed at pushing its message not only in Lebanon but through Israel as well.[41]

Parsi stresses the superheated rhetoric and vitriolic exchanges between Iran and Israel. The author states that the roots of enmity lie between the two nations because of historical details

of secret alliances and unsavory political maneuverings that undermine Southwest Asian stability.[42] While Trita does explain the relations between Iran, Syria and Hezbollah, the main focus rests with Iran's support for Hezbollah as a way to deal more effectively with Israel. Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 created a power vacuum that allowed Hezbollah to take hold of the area. This also provided Iran with a gap within which to expand its revolution in the region. Today, Hezbollah has become the de facto mouth piece of a revolution that occurred more than 30 years ago.

The scholar also shows the backroom dealings that have occurred between Iran, Israel and the U.S. such as the U.S. plan to stop Iran from limiting support to Hezbollah. While this may seem strange at first, it is important to remember that in modern history, Iran and Israel were strong allies under the Shah but subsequent the Islamic Revolution, the situation began to change dramatically. This text also talks about Israel's attempts at keeping good relations with Iran's leadership even after the Islamic Revolution. This attempt as continuing relations was viewed by many as a way of creating alliances against the Arab majority in the region.[43] After Israel and the U.S. attempted to re-create the power base in the Middle East and the defeat of Iraq, Iran chose to rid itself of its isolationist stance and choose to become the front line defender against Israel. Above all, this text is about foreign policy and it chooses to explain Israel and Iran's actions in terms of their overall foreign policy goals in the region.[44]

Maloney argues that because of the virtue of its size, history, resources, and strategic location, Iran is of particular relevance for Southwest Asian stability, especially after the Islamic revolution in 1979.[45] This scholar systematically outlines Iran's sources of influence in the

Muslim world, its dealings with Hezbollah and its strategic ambitions, political innovations and economic clout. Although Iran's leadership appears mostly stagnant, except for example, in the case of Khatami in the 1990s, Iran is in reality one of the least static societies in the Muslim world. Maloney analyzes the social, economic, and regional forces that are driving Iran toward change. Iran also has fluid situations with its neighbors in Iraq and Afghanistan; it feels threatened and feels that it must control its surroundings through its foreign policy as much as possible. A primary method used is through its use of Hezbollah in Lebanon.[46]

Weyhey explores the strengths and limitations of Iran in relation to Hezbollah in Southwest Asia. More specifically, he discusses Iran's attempt to increase its popularity in the Arab world by using Hezbollah as a proxy in the region. In a sense, he explains, Iran is trying to be "more Arab than the Arabs."[47] While Weyhey does explain that Iran and Hezbollah do share a strategic relationship, he goes further in saying that Iran does not control Hezbollah. Iran does exert influence over Hezbollah and helps direct its activities but does not have direct control over the organization.[48] The author shows that Iran is not as strong as it is made out to be in the general media with regards to Hezbollah. Also, Iran has limited ability with its own military in terms of being able to perform targeted strikes on its enemies, although it is attempting to increase its military ability. Due to this fact, it has chosen to back proxy groups that are much closer to its enemies and are able to exact serious damage deep within the heart of enemy territory.[49] One such group, Hezbollah, is used in Iran's revolutionary guard's "peripheral strategy" to extend its influence. Overall, if it were not for Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon, it is possible that Hezbollah would not exist to counter this strategy today.[50]

Corsi argues that Iran is the largest force behind Hezbollah and that without its support, Hezbollah would be primarily a Lebanese organization like many others in Lebanon.[51] Although Israel has fought two indecisive battles with Hezbollah, strategists are still planning on striking both Hezbollah and Iran despite the low rates of success. The author indicates that Hezbollah does not have to go through the normal connections that other organizations do in terms of hierarchy because the leader of Hezbollah, Hassan Nusrallah, has a direct connection with the spiritual leader of Iran.[52] The author argues that without Iranian support, there would be no Hezbollah in terms of its size and power. Although Hezbollah's creation is arguably due in part to Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon, Iran's financial support of has been a major force allowing it to become the strongest power in Lebanon and one of the strongest military forces in comparison to Israel.[53] The author also discusses in detail how Israel now feels that it must preemptively attack Iran at all costs due to its nuclear weapons program. On the Iranian side, it is felt that Hezbollah can act as a threat to Israel in the case that it chooses to attack Iranian soil. While Israel is persisting in its reliance on military force, it has consistently missed the point that this strategy is cause for concern in terms of future repercussions against the Israeli nation.[54]

Goodarzi claims that the Syrian-Iranian alliance created after the revolution in Iran has had a major impact towards changing and solidifying certain issues in the region, primarily amongst policies regarding Israel.[55] Furthermore, the study demonstrates that contrary to prevailing views, cooperation between Iran and Syria has been essentially defensive in nature. It came about due to a series of developments, such as Egypt's signing of the Camp David Accords, the Iraqi invasion of Iran in 1980, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and

continued U.S. interference in the region. This text traces the critical stages of events in the region leading to the Iranian-Syrian alliances and provides an explanation for the continuation of this alliance despite efforts at pulling the two powers apart. This author argues that Israel's use of military force in Lebanon has only strengthened the resolve of both Syria and Iran. More recently, the United States has unsuccessfully focused on attempting to weaken the Syrian-Iranian alliance in Lebanon. While Hezbollah is key to this alliance, it remains to be seen what carrot and stick approach can be used to change the situation.[56]

Paul discusses the costs of a preemptive foreign policy in Iraq and how strategies such as containment and deterrence have been gaining traction among many policy makers, especially those in Israel. This text offers an agenda for the contemporary practice of deterrence, specifically regarding Israeli dealings with Hezbollah. It can be argued here that Hezbollah has become stronger due to Israel's policy of deterrence in the region. While this provides an alternate view, it must be taken into account that the deterrence angle has led to varying outcomes in the region that have not produced positive results.

Israeli military actions have had a negative rather than positive effect in terms of deterrence. This is true especially for states like Iran. Iran and similar states are attempting to increase their projection of power in the region at the expense of Israeli military actions. Israeli strategy has increased the resolve of certain actors such as Hezbollah and provided an impetus for them to exist. During the Gulf war, Iraq was not deterred from striking Israel with scud missiles despite the fact that it was known that Israel had nuclear capability. Iran, for example, may be deterred from striking Israel directly because of its nuclear power capability; though, it will not deter Hezbollah from striking targets in Israel. [57] Israeli actions have sent the wrong

signals in the region, especially in terms of asymmetric warfare. In plain speak, non-state actors do not respond to actions in the same manner as state actors do.[58]

These various books cover a wide variety of different viewpoints relating to Israel's failure to subdue Hezbollah in Lebanon. Some authors, like Hinnesbusch, see Hezbollah's rise as a calculated risk taken by regional actors while other authors such as Giraldo and Trinkunas take a much more narrow approach and point towards economic causes. Paul argues that pre-emptive actions by Israel have caused the rise of guerilla movements. Still, other scholars give a historical line of events where various social, religious and external factors explain how this movement came to play a huge role in this region of the world. Cordesman discusses Israel's military strength against other actors in the region and non-state actor influences. However, while many authors point to the major role Iran and Syria have had assisting the rise of Hezbollah, the majority of texts are lacking because they do not point out the extent to which Israel's own actions in Lebanon have led to failure and the direct rise of Hezbollah.

The particular gap in the literature that will be covered by this work relates Israeli actions to Hezbollah's rise in power. Rather than examine Israeli military force and argue that military actions have been useful as a deterrent against Lebanon, this author wishes to give an alternative view that Israel's disproportionate use of force in Lebanon has been a failure. Israel has not only assisted in increasing Hezbollah's power but its subsequent invasions of Lebanon have also allowed Hezbollah to gain political ground within Lebanon. I will examine the 1982, 1996 and 2006 Israeli invasions of Lebanon and the resulting increase of Hezbollah influence in Lebanon.

The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon created a catalyst for the creation of Hezbollah. Subsequent Israeli invasions and interference in Lebanon created even more reasons for the guerrilla group to organize and act as a buffer against Israel. With the help of Syria and Iran, Hezbollah has been able to not only resist Israel on a military front, but also on a political level as well. This factor along with the creation and strengthening of Hezbollah has created a situation that has led to failure for the Israelis. Still today, Lebanon's top security positions such as the head of military intelligence and the director of general security are controlled by Syrian approved elements. Just recently the Prime Minister's office in Lebanon was given to a pro-Syrian ally of Damascus, adding to Hezbollah continuous gain on power.

Process Of Examination

This study will be divided into five chapters, examining the presented topic. The first chapter will be the introduction. This chapter will present the thesis and introduce the key parties. It will also provide a background on the subject along with its goals. The second chapter will attempt to persuade the reader that the policies the Israeli military has implemented have created many unintended consequences, including popular dissent in the region. Starting with the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, the dislodging of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the creation of Hezbollah, chapter two will attempt to explain the history of Hezbollah and its connection to Israel's use of force. Second, the Israeli operations of 1996 and 2006 will attempt to explain the reaction to Israel's overt use of force against civilian targets in Lebanon,

especially the shelling of Qana and the contribution of popular support for Hezbollah from a wide range of the populace.

The third chapter will focus on Iranian ideology and the policies that the Ulema of Iran have adopted, leading to the strengthening of Iran in Lebanon and throughout the region. Hezbollah's political, social and military support apparatus will be discussed and analyzed to understand how Hezbollah has been able to achieve success in a relatively short period of time. Hezbollah's ability to raise funds in the United States will also be analyzed with examples of major fundraising acts taking place under the nose of U.S. intelligence.

The fourth chapter will explain how Syria's role has created an environment where Hezbollah is able to flourish in Lebanon. With the help of Iran, Syria has been able to exert its foreign policy goals because of its use of Hezbollah in Lebanon. A brief historical outlook of Syria in the region will be examined. Also, an examination of the current crises in Syria will be analyzed. Syria is tied to many organizations in the region and if the current regime were to fall, Hezbollah would certainly be affected.

The fifth and final chapter will be a conclusion involving a greater understanding of how Israel's military use of force is connected to Hezbollah as well as how the militant organization has come into the forefront of not only Lebanese politics but also the pre-eminent threat to Israeli security. While no single bullet has increased Hezbollah's power, Israeli military incursions into Lebanon may provide insight as to how Hezbollah's power has increased over the past thirty years. While both Iran and Syria have also been major instigators in the rise of Hezbollah, it is

this author's belief that Israel has played the largest role leading to Hezbollah's increase in power.

CHAPTER II: LEBANON

Introduction

To provide an examination of the repercussions of Israel's use of force, an expansive look will be taken at how Israel's use of military force has led to the creation and rise of Hezbollah in Lebanon. The primary purpose of this paper is to explain the rise of Hezbollah power in reaction to Israel's use of disproportionate force in Lebanon rather than as Hezbollah's creation as a response to religious extremism. Since its founding, Israel has been successful in cementing its existence in Southwest Asia through the use of military force. Israel has also managed to restrain the threats from the surrounding Arab states and prove that it is the superior military power in the region. What Israel has not been able to do is create lasting peace with its neighbors. Moreover, its disproportionate use of military force has led to intense antagonism among the civilian population as well as the creation of militant groups such as Hezbollah. Israel has also used such force against another Palestinian led militant group, Hamas.

In another example of Israel's failure in asymmetrical warfare, Israel invaded Gaza in December of 2008 in an operation codenamed, Operation Cast Lead. This invasion of the Gaza Strip by Israel was in response to repeated rocket fire by Hamas militants into Israel. Israel's stated goal was to stop the rocket attacks coming into Israel. [59] The resulting report released in September 2009, stated that both sides of the conflict had committed violations. It also stated that Israel had used disproportionate force by targeting Palestinian civilians, using them as human shields as well as destroying civilian infrastructure. Hamas were also found to have

targeted Israeli civilians by indiscriminately firing rockets into Israel. These findings were endorsed by the United Nations Human Rights Council. [60]

In September 2009, a United Nations special mission, headed by Justice Richard Goldstone, produced a report accusing both the Israeli Defense Forces and Palestinian militants of war crimes. [61] In January of 2010, Israel's government released a response criticizing the Goldstone Report and disputing its findings. [62] Finally, In 2011, Goldstone partially altered from the findings of the initial report by stating that he no longer believed that Israel intentionally targeted civilians in Gaza. [63] The remaining three authors of the report, Christine Chinkin, Desmond Travers and Hina Jilani, rejected his reassessment. [64] UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon's spokesmen issued a statement stating that while the Secretary-General recognized "Israel's security concerns regarding the continued firing of rockets from Gaza," "Israel still had an obligation to uphold international humanitarian and human rights law." The statement specifically noted that he "condemns the excessive use of force leading to the killing and injuring of civilians". [65]

Israeli realism is defined by its Jewish heritage and the Jewish Holocaust of World War II. Because Israel was created by means of war on inhabited land, insecurity has been the pre-eminent experience. Therefore, Israeli policy has developed in response to a constant threat of conflict. The key values that Israel must maintain to exist are in constant danger, values such as: territorial sovereignty, personal survival and national independence as a democracy for Israel's Jewish citizens. The Israeli state is in constant fear of being overtaken. Continuous fear of

attack and defeat are ingrained in the Israeli consciousness, along with the belief that Arabs are out to destroy Israel.[66]

International politics in Israel is seen as a zero-sum game where the belief that human nature has an ugly side waiting to come out, is well established in Jewish culture and is leading to mistrust throughout the world. Israeli military strategy is to plan for the worst. Israel's use of military force has been justified by the belief that Israel is acting in accordance with defensive policies based upon an encircling threat. This reasoning self-justifies its actions as being defensive rather than offensive military incursions. Historically, just as Jewish communities have built barriers to minimize the impact coming from the outside world, separation has also become equal with the survival of the Jewish state.[67] While Israeli military strategy takes into account the fact that the state of Israel must be a safe haven from the outside world, it also takes into account acquisitive aspirations related to widening the barriers of the state of Israel. This has been a major point of contention leading to the creation of militant groups such as Hezbollah.

Israeli technological advancements have generated superiority over their Arab opponents and have acted as a credible advantage to the threat of Israeli hegemony in the region. Historically, Israel fought for its existence knowing that it could use overwhelming force as a form of diplomacy to impose results. The idea of cumulative deterrents' emphasized the thought of repeatedly beating your opponent as a way to force permanent acceptance of Israel in the region. [68] Over time Israel's disproportionate use of force has been used to effectively bring the Arabs to the bargaining table using almost any means necessary.

The surrounding Arab states were put on notice and once their land was obtained through war, no land was given back unless it was overwhelmingly in Israel's favor, nor would

the imaginary line drawn in the sand be altered. Israeli strategists put a great deal of value on holding on to what they have accomplished and forcing the other side into submission.[69] Israel hoped to create structures from its military actions i.e. buffer zones, security and peace guarantees. Although it has been a long road, Israel has been very successful through the use of violence. Due to its use of force, Egyptian strength and a population of millions succumbed to Israeli superiority by the 1970s. Jordan, with a history of dubious political leadership, also accepted the fact that Israel could not be defeated through military means. On the Arab side, the idea that Israel could be decisively beaten in a military battle has slowly come to an end. On the Israeli side, the idea that military force was Israel's best friend went unchallenged until the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Prior to the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israeli strategy changed after the 1967 war where Israel became the occupier of the West Bank, Jerusalem, the Gaza strip, Sinai and the Golan Heights. These occupied territories became a point of contention amongst Israeli strategists. Would they be used as bargaining chips or would they be used to increase Israel's size and therefore its buffer zone?[70]

This debate has continued to the present day. The more territory Israel has, the more it has to defend. On the other hand, deterrence using extreme and disproportionate force can work well without having the need for extended buffer zones. Israel's realist approach has succeeded in securing the new state; nevertheless, it has meant that it was not likely to create any real friendships in the region. Any attempts to increase security by one of Israel's neighbors meant that Israel would also increase its own security, creating a never-ending race. Israel's use of disproportionate force eventually led Syria and Jordan to put down anti-Israel actions directed

from their state; though, one state that encountered problems with this was Lebanon. Lebanon, from its inception, functioned as a quasi failed state and has been ever since. Lebanon allowed first the PLO to launch attacks onto Israeli territory, and then after the Israelis invaded Lebanon in 1982, an even stronger organization developed in the form of Hezbollah. Since that time, Israel has become engaged in a low level war on its northern border. With occasional serious flare-ups, Hezbollah has become one of the most serious threats to Israeli security.

Unintended Consequences

Beginning with Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israel attempted to eliminate the PLO from Southern Lebanon. This action took place because after the Palestinians were pushed out from Jordan, they came into Lebanon and shortly took over the Palestinian refugee camps in the south, converting some into military training grounds.[71] The Palestinians began taking part in cross-border attacks against Israeli targets from Lebanese territory, as opposed to their previous strongholds in Jordan. As Palestinian influence began to increase in Lebanon, the Palestinian fighters were able to create a state within a state.[72] The Israelis would retaliate with overwhelming air superiority and bomb Palestinian refugee camps. These airstrikes would often be accompanied with strikes on the local Lebanese population, specifically Muslim Shiites in South Lebanon.

As Palestinian attacks began to increase, so did the Israeli response. Had it not been Israeli practice to use overwhelming force, the surrounding Lebanese population would not have been affected to such a degree. Israeli strikes on Lebanese villages were becoming more

frequent, creating tensions between Israel and the Palestinian Arab fighters as well as the local Arab population in Lebanon. One example of this occurred on July 10, 1981. After strikes on Israel by the PLO, Israeli retaliation occurred through Israeli air strikes.[73] On July 17, the Israel Air Force launched a massive attack on PLO buildings in downtown Beirut. Roughly three hundred people were killed and eight hundred wounded, the majority of them civilians.[74] The Israeli army also targeted PLO positions in South Lebanon, hitting local civilians in the process without being able to stop Palestinian rocket fire. By the mid 1970's, tensions between the Palestinian Arabs in Lebanon and local inhabitants came to a head erupting in armed conflict within Lebanon. As the war continued in Lebanon, the Palestinian militants continued the ebb and flow of attacks against Israel until the Israeli government decided to put a stop to Palestinian attacks once and for all.

In 1982, the Israeli government decided to put a stop to Palestinians attacks and began waiting for a strategic moment. According to George Ball, the seventh U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, the PLO continued to observe the ceasefire implemented earlier by both Israel and the Palestinian authority.[75] Alexander Haig, U.S. Secretary of State, also said that Israel continued to look for an internationally recognizable act that would be necessary to obtain American support for an Israeli invasion of Lebanon.[76] In April of 1982, an Israeli diplomat was killed in front of his apartment in Paris, increasing tensions. Despite this assassination, the official premise for the Lebanese invasion was that the Palestinians had managed to acquire long-range rockets, capable of hitting deeper targets within Israel. Israel's strategic timing came about when on June 3, 1982, the Israeli Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Shlomo Argov, was shot and paralyzed by Abu Nidal's Fatah organization.[77] Although the Abu Nidal group was a

main competitor and rival group of Yasser Arafat's PLO, and the shooting carried out by the Abu Nidal group was a clear provocation against the PLO, the Israeli cabinet agreed to invade Lebanon.

Operation "Peace for Galilee"

Ariel Sharon, Israel's Minister of Defense at the time informed the cabinet that the invasion of Lebanon would last roughly three days. Israeli troops were not to go deeper than 25 miles into Lebanese territory and they were not to engage Syrian forces stationed in Lebanon.[78] The overall goals of the operation were to eliminate the PLO, install a Christian- Israeli friendly government in Beirut and limit Syrian interference in Lebanon. Israel's plans were thwarted from the onset of military activities. Despite Israel's military superiority over the PLO, it took over 48 hours to take over a main PLO stronghold in Sidon. And while the mission was successful in driving out the Palestinians from Southern Lebanon, the Israeli forces broke their own rules of engagement of not going deeper than 25 miles and laid siege to the Lebanese capital, Beirut.[79] Israeli troops surrounded Beirut and bombed PLO positions from the air and the ground, frequently hitting civilians, many of whom belonged to the Shiite community.

Due to Israel's extension over its original limited war plan and its disproportionate use of force in Lebanon, the Israeli army reported that 140 Israeli Defense Force Soldiers (IDF) refused to serve in Lebanon and were sent to jail.[80] Israel's plan to install a pro-Israel leader in Lebanon also came to a halt as the anti-Syrian Bashir Gemayel was elected President of Lebanon and assassinated one month later.

While his brother, Amin Gemayel, was elected President by the national assembly, shortly thereafter, Syria was able to assert its influence, not only militarily against Israel but also within Lebanon, permanently ending any plans for a Lebanese government friendly towards Israel. Furthering Israel's failure in 1982, the IDF was unsuccessful in driving out Syrian forces and this led to the massive strengthening of Syrian influence in Lebanon. Within a short period of time, Syria was able to have almost total control of internal and external Lebanese policies.

Israel not only failed to achieve security for its northern border through the "Peace for Galilee" war, it created a much more potent and longer lasting problem for itself, Hezbollah. As the war continued, the downtrodden Shiite Muslims of Southern Lebanon became more active and were able to unite based on similar grievances. Initially, the Muslim Shiites of Southern Lebanon viewed the IDF as liberators because they were no longer under the tutelage of the Palestinian forces. Many Muslim Shiites were upset that the PLO was causing the infliction of damage onto their neighborhoods. Later, the IDF began to align themselves with the Maronite Christians of Lebanon to the detriment of the Muslim Shiites. This factor, coupled with the unfortunate fact that the IDF did not withdraw after driving out the PLO caused the Shiites to rethink their presence.

As a result, the Muslim Shiites turned their attention towards getting rid of the IDF soldiers and freeing South Lebanon from foreign interference. While the PLO lost its hold on Southern Lebanon and their forces were transferred to Tunisia, Iran had been longing for the ability to spread its influence in the Arab world and it found it within the Shiite Muslim community of Lebanon.

During "Operation Peace for Galilee," the Iranian government sent some 1,500 revolutionary guards (Pasdaran) to the Bekaa valley to train Arab Shiite Muslims in Lebanon.[81] With the acceptance of Hafez al-Assad of Syria, the Pasdaran trained the Shiites in the south and began to reinforce the Ayatollah Khomeini's insistence on spreading the Islamic Revolution. The main reasoning behind this was to establish an Islamic revolutionary movement in Lebanon, mimicking that in Iran and eventually turning Lebanon into an Islamic state. As the Lebanese war ebbed and flowed, the Pasdaran troops were able to train Hezbollah fighters and turn them into a united fighting force. Hezbollah was very limited in terms of resources but thanks to Iran, it was backed militarily, spiritually and financially.

Iran's financial backing allowed Hezbollah to increase its membership and augment its standing among the Shiites in Southern Lebanon. Due to the Lebanese government's inability and neglect of the Muslim Shiite community, Hezbollah was even able to begin a social welfare program to enhance its image within the region.[82] This welfare program provides inexpensive healthcare, rebuilds homes for those affected by Israeli strikes, and provides income assistance to those who have lost family members while fighting the Israelis. All of these actions have increased Hezbollah's popularity in South Lebanon. Hezbollah even provides discount supermarkets, scholarships for college, and schools for the needy.[83]

It is also interesting to note that during the late 1980s, Iran's leadership changed hands from Ayatollah Khomeini to a more moderate Hashemi Rafsanjani. The result of this was the replacement of the hard-line Secretary General of Hezbollah, Sheik Subhi al-Tufayli with the more moderate Sheik Abbas al-Musawi in 1990. After a mere two years of leading Hezbollah

and moderating Hezbollah's stance in the region, an Israeli air raid killed both al-Musawi and his wife along with their child and a number of bodyguards.

In his place, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah was appointed to take the position. As a moderate, Nasrallah and the Iranian leadership wanted Hezbollah to enter into the Lebanese political arena. Hezbollah entered the 1992 parliamentary elections and were successful in gaining eight seats including 4 Shiite Muslims, as well as 2 Sunni Muslim and 2 Christians running on the Hezbollah ticket. This provided Hezbollah with the largest bloc in parliament.[84]

Despite all of the repercussions of operation "Peace for Galilee," the Israelis did not learn from their mistakes. Once the war was over, Israel had succeeded in dislodging the PLO from Southern Lebanon but had failed to install an Israeli friendly government. It is estimated that almost 18,000 Lebanese were killed during the first year of the invasion alone. The war itself led to the emigration of over 850,000 Christian Lebanese, leading to a continual change in demographics against Israeli interests in Lebanon.[85] The Shiite Amal organization created by al-Sadr, stopped fighting the PLO and switched its allegiances due to Israel's disproportionate use of force and the killing of many Muslim Shiites in Lebanon. Most importantly, the Israeli invasion led to the creation of Hezbollah, backed by Iran and Syria.

<center>Operation "Grapes of Wrath"</center>

While low-level conflict continued between the IDF and Hezbollah fighters for many years, combat remained within the confines of South Lebanon. Despite this fact, the Israeli

government was again looking to invade Lebanon and this time put a stop to Hezbollah fighters as they had done to the PLO just over a decade before. On March 30, 1996, two men working on a water tower in Yater, Lebanon were killed by an IDF missile strike. Hezbollah retaliated by launching twenty missiles into northern Israel and the IDF later acknowledged that the attack on Yater was a mistake. Next, a roadside bomb killed a 14-year-old Lebanese boy and injured three others in Barashit, a village in Lebanon. Hezbollah again retaliated by firing 30 missiles into northern Israel. Two days later, on April 11, 1996, Israel announced the "Grapes of Wrath" operation as a retaliatory invasion against Hezbollah.

Israel wanted to punish the general Lebanese populace for supporting Hezbollah and it thought that by making the Lebanese public suffer, it would distance them from Hezbollah. This would also force the Lebanese government to put more pressure on Hezbollah to stop its activities. Moreover, the Israeli Defense Force was to create disorder in the south, creating an untenable situation for Hezbollah. On April 11, 1996, Israeli aircraft and artillery began the bombardment of Southern Lebanon, multiple targets in and around Beirut and the Bekaa Valley. The IDF conducted air raids on Hezbollah installations as well as civilian infrastructure.

By the April 13, Israel had blocked major Lebanese ports, including the ports of Sidon, Beirut and Tyre. Within 48 hours of the blockade, the civilian electric power stations of Bsaleem and Jumhour were bombed and destroyed. Multiple bridges were bombed and over 2,000 civilian homes were destroyed in Southern Lebanon alone. The total economic damage was estimated at over half a billion dollars. Israel also estimated the total damage it suffered at just over 50 million dollars.[86]

The Shelling of Qana

On April, 18, some 800 civilians were taking refuge in a United Nations compound in Qana. Hezbollah fighters, hundreds of meters away, fired multiple rockets and mortars at Israeli troops. In response, Israel fired 38 shells within 15 minutes of the shelling, many equipped with fuses allowing them to detonate above ground.[87] As a result of this bombing, 106 civilians were killed, including 24 children, with scores wounded.[88] Despite numerous reports from Amnesty International, the United Nations, Human Rights Watch and others, reflecting on the flagrant use of force by Israel in the region, the Israeli government firmly placed the blame on Hezbollah.

While Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, attempted an information campaign to push the Lebanese to distance themselves from Hezbollah, the attempt backfired and nearly the entire countries' religious and political establishment rallied around Hezbollah. Also, both Christians and Muslims took part in daily protests in favor of Hezbollah in addition to providing donations for the Islamic Resistance.[89]

This "rally around the flag" effect, coupled with the Qana massacre, not only kept Hezbollah in place but also solidified it in the Lebanese political structure as well. Israel's attempts at creating a gap between the general population and Hezbollah by using disproportionate amounts of force to compel civilians to point the finger at Hezbollah backfired. This turned not only the country, but the world's attention towards Israel's justifications for using extreme force.

<u>The 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli War</u>

Explaining the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war, Israeli actions proved to be a failure for Israel and a success for Hezbollah. Primarily, Israel's military objectives were to re-establish deterrence despite having failed in the 1996 conflict and to eliminate Hezbollah's ability to threaten Israel. Furthermore, Israel wanted to obtain the release of its captured soldiers, the catalyst that sparked the 34 day conflict. Similar to Israel's goals in 1996, "Operation Grapes of Wrath," Israel sought to pressure the Lebanese public by making them suffer from a disproportionate use of force.[90]

The punishment strategy used by Israel also consisted of a psychological warfare campaign. Israeli psy-op units were able to send messages to mobile phones across the south, they also hijacked phone lines and sent Lebanese civilians Israeli-based phone calls as well as cell phone text messages telling the locals to show their disapproval of Hezbollah. Israel activated psychological warfare units to execute operations within Lebanon as well.[91] They attempted unsuccessfully to shut down the al-Manar television station by bombing it. This strategy was created to put Hezbollah in a negative light within Lebanon and attempt to gain support from the Lebanese population. Israel deleted Hezbollah websites and set up false websites appearing to be backed by Hezbollah. They also managed to put up negative messages on official Hezbollah websites and dropped leaflets attempting to appeal to Lebanese civilians to stop supporting Hezbollah.

Figure 1 Israeli pamphlet showing how Hezbollah is taking Lebanon into the abyss

Similarly to "Operation Grapes of Wrath," Israel used disproportionate force as a strategy to achieve its goals. Israeli airpower was used throughout the south of Lebanon so as to limit casualties on the Israeli side. Weapons used to target Hezbollah were also used to cause harm to the civilian population so that they would point the finger at Hezbollah and blame them for

Israeli actions. Israel did not want to commit ground forces due to their losses in the 1996 war which signaled weakness, further emboldening Hezbollah fighters.

Israeli experts commented that the damage inflicted against Lebanon's civilian population weakened the effects of Israel's use of military force against Hezbollah.[93] Israeli airstrikes resulted in over $7 billion in damage to Lebanon, over 1,200 civilian deaths and over 130,000 civilian structures destroyed.[94] Due to these results, it is plausible that the disproportional use of force committed by Israel in Lebanon increased the anger of the majority of the Lebanese population as well as the Arab and Muslim world. This created even more backing for Hezbollah.[95] Hezbollah was able to provide more social and civil services to the south than the central Lebanese government and this was a major factor in their support of the organization.

Militarily, Israel wished to eliminate Hezbollah's rocket arsenal and stop the threat of rocket fire into northern Israel. Consequent to the Israeli invasion, Hezbollah was able to launch approximately 4,000 rockets into northern Israel during the 34-day period. Thousands of Israelis were forced into bomb shelters and over half a million people were displaced from their homes.[96] Moreover, Hezbollah was able to prove itself as a fighting force and was provided the opportunity to improve its military capabilities through lessons learned from 1996. Syria and Iran were more than happy to replenish its medium and long-range rocket arsenal.[97] Hezbollah's success also provided a strong impetus for Syria and Iran to step up their financial and military support. This also created an example for Hamas in the Gaza strip. They were able to see the

affects of Hezbollah on Israel's military offensive. This provided an impetus for Hamas and similar groups to imitate Hezbollah and also fall under the patronage of Iran and Syria.

Once again, Israel was unable to change the political atmosphere in Lebanon and therefore failed to pressure the Lebanese government to force Hezbollah's hand.[98] Additionally, Israel failed to obtain the release of the two captured soldiers, which sparked the entire conflict. Israel also suffered psychological setbacks as well. Israel permanently lost its air of invincibility. The government and the military were criticized for underestimating Hezbollah's abilities, overestimating their own capabilities, as well as not sufficiently preparing for the war. [99] Regionally, Israel's use of disproportionate military force in Lebanon lost the historic backing of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan although they all initially condemned Hezbollah and firmly blamed it for the conflict. As Lebanese civilians continued to die and as the gruesome pictures began to steadily flow throughout media outlets, Arab public opinion grew immensely against Israel's bombing campaign in Lebanon.

<div align="center">Hezbollah's Arsenal</div>

After Israel's 1996 invasion into Lebanon, Iran and Syria began resupplying Hezbollah with even more state-of-the-art weaponry, reconnaissance equipment and more rockets. Hezbollah had proven itself to be a respectable fighting force, able to use sophisticated weaponry and remain standing after numerous battles with the IDF. According to Israeli intelligence, planes carrying sophisticated weapons, including long-range Zelzal missiles from Iran have been

passed onto Hezbollah through Syria.[100]   During the 2006 invasion, the Israeli Army struggled for many weeks to defeat Hezbollah forces and was ultimately unsuccessful prior to a cease-fire being imposed. Although Hezbollah remained a small militia, it trained like an army and was equipped accordingly by Iran and Syria.

Among many items, Hezbollah has been equipped with flak jackets to limit injuries and deaths of its soldiers, night-vision goggles to spot Israeli targets under the cover of darkness, state-of-the-art communication equipment to be able to transfer information to fellow fighters, Israeli uniforms to blend in with the IDF during chaotic battles, and even Israeli ammunition. In the period of a few years, Hezbollah has gone from a small resistance organization to a sophisticated and well equipped group of fighters.

Iran has also provided Hezbollah with Russian-made antitank missiles that have damaged or destroyed Israeli tanks, including its most modern tank, the Merkava, known as Israel's indestructible tank.[101] Hezbollah has also been equipped with antitank missiles including the older Sagger missile. This missile has been used successfully to fire into and bring down houses where Israeli troops are hiding. Hezbollah fighters also use a large-scale system of underground tunnels to move around throughout Southern Lebanon. These booby trapped tunnels are especially useful for soldiers to fire at Israeli targets and then disappear back into the underground. Tactics such as these were learned from Chechen fighters combating invading Russian troops while successfully using the Grozny sewer system to evade capture after attacks. Syria and Iran have also continued to provide satellite communication systems to Hezbollah. Hezbollah has additionally become attuned to gathering intelligence, learning guerrilla-style

warfare from events such as the American Revolution, from rebel groups such as the Vietcong, and texts such as those written by Mao and Che.[102] Very importantly, Hezbollah fighters are trained based on methods learned from the West, mimicking as much as they can from United States' soldiers on the battlefield.

It is also known that Hezbollah has its own separate telephone system throughout Lebanon. This phone system came under intense scrutiny in 2008 when Iran had used an Iranian company that was rebuilding homes that were destroyed during the 2006 war, to lay cables for the Hezbollah network. Further claims were made that these cables would link all the militias in Lebanon, Syria and Iran.   According to a Lebanese government report, the network is capable of tracking 100,000 numbers using a digital format in which each number is five digits long and hooks up to Lebanon's central telephone network.[103]

Through professional training from the Pasadaran, Hezbollah has proven that it can successfully use generally low-tech antitank and infantry weapons, as well as more high-tech Semtex plastic explosives.[104] The IDF says that Hezbollah has between 2,000 to 4,000 fighters, aided by a larger circle of backup personnel who provide storage of weapons in nearby homes and civilian buildings.   They also provide logistics assistance throughout the region.[105]

Hezbollah is very difficult to fight against because it operates like a revolutionary force. It fights within civilian areas, making it hard to attack without hitting civilian populated areas. Fighters are trained to set up launchers, fire them and immediately leave the area. This makes it very difficult for Israel to strike legitimate targets. Furthermore, this provides more incentive for Israel to strike those Hezbollah launching sites and blame it on the Hezbollah fighters, leading to large casualties. The Pasdaran has assisted Hezbollah to train and fight like an army, with special units for antitank warfare, explosives, engineering, intelligence, communications and launching rockets. The Pasdaran has also taught Hezbollah how to build and use "improvised explosive devices" (IED) as well as fire the all important C-802, ground-to-ship missile that was successfully used in 2006.[106]

Iranian Air Force officers have also been sent to Lebanon to train and assist Hezbollah in using Iranian made medium-range missiles such as the Fajr-3 and Fajr-5. Syria has provided Hezbollah with 220 millimeter and 302 millimeter missiles both being equipped with antipersonnel warheads. Syria has also acquired Russian made antitank weapons and passed them to Hezbollah ever more slightly changing the military balance of the region.[107] Such examples include the Metis wire-guided missile, with the ability to fire up to four rounds per minute and the RPG-29, used both as an antitank round with the ability to penetrate armor as well as the ability to be used against soldiers.

Hezbollah has been successful in destroying the myth that Arab armies have helped to create through over 40 years of battle, that the IDF is unbeatable. Despite sophisticated American weaponry, highly skilled Israeli training and the solid friendship of the world's only superpower, Hezbollah has been able to remain standing against Israeli military action. The act of being able to get back up after Israel's use of overwhelming force has turned Hezbollah into a mythical force in the region and throughout the world. Hezbollah has been able to prove itself, not only on the battle field, but in the social and political sphere as well.

Each time it is tested by Israeli firepower, Hezbollah manages to come out ahead. After the 2006 war, Hezbollah is much better equipped with sophisticated weaponry provided by Iran and Syria. It is also widely believed in the region that Turkey is covertly assisting Iran to smuggle weapons into Syria. These sophisticated weapons end up in the hands of Hezbollah fighters.[108] Due to a number of factors, including Turkish public opinion relating to the overt use of military force used in Israel, the Turkish government has begun to revise its international strategy. This strategy includes not being as friendly to Israel as past governments have been, further isolating Israel in the region and proving further that Israel's disproportionate use of force has backfired on the Israeli state. It can be argued that Israel did succeed in splitting Lebanon into two separate political camps. One group constitutes a majority Shiite Muslim constituency suffering the most from the Israeli incursions; and a separate group made up of Sunni Muslims and Christians, living a more affluent lifestyle, and blaming Hezbollah for the Israeli attacks that have befallen the country.

CHAPTER III: IRAN

Introduction

While Hezbollah traces its origins back to Najaf, Iraq, it owes its creation to an Israeli operation in Southern Lebanon, intent on eliminating the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and installing a Christian-led, Israeli-friendly government in Beirut. As Iran's war with Iraq weakened the more liberal elements in Iran, the religious clerics began to gain ground. The clerics believed that the only way to protect the Islamic republic from their adversaries was by exporting the Islamic revolution throughout the region. The two immediate geographic locations were Iraq and Lebanon. Iraq however, was not an easy target to export to because of President Saddam Hussein and his secular Bath regime along with the Iran-Iraq war. In this case, Iran lacked the personnel, channels and institutions that could operate within the country to spread the ideas of the revolution.

The second location thought of as a prime location to export the ideas of the Islamic revolution was Lebanon. Although the Amal movement, led by Musa al Sadr, had been established from the beginning under the slogan of putting an end to the suffering and deprivation of the Shia sect in Lebanon, they did not recognize the Iranian concept of 'Wilayat-e-Faqih' or Guardianship of the Scholar, a religious mode of government because of the multi-religious makeup of Lebanon. Iran, on the other hand, realized that the Amal movement, mainly composed of political activists, was not most efficient method of exporting the revolution.

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In response to the Amal issue, Iran decided to create a new party based on the membership of religious clerics. Since Amal was not supportive of the Wilayat-e-Faqih, its members were classified as secularists and non-believers causing many of them to abandon the movement. These individuals began to obtain a more religious orientation with backing from Iran which later led them to become members of Hezbollah. The formation and activities of Hezbollah were also expedited with the 1982 Israeli invasion. While it is apparent that Iran drove the activity behind the creation of Hezbollah, it is this author's intention to show that the Israeli invasion created the impetus for Iranian influence in Lebanon, leading to the increase of Hezbollah's power. Although Hezbollah's creation was fragmented and occurred over a longer period of time, for the purposes of this work, the formation date of the resistance movement will be referred to as 1982; this is for many reasons, primarily, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.[109]

Among modern day phenomena, Hezbollah, it can be argued, owes its rise to the steady yet wide scale decline of Arab civilization and its failure to meet the global challenges of living in a modern Western-dominated world.[110] Initially, Hezbollah was able to present itself as the key for making life better for hundreds of thousands of downtrodden Shiites throughout Lebanon. It was not until recently that Hezbollah became the rallying point for millions of Muslims and Arabs throughout the region, as well as Christians in the Levant. Although it was not a recognized group until the middle of the 1980s, Hezbollah had been operating for a number of years, primarily as an umbrella for different groups within the region. Hezbollah's first members were a number of fledgling volunteers consisting of disaffected Muslim men adhering to Shiite Islam as well as a number of Iranian style educated alims, otherwise known as "the knowledgeable ones."[111]

As Hezbollah began to create its own agenda, Iran had a hand in coordinating and controlling Hezbollah activities, especially during the 1980s. Iran's influence was clear in the open letter to "The Downtrodden in Lebanon and in the World". The document is purported to be written in Iran by a one-time member of the pro-Khatami reform movement in Iran. The letter declared the world to be divided between the oppressed and the oppressors, mainly the U.S. and Israel as the oppressors.[112] Though Iran and Syria are widely given credit for Hezbollah's rise, Iran has been the main forbearer of Hezbollah's ideology.

Moreover, the crucial fact is that Israel's use of force can also be linked as part and parcel of the creation of Hezbollah. Was it not for the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) bases in Lebanon, and Israeli attempts at dislodging them, the fragile Shiite community living in the slums of Southern Lebanon may have not been given the necessary reasons to guard themselves against the incoming Israeli onslaught. Secondarily, was it not for Israel's continued occupation of Southern Lebanon, the Shiite community would have had less of a reason to take up arms against the foreign invaders. These facts, coupled with the mentality of the rulers in the region, that leaders do not represent the aspirations of their people, leads other powers to come about that will look after the needs of the people in a manner more conducive to their demands.[113] Until the recent cases of Tunisia and Egypt, this was systematically true throughout the region. It is important to note that a number of Arab regimes are also going through transitions relating to the Arab Spring at this time.

<u>Iranian Ideology</u>

For all practical purposes, modern Iranian-United States relations came about, due to the modern day United States, CIA engineered coupe of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953. Mossadegh was an ardent nationalist and opposed to the future of the United Kingdom's long-term oil concessions, which in fact controlled Iran's major natural resource.[114]

Mossadegh accepted to become the prime minister of Iran under the auspices that the Iranian parliament would end the oil concessions, which did not occur until 1951. Mossadegh's nationalization of Britain's Anglo-Iranian Oil Company showed him to be unreliable and a threat to Western interests, along with the fact that the Soviet Union was just around the corner. The President of the United States at the time, Dwight D. Eisenhower approved a coup plan, and although previous attempts failed, on August 19, 1953, a CIA officer directed an intricate plan against Mossadegh and succeeded in removing him, marking U.S. foreign policy goals in Iran. This action not only succeeded in implanting the shah of Iran, it also created a generation of Iranians that grew up knowing that the CIA had installed him.[115]

By the time John F. Kennedy became president of the United States in 1961, the United States was well on its way to changing Iran's social fabric. The United States argued that Iran's land-tenure system was akin to "feudalism," and that it was creating an environment that would allow for a communist revolution. Under American pressure, the shah pushed for a so-called "White Revolution." This revolution brought about unexpected repercussions that both the United States and the Shah did not foresee. The same backers that helped push out Mossedegh were not in favor of the changes to the land-tenure system. Moreover, the Shah also proposed

the political emancipation of women, modeled after those proposed years earlier by Mustapha Kemal Ataturk of Turkey, angering the more conservative elements within Iran. Riots broke out when it became obvious the election was rigged and a national referendum showed ninety-nine percent approval for the measure.

The Iranian mainstream began to notice what the Shah and his reforms were creating. The modernization program was creating an ultra-wealthy status of elites within Iran, many of whom were part of the royal family. These reforms brought about the ascendance of a relatively unknown cleric, Rohallah Khomeini. Khomeini became so popular through his fiery sermons against the Shah in Iran that he was eventually sent into exile and forced from Iranian territory, first to Iraq and then to France.[116]

As Iran and the United States strengthened their alliance throughout the 1970's, Israel was also able to create ties with the Shah. This created a backlash not only amongst Iran's Arab neighbors, but also amongst Iranians themselves. Iran's ability to maintain the status quo along with its relationships with the U.S. and Israel brought it much admiration from the U.S., so much so that Iran was considered to be an "Island of Stability" in relation to its neighbors.[117] Nevertheless, the Shah's crumbling regime began to show signs of fatigue after the Shah approved a publication highly critical of Khomeini.

Surprisingly, the Shah's secret police, the SAVAK, notoriously known for their heavy-handed tactics and for torturing opponents, were incapable of stopping the rising tide of dissention. Adding fuel to the fire was Israel's known relationship to the SAVAK. Out of an increasing animosity between the Shah and the Arab states, Israel had helped train members of

the SAVAK. In fact, this relationship helped influence increasingly popular enmity toward Israel. Approximately, one year later, in January of 1979, the Shah was forced to flee Iran. A short, two weeks later, Khomeini returned home from exile in Paris, France, pushing the revolution towards a theocratic-style of government. Initially, while some secular elements were involved, they were quickly marginalized in the provisional government, leading the way for the Islamic Republic of Iran. To add to the changes, on November 4, a band of students took over the U.S. embassy, with tacit approval from the authorities, taking 52 hostages and punishing the Carter administration for allowing the deposed Shah safe haven for cancer treatment.[118]

In September of 1980, Saddam Hussein launched a war against Iran. Saddam new that he needed to smash the new theocratic Iranian Republic or it would affect his ability to continue ruling his Shiite-majority country with a Sunni elite. Given Iraq's nuclear ambitions, Iraq also posed a threat to Israel. Due to this, Iran seemed to be the lesser of two evils to Israel. This led the U.S. to supply arms to Iraq while Israeli military strategists sought to secretly ship arms to Iran. In July of 1981 an Argentinean cargo plane crashed en route to Iran. This crash later revealed reports of a $200 million arms deal between Israel and Iran.[119] As alliances began to shift, Israel would later regret sending weapons to Iran and eventually after the fall of Saddam, Iran would become Israel's greatest threat. [120]

Following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Iran increasingly yearned for a base in the Arab world. It was finally able to assist in creating the militant, and later political, Hezbollah movement in Lebanon. Iran's connection within Lebanon became the marginalized Shiite population working against Israeli occupation. One year later, Hezbollah was reported to have

planned and participated in a massive bombing that damaged the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, killing over 60 people. Only six months later, a Hezbollah truck bomb struck a U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, killing 241 United States' Marines. These actions were the precursors to the beginning of modern day Hezbollah and what has become a formidable political and military force in the region.

Following the death of the Ayatollah Khomenie in 1989, Iran's religious elite began to pursue a different path in terms of the country's foreign policy. The previous few years had been very volatile and they looked for a more practical and less aggressive foreign policy. The leadership began to limit its support of Islamic movements. For example, the religious clerics adopted a hands-off approach to the Chechen movement for independence from Russia. They also did the same when Azerbaijan fell into conflict as well. They realized that they could not alienate their Russian neighbors or those from smaller republics with whom they relied on politically, economically and otherwise.

One area of the world they have not chosen to ignore is Israel. Since Hezbollah's founding, much support has been offered by the religious clerics in Iran. These same clerics have asked their congregations to donate money to their networks so that they can funnel it to clerics in Lebanon and continue supporting Hezbollah. This support has led to the rapid growth of Hezbollah and allowed them the ability to continue their resistance efforts in Lebanon.[121]

Though Hezbollah disliked interference from the United States, it disliked the Soviet Union even more. A cleansing took place in 1984 and 1985 that eliminated hundreds of members that overtly supported communist ideology. At the time, the view was that at least the

United States believed in God; moreover it accepted Islam as a religion. On the other hand, the Soviet Union had repressed any belief in God since the Communists came to power. The Soviet Union was viewed to be more dangerous than the United States.[122]

From the European side, the French were also viewed with disdain as they chose to support the Maronite Christian community from Lebanon's inception. This was done so that France could obtain a foothold in the region and drive a wedge between the inhabitants of Lebanon. Even more troubling then French support for the Maronite community in Lebanon, the French were selling arms to Iraq. Iraq was the sworn enemy of Iran, defending the Arab frontline from Persian hordes and even more importantly, Iran was a close aide to Hezbollah. This relegated France as an enemy of Hezbollah as well.

Historically, the crusades involved the clash of two different political worlds, the Christian West and the Islamic East. In the East, the crusade to liberate Jerusalem from the infidels, assisted in merging the Muslim world and causing it to coordinate army competencies and devote resources in military services, which left it stronger and even more forceful to the West.[123]   In the case of Hezbollah, the group was not interested in looking East, nor West. Hezbollah wanted to craft their own blend of ideology in the region and strengthen the Muslim world wherever they could. In the Hezbollah worldview, compromising with the enemy is not a possibility. The disintegration of the Islamic and Arab world after the fall of the Ottoman Empire was the perceived effect of imperialism; in Hezbollah's outlook, the whole structure required a rethink. In practical terms, Hezbollah viewed itself as a power, resisting not only Israel but the super powers of the world as well.[124]

Hezbollah's main goal after its inception was the removal of Israel as it existed, not its destruction. Hezbollah wanted to return Israel to a Muslim, Arab-dominated society where European Jews are welcomed to live as they have been for thousands of years. What Hezbollah cannot accept is the current status quo, a European satellite state run by European Jews in Southwest Asia. Opposite the fact that a large portion of the Western World views Israel's existence as a permanent one in the region, the majority of those in the region, especially those following Hezbollah's ideology, would argue that it is not the case. Among Hezbollah's goals is the unification of the Shiite masses in the region as well as those that would agree with its ideology. This reasoning provides a strong reasoning for Hezbollah's wide support base among the Christian and Sunni Muslim communities within Lebanon and throughout the region.

In Southern Lebanon, Hezbollah's popularity is unmatched and it is still not uncommon to see a family of 10 children or more wanting to assist or join Hezbollah. Socially speaking, the majority of Hezbollah members are not living in the swanky downtown districts of Sunni Muslim-dominated Beirut, but rather, in the slums of South Lebanon. The unification of such a community has provided them with an opening to build up their support in Lebanon and in resisting further Israeli efforts in the region. The organization has almost always been comprised of learned clerics or alims styled after the Iranian revolution and Shiite youth. The external support base of Sunni Muslims and Arab and non Arab Christians has enabled the group to have many friends to turn to in times of peace as well as crises.

The women of Hezbollah are also a critical element in that they are entrusted with taking care of the wounded, grooming intellectuals, fathering future fighters, lawyers among others for

the movement and learning how to fight, should it become a necessity. These women are considered the backbone of Hezbollah activities, as the organization knows that without the support of the mothers, sisters and wives of the community, they can have no future in Lebanon. Children on the other hand, play no role in Hezbollah's activities.[125]

The Hawala System

Hezbollah has been well-funded by Iran and Syria as well as other groups and individuals for many years. The bulk of this support is known to come from Iran. While it is generally known where the money flows from, it is particularly interesting to see how the money is received. A form of Islamic economics is at play and exists in approximately forty-five Muslim countries as well as a number of other countries throughout the world, a banking system parallel to that of the secular banking system, where depositors expect a certain amount of interest on their investment.[126] This parallel system plays a central role in funding for Hezbollah. One of the main pipelines that serve to provide funds to Hezbollah is the Hawala system

A financial system that has gone through scrutiny since the events of September 11, 2001 is known as Hawala. Hawala is an alternative or parallel remittance system. It exists and operates outside of or parallel to 'traditional' banking or financial channels. It was developed in India before the introduction of Western banking practices and is currently a major remittance system used around the world.[127] In the U.S., it is known as the Informal Funds Banking System (IFTS). In the Islamic world, Hawala is known by different names but performs the same function. In the majority of Muslim countries, it is referred to as Hawala, in Arabic this

refers to "someone who transfers."[128] For example, in Bangladesh it is known as Hundi, Padala in the Philippines, in Thailand as Foe Kuan and in China as Fei Chien, Feiqian or "money that flies."[129]

The key element that the Hawala system depends on to work properly is that it must rely on trust. In terms of ease, it is much less expensive than using a bank or any financial institution. It works very simply and is akin to a Western Union service. For example, if an organization or an individual wanted to send funds to Hezbollah, they would provide the monies to a trusted person and ask them to deliver the funds to someone else. Its simplicity is what makes it so difficult to eliminate. In return, you or someone you know will do the same for another party and they will receive a commission or favor in return. As long as all parties have trust, the money will be delivered and no official exchange will be known of in the financial system. In these communities, it is very harmful if one were not to come through on a promise to provide a Hawala service. This system is also based on regional and familial relationships, making it very difficult and dishonorable if one were to fail on their promise, specifically if the funds are meant for Hezbollah.[130]

The primary reasons for using this type of service are: cost effectiveness, efficiency, reliability and other various understandings. First, cost effectiveness, where a number of factors come into play such as closer exchange rates and lower overhead among others. Second, the Hawala system is very efficient, it takes at most, one to two days and holidays, or weekends; any time distractions are limited. Third, reliability, when dealing with international transactions;

banks require extensive information and the money is sent from one bank to another until reaching its final destination which can sometimes lead to interruptions.

Another reason is a lack of bureaucracy. You are not required to have documentation, receipts or personal information of any kind. A lack of paperwork is an additional reason. No paperwork is required to send the money and this means it cannot be tracked to any one person very easily. Finally, tax evasion, while the Hawala system is not made for individuals to evade paying taxes to their respective governments, there are many simple and high tech methods involving Hawala that allow individuals to limit the amount of taxes that they do pay.[131]

This time honored tradition has received negative attention in the media because criminals have used this tool to transfer funds around the world by using individuals that do not know the real purposes behind their Hawala. On the other hand, this system has existed for hundreds of years and millions of people use it around the world for good and with positive results.[132] In the case of Hezbollah, Hawala entails an "Mhawel," pronounced m-howel, in one country and another Mhawel in another country. Through this system, money never moves out of the country. The Mhawel, located in country A simply places a phone call or faxes in the money transaction to a known Mhawel in country B. Party B provides the funds for the end result.[133] Iran provides Hezbollah funds through a number of methods. Money can be sent in a variety of forms including: invoice manipulation, trade diversion, illegal use of online gifts cards as well as a number of schemes concocted to send funds to Hezbollah.[134]

One main issue is that both Mhawels must have the financial resources in order to be able to provide the funds transfer to the proposed recipient. In Iran's case, the method of choice is

simply sending someone across the border with millions in cash. For example, on occasion, individuals are caught with large quantities of cash attempting to cross the border into Lebanon.

U.S Fundraising Efforts

Hezbollah's actions in the United States have been mostly restricted to fundraising. An example of this was shown in March 2005; Mahmoud Youssef Kourani, a Lebanese citizen living in a Detroit suburb was sentenced to 4 and a half years in prison for conspiracy to raise money for Hezbollah. Kourani admitted to having meetings at his home for donations to Hezbollah. According to the indictment unsealed by a federal grand jury in Michigan in January 2004, Kourani was a "member, fighter, recruiter and fund-raiser for Hezbollah."[135]

A second instance of Hezbollah activity in the United States was exposed when two Charlotte, North Carolina brothers, Mohammad and Chawki Hammoud, were apprehended providing material support to Hezbollah through a cigarette smuggling ring that deliberately aimed at funding terrorist organizations. The two brothers were part of a larger network in North America responsible for raising money and procuring dual-use technologies for Hezbollah. Items were purchased in both Canada and the United States, including goggles, naval equipment, global positioning systems, stun guns, nitrogen cutters and laser range finders.[136] In the United States, law enforcement agencies are investigating a number of criminal enterprises alleged to be funding Middle East terrorist groups including the stealing and reselling of baby formula, scams involving grocery coupons, food stamp fraud, welfare claims, credit cards and even unlicensed T-Shirts.[138]

A major sting operation conducted against Hezbollah in the U.S., code-named Operation Smokescreen took place beginning in 1995. The operation involved the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Sheriff's Office in Iredell County, North Carolina, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the United States Department of State's Diplomatic Security Service (DSS) and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (BATF). Operation Smokescreen ended the fundraising operation and resulted in the arrest of a number of members of the Hezbollah cell in the U.S.

The case brought against the North Carolina cell included "copyright violations, counterfeit violations, bank scams, identity theft, credit card fraud, tax evasion, and money laundering, among other charges filed."[137] Charges also included "material support to a terrorist organization. Federal courts estimated the cell collected a total of $8 million, funneled through some 500 various bank accounts leading to a large profit. With these funds, the Hezbollah cell were able to purchase and ship "surveying equipment, Global Positioning Systems, night vision goggles and scopes, metal detection equipment, aircraft analysis and design software, military compasses, video equipment, binoculars, naval equipment, ultrasonic dog repellers, laser range finders, zoom lenses, computer equipment (laptops, high-speed modems; processors, joysticks, plotters, scanners, and printers), digital cameras, stun guns, handheld radios and receivers, cellular telephones, mining, drilling and blasting equipment," and nitrogen cutters to Hezbollah operatives in Southwest Asia.

The cell's leader, Mohammad Hammoud was sentenced to 155 years in federal prison. Hammoud's older brother, Shawqi Youssef, was also charged and received a prison sentence of

70 years.[138]   Similar cases were later uncovered in Asheville, North Carolina, and Louisville, Kentucky.   The operation led to the creation of the North Carolina Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF).

In a separate but highly significant event, in September 2002, an Israeli military court indicted a Lieutenant Colonel in the Israeli army, part of a ten-member gang, of spying for Hezbollah. The officer, who purportedly lost part of his eyesight fighting Hezbollah guerillas, passed top secret information to Hezbollah operatives in return for cash, heroin and hashish.[139] Hezbollah is also alleged to have fundraising operations from the drug and diamond trades in various parts of the Middle East, South America and West Africa.

<u>Hezbollah Goals</u>

Independent communication has been a major goal for Hezbollah. It is important enough that Hezbollah controls its own parallel communication network from the Beirut International airport.   Since its initiation, Hezbollah has spent large sums pushing its world view through a number of outlets. The group's weekly newspaper, *Al-Ahed* (The Pledge), was launched on June 13, 1984, and was followed by the weeklies *Al Bilad*, *Al Wahda*, *El Ismailya*, and the monthly *Al Sabil*.[140] Hezbollah's radio station, *Al-Nour* (the Light), was founded during Hezballah's conflict with Amal, another Shiite group vying for support in 1988, when a group of young Hezbollah fighters spontaneously began broadcasting news of the clashes.

Hezballah's Internet presence first came into effect in 1996. The Central internet site (Hizbollah.org), is the group's official homepage, and is available in both English and Arabic.[139] Hezbollah also maintains three other major websites, all of which are in Arabic and English: http://www.nasrollah.net, the official homepage of the group's leader Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, http://www.moqawama.net, known as the "Islamic Resistance Support Association," and which describes the group's attacks on Israeli targets; and http://www.manartv.com.lb, an information site that is the homepage of al-Manar Television channel.[140] Live footage of Hezbollah's operations appeared through the Hezbollah television station, al-Manar, for the first time in 1986 with coverage of the invasion of the Israeli-occupied Sujud.[141] These stations have been able to transmit photos of dead and wounded Israeli soldiers deep within Israeli territory, creating ripple effects within Israeli society.

According to Hezbollah's deputy Secretary General Naim Qassem, the camera became an essential element in all resistance operations after the first operation was broadcast. The establishment of al-Manar followed shortly thereafter; its first broadcast was Ayatollah Khomeini's funeral in June 1989.[142] Hezbollah also receives and spends funds on humanitarian and construction causes in Lebanon. Hezbollah understands that it has been able to legitimize its organization through humanitarian assistance which will lead to more favorable political support.[143]

Hezbollah has also learned how to deal with large-scale relief efforts such as: construction equipment, building material and plenty of manpower. While waiting for international aid to arrive during the last conflict, Hezbollah was able to finish much of the work

needed beforehand.   For example, the television station al-Manar reported that hundreds of pre-fabricated houses were already being delivered around Tyre, Lebanon just after the war.[144] Moreover, single payments of up to $12,000 have been given to those who can show that their homes were destroyed during the conflict with new U.S. currency.[145]

In an effort to parlay Hezbollah's psychological operation well beyond television stations and health clinics, Hezbollah has recently built its first theme park in Lebanon. Visiting the "Tourist Landmark of Resistance," a tour guide will welcome you emphasizing the fact that Hezbollah is the sole defender of Lebanon against Israel.[146] Hezbollah also emphasizes that their involvement in Southern Lebanon is a defensive one. This park serves as part of Hezbollah's successful psy-ops machine against Israel and those that regard it as a terrorist group. Visitors are led past a large opening filled with Israeli helmets, shell casings and tanks.[147]   Other park features include panels with details of the Israeli military machine as well as a map showing places in Israel such as the Negev Nuclear Research Center near Dimona. Children can pretend to aim anti-aircraft guns or jump on overturned armored personnel carriers.[148]

Among other attractions at the park is a Hezbollah bunker used during the 2006 war, offering visitors a view into the life of Hezbollah fighters. Finally, there is a park called Martyrs Hill, featuring a garden decorated with guns and missiles. It is reported that MIT Professor, Noam Chomsky as well as other dignitaries attended the grand opening and up to three hundred-thousand people visited the theme park in the first ten weeks of its opening.[149]   This park site once served as an important base for Hezbollah fighters and serves as an important reminder of

Israel's force in the region. It is purported that Hezbollah has plans to expand the park's appeal by adding swimming areas, playgrounds, a number of hotels and camping facilities.[150]

While Hezbollah has learned that the youth are the future of the movement, they have not stopped at theme parks; Iran's patronage has provided them with funds to go even further. In order to popularize Hezbollah among the youth of the region, Hezbollah created a popular video game in 2003, known as "Special Force". Created similarly to a number of U.S. styled games such as "Delta Force" and "Counter Strike," where Arabs are often characterized as the "bad guys;" Hezbollah has produced this game with Israel portrayed as the enemy.[151] The original version's popularity sparked considerable attention and lead to a second version in 2007 based off of the 2006 war with Israel.

Hezbollah: The New Strategy

During the initial stages, Hezbollah began to take part in suicide bombings and the kidnapping of journalists, reporters and others. Hezbollah also planned and succeeded in the suicide attacks on the American Embassy in Beirut and a U.S. Marine barracks in 1983.[152] The weapons provided to Hezbollah to commit such attacks have historically gone through Syria. For example, on December 26, 2003, an earthquake leveled much of the city of Bam, in Southeastern Iran, killing thousands. Transport planes carrying necessary aid poured in from all

over, including Syria. According to intelligence reports from Israel, certain planes returned to Syria carrying weapons, including long-range Zelzal missiles.[153]

In part, Iran's influence has assisted Hezbollah to go from a small scale resistance organization to a well organized group with political power. For example, lacking Iranian assistance, Hezbollah would not have been able to carry out the attacks directed at Jewish targets in Buenos Aires, retaliatory attacks, argued to have been carried out at soft targets because Hezbollah was unable to strike directly at Israel at the time. In 1992, a suicide bomber attacked the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, killing 29 and injuring more than 200 civilians[154] In 1994, a truck bomb destroyed the Jewish community center killing 85 and injuring over 100 civilians. Argentine prosecutors later held Iran responsible for ordering the attack and Hezbollah for carrying it out.

Also, it is argued that an attack so far from Lebanon could not be carried out by Hezbollah alone. It would need the help of a state actor to obtain weapons and logistical information. Some have even gone so far as to say it was planned and carried out by Iran with the help of Hezbollah operatives. Syria and Iran also provide satellite communications and infantry weapons, including Semtex plastic explosives, modern Russian-made antitank weapons, and the training required to use them.[155] Russian-made antitank missiles have damaged or destroyed Israeli vehicles, including the Merkava, with a 20 percent success rate.[156] Hezbollah fighters routinely use tunnels to emerge from underground locations to fire shoulder-held antitank missiles. These fighters range from a regular army of 2,000 to 4,000, often aided by a

larger circle of irregulars who provide logistics and weapons storage in houses and civilian buildings.[157]

Hezbollah revolutionary forces maintain locations within civilian areas making it difficult to fight without Israel having to occupy or bomb civilian areas. On orders, fighters emerge to use launchers and fire missiles before returning to underground bunkers. The guerilla numbers are relatively small compared to the size of the Israeli Army. The Iranian Revolutionary Guard has assisted Hezbollah with special units for intelligence, antitank warfare, engineering, communications, explosives and rocket launching. The guard has also taught Hezbollah how to make "improvised explosive devices as well as how to aim rockets," and according to the Israelis, they were also taught how to fire the C-802 ground-to-ship missile.[158]

According to intelligence officers in Washington D.C, Iranian officers have made multiple trips to Lebanon to train Hezbollah fighters to aim and fire medium-range missiles, such as the Fajr-5.[159] Hezbollah has also obtained antitank weapons from Russia.[160] One of these weapons is the dual usage RPG-29, an antitank weapon and an anti-personnel round. This weapon is of high concern for Israel because it is dangerous for the Israeli made Merkava tank.

Despite the fact that large Arab armies have been defeated repeatedly, Hezbollah, with Iranian help has been able to eliminate the myth that the Israeli army is unbeatable. Hezbollah is much better equipped with sophisticated weaponry and its soldiers are well trained to fight a standing army. They have also been trained to be patient and attuned to gathering intelligence, learning guerrilla warfare yet remaining respectful of Israeli firepower and mobility.[161]

New Leadership

Hezbollah's success can be related to a number of factors coming from purely domestic politics while others from a longer-term strategic importance. Hezbollah has understood that it cannot rely on military victories alone.[162] To correct this, a major change occurred in 1992, when Sheik Hassan Nasrallah took the helm of the organization and turned it into a system with three regional commands, each with its own military autonomy. Hezbollah set up separate and autonomous units that live among civilians with local reserve forces.

To mix in with the local population, Hezbollah commanders travel in unmarked vehicles without bodyguards and wear no obvious markings to differentiate them from the locals. Hezbollah began its tactics by setting up roadside bombs detonated by cables, which the Israelis learned to defeat with wire-cutting attachments added to their vehicles. Hezbollah then upgraded and began later using radio detonators, then were pushed to use cell phone detonators, then a double system of cell phones, and then a photocell detonator much like that used to open garage doors. More recently, Hezbollah has begun using pressure detonators dug into roads causing havoc on Israeli vehicles. Hezbollah bunkers have gone from holes in the grounds to concrete storerooms with ladders, emergency openings, escape routes and sophisticated technology.[163]

Certain authors have pushed the idea that Hezbollah is little more than an extremist group with fundamentalist ideals. In agreement with this range of arguments, Podhoretz argues that there is no misunderstanding. The Islamofacists, referring to Hezbollah, are not just out to murder as many Americans as possible, they are also dedicated to the obliteration of the

freedoms and principles that America is based upon.[164]   When looked into on a less superficial level, Hezbollah argues that it does not want any foreign intervention in any part of Lebanon and it is willing to fight for this, politically and otherwise.

On the other end of the argument, Southern notes: "Before 1100, I have found only one mention of the name Mahomet in medieval literature outside Spain and Southern Italy. But from the year 1120 every one in the West had some picture of what Islam meant, and who Mahomet was. The picture was brilliantly clear, but it was not knowledge…. Its authors luxuriated in ignorance of triumphant imagination."[165]   This provides a basic example of the misunderstandings related to a better comprehension of Hezbollah and the ability to understand and negotiate with them.

<div align="center">Changing Alliances</div>

A previous article explaining the then upcoming parliamentary election in June regarding the main Armenian political party in Lebanon explains the new political realities in Lebanon perfectly. The vote of the 150,000-strong Armenian community was looking to sway the outcome of the bitter race between the pro-Western government and the opposition led by Hezbollah. All of the major parties are fighting for votes but some have already made up their minds. Out of the three Armenian parties, Tashnak enjoys the most support and it has already made its choice, joining the Hezbollah-led alliance.[166]

Voting for the opposition is also an unusual phenomenon for the Armenian community, which has traditionally voted for the government. Like all of Lebanon's confessional political system, the Armenian community has an assigned number of seats in parliament. For many years, these seven seats have always been won by the Tashnak Party. This changed in 2000 when a newly backed Prime Minister, Rafik Hariri redrew the electoral map of Beirut, dividing the Armenian neighborhoods and placing them in districts with Sunni Muslim majorities. The law change resulted in the Tashnak party losing seats to lesser-known Armenians who supported the Sunni Muslim prime minister.

Since Tashnak was campaigning under the opposition umbrella, winning seats for themselves would mean helping Hezbollah to win as well. Many of those in the Christian constituency argue that they have much in common with the Muslim Shiite movement. The ethnic Armenians living in Lebanon are also against oppression, they dealt with oppression during the fall of the Ottoman Empire when they were forced to leave. The Armenian community in Lebanon has been generally hesitant about the change in the political arena but understand that it needs to continue its role as a voting force in Lebanon. Hezbollah has been able to keep stability in their region and protects the Christian community as well; they remember this when voting. Were it not for Hezbollah, the Israeli's would have remained in Lebanon for far longer than they did.[167] The Christians in this community fully understand this fact.

The local constituents of Hezbollah disagree with the U.S. and the other states that have declared Hezbollah a terrorist organization. While the U.S. has generally declared Hezbollah a

terrorist organization along the line of al-Qaeda, many would argue that does not take into account, the schools, hospitals and other functions that Hezbollah provides for the poor of Lebanon that have been forgotten by the government in Beirut.

<u>Remarks</u>

Hezbollah was created as a result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Future Israeli bombardments, along with American boots in Lebanon, have caused Hezbollah to harden its grasp on a few towns in the south of Lebanon with a bunch of ragtag 20 something recruits. Currently, Hezbollah, along with the buildup of its military arsenal, has managed to develop into a relevant force with television, radio stations, newspapers, and a number of seats in the Lebanese parliament.

As a result of its defensive territorial acquisition, Hezbollah has become an influential non-state actor in the region and enjoys much more independent activity than in the past. Syria, which once had an important say in the activities of the organization, has been marginalized and the government is currently fighting for its life with violent crackdowns against a mix of what seems to be peaceful protesters and religious antagonists. Current events seem to show that Iran is now much more in control.[168]

CHAPTER IV: SYRIA

Introduction

For better or worse, stability in modern-day Syria began in the 1970s through an internal coup that brought the military to the forefront of power. Hafez al-Assad, an Air Force pilot by training, managed to uproot the historical political base in Syria and create an authoritarian regime based on two pillars. These two pillars consisted of party strength and above all, military strength. By placing a number of his associates in power positions, he began to change the face of a historically Sunni Muslim dominated power structure in Syria. Further complicating the issue was Syria's ethnic makeup.

Kasmieh argues that Syria's Socio-religious cultural fragmentation made it quite challenging. Syria is made up of religious and ethnic communities ranging from the Ismailis to Alawi sects, Sunnis, Greek Orthodox Christians, Druze and a small Jewish population.[169] In order for Assad to maintain control, he used his pan Arab, nationalist platform to unite the minorities in backing his power base. In terms of ethnicities, Arabs make up only a portion of Syrian population, Carcassians, Assyrians, Kurds, Armenians, Turkoman, and a sizeable Palestinian-Arab population are all part of the Syrian makeup.[170] This made it all the more difficult for the Assad regime to maintain control without stirring the fires of division within the country.

Hafez al Assad was able to unite the country under his firm grip and in terms of unification of government, create a Syrian renaissance that would last numerous American

presidents and many wars with the State of Israel. For example, the 1973 Egyptian-Syrian offensive came as a shock to the Israelis because cohesion of the Syrian government apparatus had obviously changed. Chomsky states that Syria's newfound cohesion was proven in the 1973 offensive against Israel. Government and military apparatuses were acting in unison without the usual disagreements that had besieged the Syrian government for so many years.[171] The most serious threat to the stability of the then Syrian government was not Israel, but the Muslim brotherhood.

The most serious threat to the Baath or renaissance party came from religious fundamentalism. The Muslim Brotherhood was a threat to the governments of virtually all Arab states and was a direct threat to the Syrian government as it had a major stronghold in the town of Hama. The brotherhood committed militant attacks against the government in urban populated centers throughout Syria. Interestingly, the movement failed to take root outside urban areas and among the majority of Sunni Muslims. While the government had acted with force in retaliation for attacks in the past, the turning point came in 1982. Following an attack in the city of Hama where a number of Alawite cadets were killed, the army used brute force to quell the movement.

After a night of fighting, regular army units were sent into Hama with a demand of general surrender for the entire city. Those who did not surrender were killed. The military units were ordered to follow a "scorched earth" policy where everything that could be useful to the enemy was destroyed.[172] Subsequently, thousands of civilians were killed with estimates ranging from 10,000 to 40,000. Until the recent protests of the Arab Spring, anti government

religious movements in Syria have been few and far between. It is almost impossible to mention Syria without mentioning Lebanon. Although Syria and parts of Lebanon have never accepted the disintegration of greater Syria, Hafez al-Assad wanted to create a weak and compliant Lebanon dependent on Syria for a number of its political, economic and military needs.

Israel's military and political strategy on the other hand, was to attempt to insulate Lebanon from the Arab-Israeli conflict through a separate peace treaty with the Gemayel government as had been done with Egypt many years ago under the leadership of Sadat. The Lebanese civil war necessitated Syrian involvement in Lebanon and intervention amongst the PLO factions as well as buffering Israeli interests. Concurrently, American forces were stationed in Lebanon in a bid to counter Syrian efforts in the country. For better or for worse, U.S. political will to remain in Lebanon was not strong enough after two bombings against American targets killed scores of American soldiers. These events led to the Taif Accord which created stability in Lebanon, a cold temporary peace with Israel, and stopped the radicalization of Lebanon by Palestinian fighters.

During this time, President Assad's son Basel was being groomed to take power. However, he was killed in a car accident in 1994, forcing President Hafez al-Assad to recall his younger son Bashar, an ophthalmologist living in the United Kingdom. Bashar was trained in the military and diplomatic core and within six short years, given the rank of colonel. Bashar was introduced to the ruling elite and connected to his father's backers. Bashar had taken on many public roles as well as including a corruption campaign, among others.[173] Upon his father's death in 2000, Bashar had not yet been given the necessary post to assume leadership

and was not old enough to take power. Despite these blocks, laws were changed and within a mere forty-eight hours, he ascended to the presidency.

As the mourning period for his father came to an end, Bashar was elected president of the Syrian Arab Republic with a vast majority of the vote, 97.29 percent.[174] Bashar would now have to focus on the foreign policy left to him by his father, learning from the direct military confrontations of 1948, 1967, 1973, and 1982 between Syria and Israel. His father had the convenience of gravitating toward the Soviet Union for backing; now though, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was no more and he would have to gravitate more towards regional actors for support and to balance his strategic parity with Israel.

Because of this, many Syrians feel that they are in geographic competition with Israel for Syria Proper and this would be a major component of Bashar's leadership.[175] Leverrit has said that by solidifying Syria's role in the region after Hafez al-Assad's death, Bashar al-Assad took control of the power structure and has managed to create a very delicate impetus for change. While juggling the issues of Lebanon, the Arab-Israeli conflict, relations with Washington, D.C, and the regional balance, he has managed to continue the slow process of change without upsetting the old guard.[176] Specifically, Bashar al-Assad's foreign policy has differed somewhat from that of his father, further allowing Syria to change with the necessity of an ever-changing political atmosphere.[177] Long also states that Syria sees itself as the heart of the Arab world and that by following the 2000 political succession from Hafiz al-Assad to President Bashar, Syrian foreign policy continues to focus on the stand-off with Israel.

In the mean time, Syria has warmed relations with many of its neighbors to shore up support in case of any future dealings with its Israeli neighbor.[178] In 2004, problems again began to erupt for the new Syrian President after the extension of the new Lebanese President, Emile Lahood. A galvanization of ant-Syrian forces began to be heard in Lebanon with calls for Syria to withdraw militarily to the Bekaa valley. Although Assad tried to improve his relations by withdrawing troops from central Lebanon, a turn for the worst took place with the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister, Rafik al-Hariri in Beirut. Despite attempts, Syria was unable to bring about support to stay in Lebanon.[179]

 Notwithstanding widespread thinking that the new Assad would be able to get through this impasse, the last Syrian troops exited from Lebanon in April of 2005, almost 30 years since they were first requested to enter. In retrospect, even with the troop withdrawal, it is not concluded that Syria is out of the picture in Lebanon, as many Lebanese still support Syria, including the larger Shiite community and well as those in the Sunni and Christian communities.

Syrian Foreign Policy

The United States State Department lists Hezbollah as a major sponsor of terrorism. The Montoneros in Argentina, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the recently defeated Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka are all groups which have attracted thousands of followers, despite their having been responsible for many well-publicized militant operations.[180] Syria views such groups and Hezbollah as a means of foreign policy. This explains the Israeli view that Syria's relationship to non-state actors, primarily Hezbollah, is a primary threat due to the location of Hezbollah forces in Lebanon.

Despite Iran's initial activities backing Iran, Syria also played a very important role in the expansion of Hezbollah in Lebanon. Without Syria being available as a passageway, it would have been improbable that Hezbollah could be turned into an autonomous political, social and military force within Lebanon. As mentioned previously, an Iranian military force was sent into Lebanon via Syria after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. [181] While the Iranians participated in the training of Hezbollah, Hezbollah's leadership managed to disseminate its ideas within the Lebanese Shiite community. In turn, the Iranians benefited from their new strategic alliance with Syria in Lebanon. While these factors point out the importance of Syria's role in allowing Iranian influence within Lebanon, it is this author's opinion that the Israeli invasion of 1982 not only created the impetus for but also served as a deciding factor the creation of Hezbollah.

Syria uses Hezbollah as a deterrent not only against Israeli invasion but also as a balance between those anti-Syrian Forces within Lebanon. Syria's involvement with Hezbollah has been a counter to Israel in the region. The Hezbollah card allows Syria some discretion in deterring a full scale Israeli invasion as well. Syria's support for Hezbollah, other than ideological, has been through the build-up of arms in the region and pushing for a closer weapons balance.[182] In terms of ideology, when the United States created its military buildup for an attack on Iraq, Syria rejected the United States condemnation of terrorism without distinguishing between Liberation movements and al-Qaeda.[183] Assad has hoped that his defiance of Washington, D.C would strengthen him at home and once a new administration came in, the United States would soften its policy towards Syria.[184] This turned out to be true under the Obama administration but the Arab spring would bring problems of its own.

It is said that politics makes strange bedfellows. The Syrian-Iranian relationship is a peculiar relation at best. Despite Syria's secularist views and Iran's religious theocracy, the two have managed to maintain relations in a very positive manner. Beginning with Syria's support of Iran in the Iran-Iraq war, Syria began supporting Iran against neighboring Arab states. Since that time, Syria's relationship with Iran has solidified and is considered one of the most solid in the region not only politically, but economically as well. During the 1980s, as the jointly backed Hezbollah organization began taking shape, both Syria and Iran found themselves even more connected in their foreign policy goals. Hezbollah is viewed to be the crux of that relationship. Furthermore, Iran and Syria have signed a mutual defense agreement agreeing to defend each other in case of an attack by Israel or the United States.[185]

While Hezbollah defers to Syrian influence in Lebanon, their interests do not always overlap. Hezbollah has and will continue to take Syria's interests into consideration, although it only does so unless it jeopardizes its political support in Lebanon.[186] This in itself implies limits on Syria's influence. Hezbollah leaders also understand that Syria's use for Hezbollah is very utilitarian and they are both aware that alliances of this nature may eventually become inconvenient for one party or the other.

Syria has carefully considered its options and has learned from the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli conflict and has adapted its military strategy accordingly. Syria has also long used Hezbollah as a form of asymmetric warfare against Israel. As discussed earlier, Lebanon became a center of proxy war against Israel and the end result of this was the creation of Hezbollah.[187] As Israel was forced to withdraw from Lebanon in 2000 due to pressure from Hezbollah, Syria

was also forced to withdraw from Lebanon in 2005 as a result of its perceived involvement in the assassination of the former Prime Minister Rafik al Hariri. Neither of the withdrawals, though, put an end to competition for power in Lebanon. As mentioned earlier, during the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war, Israel pounded Lebanese sites, attempting to force the population to pressure the Lebanese government to restrain Hezbollah forces. Hezbollah was able to withstand Israeli forces and continued to fight back.[188]

As Syria and Israel have competed for outside support, Israel has long received the support of the United States. This support has included massive amounts of financial aid and military support. On the Syrian side, Syria has received support from Iran. It can be argued that by understanding the relationship between the United States and Israel, Syria understood that it would never be able to receive the same type of support from Iran due to the strength of the relationship as well as the technological limitations in comparison to the United States. Therefore, Syria needs to augment its ability and create its own support network with the creation of Hezbollah. While the Soviet Union existed, Syria was able to replenish its weapons in a relatively short period of time. After the fall of its Russian predecessor, the situation changed completely.[189]

The Next Hezbollah-Israeli Conflict?

Syria has also continued to exploit Israeli fears with the asymmetric threat posed by Hezbollah in Southern Lebanon and against Israeli sites throughout the world. During the 2006

Hezbollah-Israeli war, Hezbollah proved that it could withstand a heavy bombardment from Israeli forces and Syria proved that it could conduct a war by proxy without invoking a heavy-handed response from Israeli forces onto its territory.[190] The chance of another war between Israel and Hezbollah is unknown but highly likely. Israel is unlikely to allow Hezbollah to continue building up its arsenal without some type of targeted strike or massive invasion. It cannot allow an enemy to grow so close to its northern border, especially since Egypt can no longer be guaranteed to cover the Southern flank of Israel, and Jordan has to walk a thin line with its citizenry engaging in massive protests on a semi-regular basis. Israel has realized that it must also be better equipped to fight and execute wars in an asymmetrical context.

It is also well known that any future war will include a list of the newest weaponry Hezbollah will have been resupplied with from Iran, coming in through Syria. Syria has not only assisted Hezbollah in re-arming with more sophisticated weaponry, it has also assisted in incorporating techniques learned from the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war. A senior Hezbollah official was quoted in *Defense News* regarding Hezbollah's new activities, saying "we have subjected our guerillas to training and acquired needed weapons systems and developed new tactics to fight a more determined Israeli enemy… We also have as good tactical missiles as we did last time… with some additional surprises."[191]

There have also been reports that Iran has transferred a number of missiles to Syrian territory in case of an Israeli attack. These missiles in turn could be transferred to Hezbollah and used to strike virtually anywhere within Israeli territory. Weapons such as the medium range Shahab 3, the Russian made Scud C as well as the Scud B missiles. Theses scud missiles bring

to light a very important issue. If Hezbollah has been armed with them, it can seriously change the balance between Hezbollah and Israel.

Weapons

Scud missiles were originally created by the Soviet Union based off of the German V2 rocket design manufactured by the Nazis during the remaining days of Nazi Germany. The Soviets were able to simplify the engines of the missiles, making the missile much more efficient for battle. In the mid 1980s Iran acquired a number of Scud missiles from North Korea. Similar missiles had been acquired by North Korea from Egypt in the early 1980s.   The Koreans had learned to manufacture their own versions of the Scud missiles, known as the Hwasong-5 and Hwasong-6 and were exporting them to Iran and Syria. In Iran, these missiles are known as the Shahab-1, the Shahab-2 and the Shahab-3.[192] Currently, both Iran and Syria are believed to be manufacturing their own versions of Scud missiles. Although their accuracy is questionable, they can cause damage and produce large amounts of fear among troops and civilians. The range is roughly 500 kilometers at best and the accuracy is very limited.

As mentioned earlier, it has been reported that Syria has passed Scud missiles to Hezbollah operatives in Lebanon. These reports, if true, can truly tilt the balance in the region. On December 5, 1989, Iraq launched a 25 meter-long rocket with the intention of being able to put a satellite into space. This "Scud" missile was actually five Iraqi-version Scuds bundled together.[193]   The vehicle had a SCUD-based liquid propulsion system consisting of four or five

bundled and modified SCUD missiles.   The second stage also consisted of a SCUD missile, while the third stage had an SA-2 motor.

Only the first stage was able to function, and it is possible that the second and third stages were not operational and this launce was merely an initial test. The system was called al-Abid, and was meant as a test to see if this type of missile launch would be successful in putting satellites into orbit. These satellites could be used for reconnaissance as well as communication and control in low orbit.

The mere implication for Hezbollah with this type of missile technology in its hands shows how far Syria is willing to go to support Hezbollah and counter Israeli hegemony in the region. Israel's main concern regarding the missiles transferred by Syria to Hezbollah focuses on the M600 missile. This missile, a clone of Iran's Fateh-110, is manufactured in Syria, extremely accurate and has a range of 250 kilometers and can carry a 500-kilogram warhead.[194] If the reports are true that Hezbollah has indeed received Scud missiles and if these missiles are placed in Southern Lebanon, they would be able to strike any city within Israel, drastically changing the balance in the region and creating a high level of risk for Israel when and how it chooses to deal with Hezbollah.

Syrian Regime and 2011 Protests

The protest movement begun by Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia, on December 17, 2010 created a wave of protests throughout the Arab world, ending first with the departure of Zein al-Din Ben Ali, the former dictator of Tunisia. The second stop of this protest movement came to

Egypt and lasted less than one month. This movement was successful in bringing down the long held reign of Egypt's dictator Mohammad Gamal Mubarak. As the movement spread to practically all parts of the Arab world, it slowly came to Syria after repeated calls from the Syrian government that it was immune to protest movements sweeping the region for a number of reasons, one of which is the anti-Zionist and or anti-Israel foreign policy it holds. The regime has a history of promoting itself as the bulwark against Israeli hegemony in the region. At first, these speeches seemed to work but slowly the protests in Syria began to take shape.

While the protests were modest in the beginning, January 26 proved to be a turning point. Hasan Ali Akleh, an Arab from the Syrian town of Al-Hasakah, committed the act of self-immolation, just as had been done in Tunisia to protest the actions of the Syrian regime. Merely 48 hours later, demonstrations began to spread to other Syrian towns including AlRaggah.[195] Initially, wider calls for protests on social media sites, such as Facebook attracted wide attention by Arabs from outside of Syria though internally, there was little activity. On February 5, a few hundred demonstrators in al-Hasakah, participated in calling for the removal of the regime. This protest was quickly subdued with dozens of protesters being arrested.[196] By mid March, the protest became more frequent with multiple demonstrations taking place across multiple Syrian cities. The protests grew from hundreds to thousands in, Deir ez-Zor, Daraa, al-Hasakah, and Hama, the site of the 1982 Hama massacre where Syrian journalist Subhi Hadidi has written that soldiers killed "30,000 or 40,000 of the city's citizens and expelled 100,000 and in addition, 15,000 missing whose bodies were never found."[197]

After online calls for a Friday protest, thousands of protesters demanding an end to government corruption began protesting in cities across Syria. The protesters were quickly met with a violent crackdown by state security forces, known as the Mukhabarat. Many were beaten while others were arrested and sent to jails. The city of Daraa in Southern Syria, near the Jordanian border, became the focal point of protests.

Many government and Assad family-related buildings were torched including the Ba'ath party headquarters in Daraa, the courthouse, and Syriatel headquarters owned by Rami Makhloof, the infamous cousin of Bashar al-Assad. Within 24 hours, protests began in Banyas, Jassem, Homs and Hama.[198]   The government began to cut off phone services and began holding journalists in the country, as well as limiting access to cities by setting up checkpoints in the streets.   By March 25, tens of thousands of protesters were taking to the streets around the country, including some in Aleppo and Damascus, Syria's second and largest cities, respectively. Troops began opening fire on unarmed protestors according to many news reports.   Over 100,000 protesters in Daraa drew a fierce reaction from the government.[199]

Reports suggest that over 20 protesters were killed initially.[200] There were reports that at least 20 people were killed in protests in Daraa, which drew over 100,000 people. Acts of violence against the regime began to occur such as the knocking down of a Hafez al-Assad statue and a governor's home was set on fire.[201]   Many of the protests began to show up on YouTube because the government began limiting foreign journalists and blocking internet sites.

March 26 was the first day that the government showed that it was willing to make some concessions regarding protestor demands. The regime released information that the emergency

laws set into place over 30 years before would be lifted, 200 political prisoners would be

released and the entire government resigned.[202]   Just three days later, hundreds of thousands

demonstrated in support of President al-Assad in, Aleppo, Damascus, al-Hasaka, Homs Hama

and Tartous.[203]   Within 24 hours al-Assad continued to note a repeat of previous foreign

dictators, that foreign conspirators were at fault for the uprising and that they were attempting to

drive a wedge amongst Syria's society, and therefore, the emergency put into place by his father,

Hafez-al Assad, would not be lifted as previously confirmed and that it would be reviewed for

further study.[204]

On April 1, thousands of Syrians citizens joined protesters in multiple cities around Syria.

Security forces again opened fire killing dozens.[205] Further south, in a small city outside Daraa, a

demonstrator was killed during a protest. As the protests began to grow, international journalists

began to pay more attention and started reporting more frequently on the protests. The regime in

Syria began banning all foreign media and closed its borders. In what can be signs of desperation

or attempts to hold off further protests, the Syrian government dropped a law barring teachers

with niqabs from teaching students, granted citizenship to many of the country's Kurdish

minority, and closed a recently opened casino that was shut down many years before.[206]

On April 19, al-Assad signed the decrees for ending the state of emergency, abolishing

the Supreme State Security Court (SSSC), as well as permitting the right to peaceful

demonstrations; however, permits from the government were necessary. Despite these actions,

the protests continued to grow, and by April 22, larger scale protests took place in the capital,

Damascus and many cities throughout Syria.[207]   Finally, on April 25, the Syrian regime

deployed tanks and soldiers to the Southern city of Daraa and also cut off all forms of communication and water. At this point, a full scale siege was taking place in Daraa to stop the protesters. Reports from sources aired and said that troops from various regiments were not taking part in the siege and refusing orders.[208] Those same soldiers were being fired upon by loyalist forces commanded by the president's brother, Maher al-Assad.[209] This was a sign of things to come.

<div align="center">Remarks</div>

Approximately two months into the peaceful protests, over 1,000 protesters had been killed and thousands wounded. Many thousands had also been detained and held in infamous Syrian jails. While Hezbollah continues to remain silent, the word on the street is that the protesters will not be able to bring down the government by force, but that the economy was in dire straits. Tourism, accounting to 18 percent of the economy has come to a standstill. A $900 million project to build power plants, one among many, has been scrapped.[210] The economy has been affected to such an extent that the government is reverting to pay subsidies on certain goods hoping to placate the populace. The government does not have the billions of dollars needed to buy out the citizenry as has been done by Saudi Arabia and others. Therefore, they are offering subsidies they can ill afford. This has more potential of bringing down the government than the protests themselves. As investors continue to get out of the Syrian market, analysts are predicting a financial meltdown within 6 months time, meaning Assad's time could be running

out. In turn, if Hezbollah loses one of its primary patrons, it could have massive repercussions on the region as a whole.

CHAPTER V: FORCE IN A NEW MILIEU

Introduction

This thesis has argued that Israel has been the major force behind the increase of Hezbollah power over the past three decades. While Syria and Iran have been strong contributors of Hezbollah's rise in Lebanon, the previous chapters have provided an overview of how Hezbollah was able to establish itself and advance into a social and political organization as well as a powerful military influence in Southwest Asia. Hezbollah has also been able to solidify itself not only within Lebanon, but also with the Islamic republic of Iran and the Syrian Arab republic, two very different countries aligning themselves in the region based on real and perceived threats. Lacking Israeli military actions in Lebanon during the early 1980s, Hezbollah may have found great difficulty establishing itself.

Internationally, Hezbollah is identified as a terrorist organization, grown out of the Middle East and based on alleged Islamic tenants and homegrown militancy in Lebanon. At times researchers have ignored the real causes leading to the creation and growth of Hezbollah in the region and on the international stage. This final chapter will place Israeli military incursions as the primary cause for the growth of Hezbollah power and argue that without Israel's use of excessive force during incursions into Lebanon, it is quite possible that Hezbollah may have never been established and would not have grown into the current threat that exists today.

The evident application of this study is how to better understand not just the reasons for the growth of Hezbollah power but also, the continued ability of Hezbollah to morph and remain

viable despite the withdrawal of Israel from Southern Lebanon. Israeli military incursions in the region have been able to create a situation where Hezbollah has become active, not only as a resistance movement but also as a social, political, and economic force in the region. This comes mainly from its ability to follow or gauge Arab public opinion. The literature has been expanded by showing Israel's role in the growth of Hezbollah power of the last thirty years.

Backlash

As discussed in chapter one, two parties in conflict such as Israel and Hezbollah, may lead to one party, Israel in this case, attempting to quickly and easily win a battle using overwhelming military force.   One party will assume that the opposition will submit and the conflict will come to an end.   Unfortunately, as time as shown, the use of disproportionate force in Southwest Asia and throughout the world can cause reactive movements that become more of a problem than the initial issue. It is a natural human reaction not to want to do certain things against your will.   In the case of Israeli incursions into Lebanon, the local Shiite Muslim population was pushed enough that they decided to take matters into their own hands. Israel's use of force led to the creation of Hezbollah as a fighting force and the attempt to limit Israeli actions in the region based on the needs of the local population. As Israel did not consider the long-term consequences of its disproportionate use of force, it was unable to foresee the response of the Muslim Shiites in the south of Lebanon and possible negative long term affects against Israel itself. Israel has shown that some military operations can be counterproductive.

Initially, the Shiites of Southern Lebanon submitted to Israel's use of force, believing that they would be free from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; however, as time went on, they became resentful and began working to build up their own powerbase so that they could resist the Israeli military. The excessive uses of force provided an added impetus for the people of Southern Lebanon to band together and create a fighting force. For example, had Israel not entered and occupied South Lebanon, the catalyst would not have been created and Iran may not have seen an opportunity to create Hezbollah in Lebanon as a method to counter Israel. While there may still have been resentment towards Israel, it would not have been deep enough to take action. In Israel's case, the military force was so harsh, it created an intense backlash.

This resentment towards Israel's repeated incursions into Lebanon served to further embolden and escalate Hezbollah's behavior and pushed them to diversify their range of services, resulting in the ability of Hezbollah to also provide healthcare, loans, schooling and social assistance. Case in point, Hezbollah was at the forefront of rebuilding Lebanese schools, hospitals and community centers immediately after the 2006 incursion into Lebanon. Through multiple military incursions by Israel, Hezbollah adapted to being able to provide relief operations for its own community as well as for others in Lebanon. Hezbollah spent millions of dollars every month delivering medicines, organizing recreational activities for displaced children and adults, providing temporary shelters and even hot meals. Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah pledged assistance to anyone whose home or business was destroyed. In fact, Hezbollah has become so adept that within 24 hours of the 2006 cease-fire, a Lebanese television station reported that Hezbollah had hotlines ready to assist refugees based on their location of

residence and that teams were being sent out to assess the damage and assist in reconstruction planning.

Difficulties also arise because Hezbollah lacks the means to win a decisive battle against the Israeli military. While Hezbollah may do what is required to defend against past Israeli incursions, they will continue to look for a long-term solution against Israel which creates a dangerous precedent. Hezbollah is continually looking to acquire more sophisticated weaponry. While it is still decades away from being on par with Israeli technology, Hezbollah is inching closer and closer.

Despite the fact that the 22-year Israeli occupation of Lebanon has come to an end, the Southern Lebanese have felt like victims of aggression and based on these feelings, Hezbollah will continue to build up its power structure. As stated in chapter one, Israeli incursions have lead to a costly and escalating arms race where both Israel, via support from the United States, and Hezbollah, via support from Iran and Syria, have devoted an even greater share of their assets towards increasing weapons stockpiles. This accumulation of weapons confirms that on the Israeli side, they will attempt to deter Hezbollah from firing missiles onto Israeli territory, and on Hezbollah's side, they have the power to defend themselves from Israeli firepower. Regardless of the reasoning, the end result is the continuing escalation of violence rather than finding a solution to the problem.

Furthermore, Israel's disproportionate use of force was widely deemed illegitimate. Force should only be used as a last resort and Israel's justifications for overwhelming use of force has not been made to convince many in the region as well as many throughout the

international community.   In addition, military force used against civilian targets is deemed unacceptable. These factors allow Hezbollah leeway in terms of their military operations within Lebanon. While they may be firing from civilian areas, Israel used disproportionate force in retaliating towards fire from within those areas.

Had Israel not chosen to use the strategy of military incursions, they would have been able to limit the amount of destruction in South Lebanon. For example, Israel could have attempted to use diplomatic means to achieve its goals, especially with the backing of the United States Government.   Additionally, the legitimization of the use of force also requires justification. While Israel has attempted to justify its actions, its justifications have not been sufficient for the level of military force used within Lebanon, leading to massive resentment, which has resulted in the continued backing of Hezbollah and organizations like it.

Strategic Mistakes

In Chapter Two, Lebanon and the 1982, 1996 and 2006 Israeli incursions were discussed. The Israeli mentality is discussed showing that issues are seen as a zero-sum game where there is an "us versus them" mentality. This mentality leaves little room for negotiations. . A lack of trust throughout the world causes Israeli military strategists to plan for the worst and the related actions; the initial invasion of Lebanon in 1982 among others, led to disregard for possible reactions resulting from the Shiite Muslim population. This reasoning, as discussed earlier, also justifies Israeli military actions as being defensive rather than offensive in nature. Hezbollah's guerrilla warfare strategy has made it very difficult for Israel to respond without heavy collateral

damage. Hezbollah has also been successful in obtaining support from a number of religious and ethnic groups within Lebanon. Israel also failed to assess Hezbollah's strength resulting in inappropriate strategies for multiple incursions. Israel formal military strategy against an asymmetric opponent has repeatedly been a failure.

First in 1982, Israel generated the conditions necessary for the birth of Hezbollah. Starting with the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the dislodging of the PLO, the creation of Hezbollah was discussed along with an explanation of the history of Hezbollah and its connection to Israeli military incursions in Lebanon. These incursions were accomplished by entering Palestinian-held areas with disregard for the Shiite minority. The initial goodwill created at the riddance of Palestinian fighters in Shiite neighborhoods quickly turned into resentment against Israeli activity in the region. The increased resentment by the local Shiite population eventually turned into action, leading to the creation of a militant group in Israel's backyard.

Between 1982 and 1996, Hezbollah was able to expand itself from merely a small fighting force to a strong political entity in Lebanon. Israel's military attempt to punish the Lebanese population failed. Instead, Hezbollah was supported by a large swath of the Lebanese society and they were able to gain a large amount of political power in the process. Once again, this "make or break" Israeli mentality failed Israel in the short and long run in dealing with Hezbollah.

Finally, the 2006 war between Hezbollah and Israel solidified Hezbollah as a stable actor in the region. Both Iran and Syria have become more willing to back Hezbollah with

sophisticated weaponry, as well as political and economic support. Hezbollah has also proven that it can defend and sustain itself within the region, it has also been able to prove its usefulness to a secular Arab dictatorship as well as to a religious Iranian democracy. Hezbollah has been so successful that it is purported to have been given scud missiles, a definite game changer in the region and one that can put both Syria and Iran in the sights of Israel's military hawks.[211]

In Chapter Three, Iranian ideology was discussed along with the Hawala system for transferring money and its importance in funding Hezbollah. Iran has long wanted to export its revolution throughout the Arab world, but has been hard-pressed to find an opening throughout the years. After the Israeli invasion in 1982, Iran saw that it could exploit a weak spot amongst the Arab Shiite Muslims living in Southern Lebanon. This opportunity began with a small number of Pasdaran troops training local Lebanese and has since taken a life of its own. Historically, Israel has not had to deal with this phenomenon of militant groups being able to withstand its military assaults. Palestinian factions were never able to maintain their positions since Arab countries were sympathetic to their cause, but limited in their support. Once these limits were crossed, such as occurred in Jordan and Lebanon, the Palestinians had to trade in their weapons and once again become displaced in other locations.[212] In Hezbollah's case, the fighters are part and parcel of the resistance movement in the area. Because of this, Iran has been able to parley its own interests and use the situation in Lebanon to its benefit while benefiting the Lebanese as well.

In Chapter Four, the historical context of Syria and its relations with both Lebanon and Iran are discussed. This partnership leads to Syrian involvement with Hezbollah and how this

militant organization is used to counter Israeli policy in Lebanon and throughout the region. Importantly, in light of the current protests sweeping the region, the Syrian government does not have the funds needed to placate its citizenry as has been done by Saudi Arabia and the GCC regimes to deal with their own internal uprisings. The Syrian protesters, therefore, have more of a possibility to bring down the government due to financial difficulties rather than through peaceful protests. As major investors continue to watch the economic situation in Syria, the longer the protests last, the worse off the government is in terms of keeping the regime together. Assad's time may be running out.

All the while, Hezbollah is quiet as it watches one of its two primary patrons fight for its survival. Without their support, Hezbollah could become isolated and lose its primary backers. Israel on the other hand, is studying the situation to see whether the devil they know will continue to be better than the one that may come about should the regime fall.

Time to Rethink Israeli Strategy

The Hezbollah-Israel conflict will last for many decades to come unless a breakthrough is agreed upon between both Hezbollah and Israel. However, the situation does not mean that both sides are destined for continuous battles. While the U.S. is attempting to drive a wedge between Iran and Syria, the strategy has had limited results. Both nations are being approached with a Western "carrot and stick" philosophy that takes limited consideration for long-term goals. The United States must take a look at its current "divide and conquer" philosophy and replace it with

one that is more in tune with the intricacies of the region. Israel understands that in the short term, it has the upper hand and can bide it's time with Hezbollah continuing its current strategy of using overwhelming force despite international opinion. Israel also knows that demographics are quickly changing and that success in future conflicts will be more difficult to achieve. Hezbollah, on the other hand, understand that it must only survive to find success. As long as Hezbollah can maintain its armaments, and maintain its viability in Lebanese politics, it will continue to be a force in the region.

Final Remarks

Israel's scientific, financial and technological abilities can contribute to the development of Southwest Asia and North Africa, the Arab Levant and Mashriq. This is conditioned upon ending the occupation, guaranteeing security for Israel and Israel's recognition in the region. Currently, these issues are in Israel's favor and some Arab governments are willing to accept these conditions while others have to contend with new realities relating to the Arab Spring. With closed borders and virtually no integration, Israel will continue to be viewed as a pariah state with a limited, vested interest in the region. The current socioeconomic order, increased religious fundamentalism on both sides and the accumulation of arms will certainly create an ever-increasing gap between Jews in Israel and backers of Hezbollah and many anti-Israel groups in the region. Israel cannot afford to live in the region with the façade of stability while neglecting its neighbors and the needs and expectations of the surrounding Arab populations.

The creation and impact of Hezbollah has been felt most radically by Israel and by the countries surrounding it. Hezbollah's network of backers has been established over decades in South Lebanon and because of this, it is the center of resistance against Israeli aspirations in the region. As a result, the effects of Hezbollah have largely been limited to Southwest Asia, with limited occurrences outside of the region. More importantly, no simple answer exists as to how Hezbollah can be stopped without addressing the core causes of why this organization was originally formed and how its power has increased over the last three decades. International organizations must play a more constructive role, along with the United States, rather than trying to create further divisions amongst the players in the region, especially amongst Syria and Iran as they understand that their long-term interests do not necessarily align with those of the U.S. and Israel.

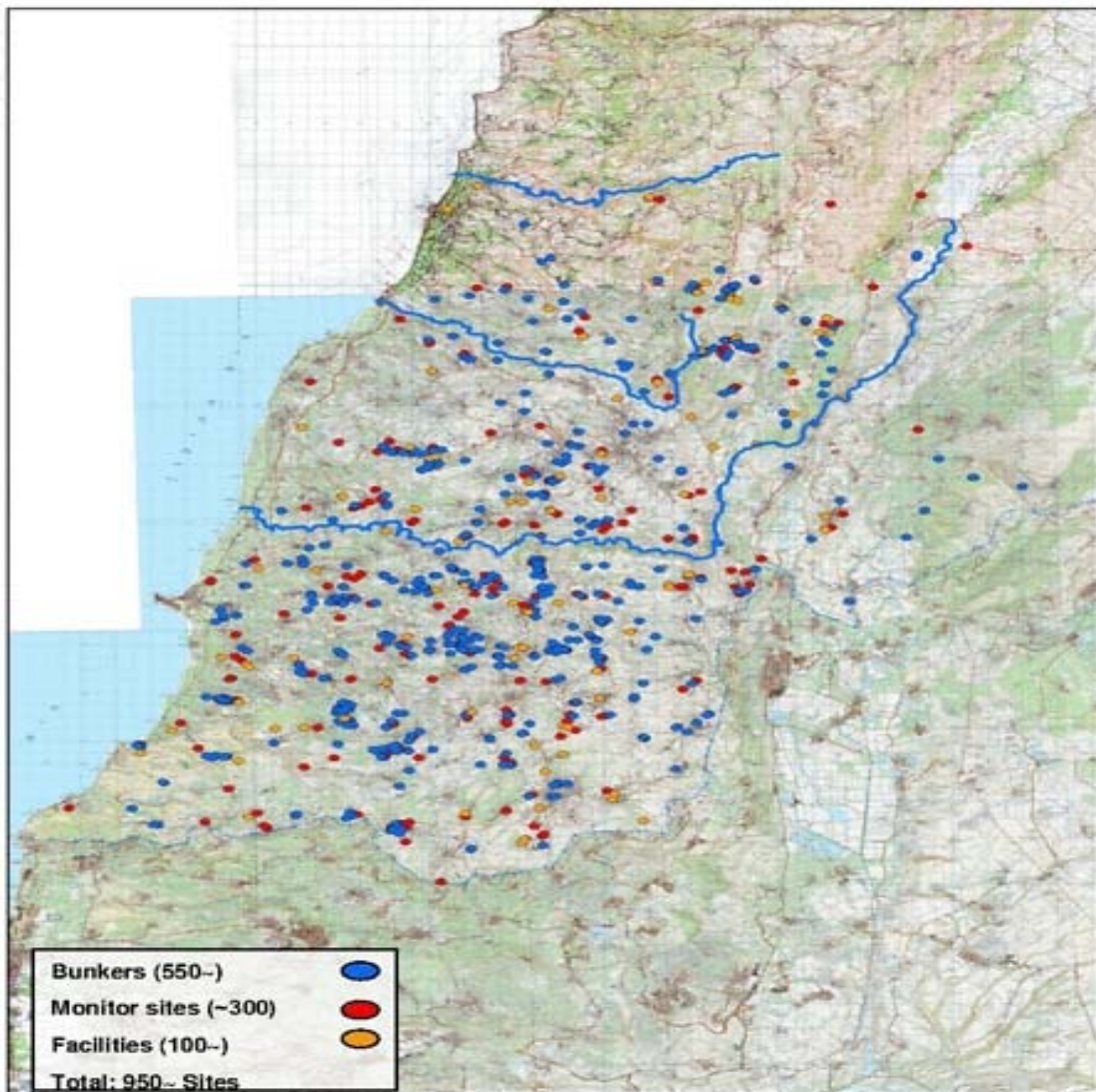# APPENDIX: FIGURES

Figure 2 Political Map of Southwest Asia [213]

Figure 3 Topographical Map of Southwest Asia [214]

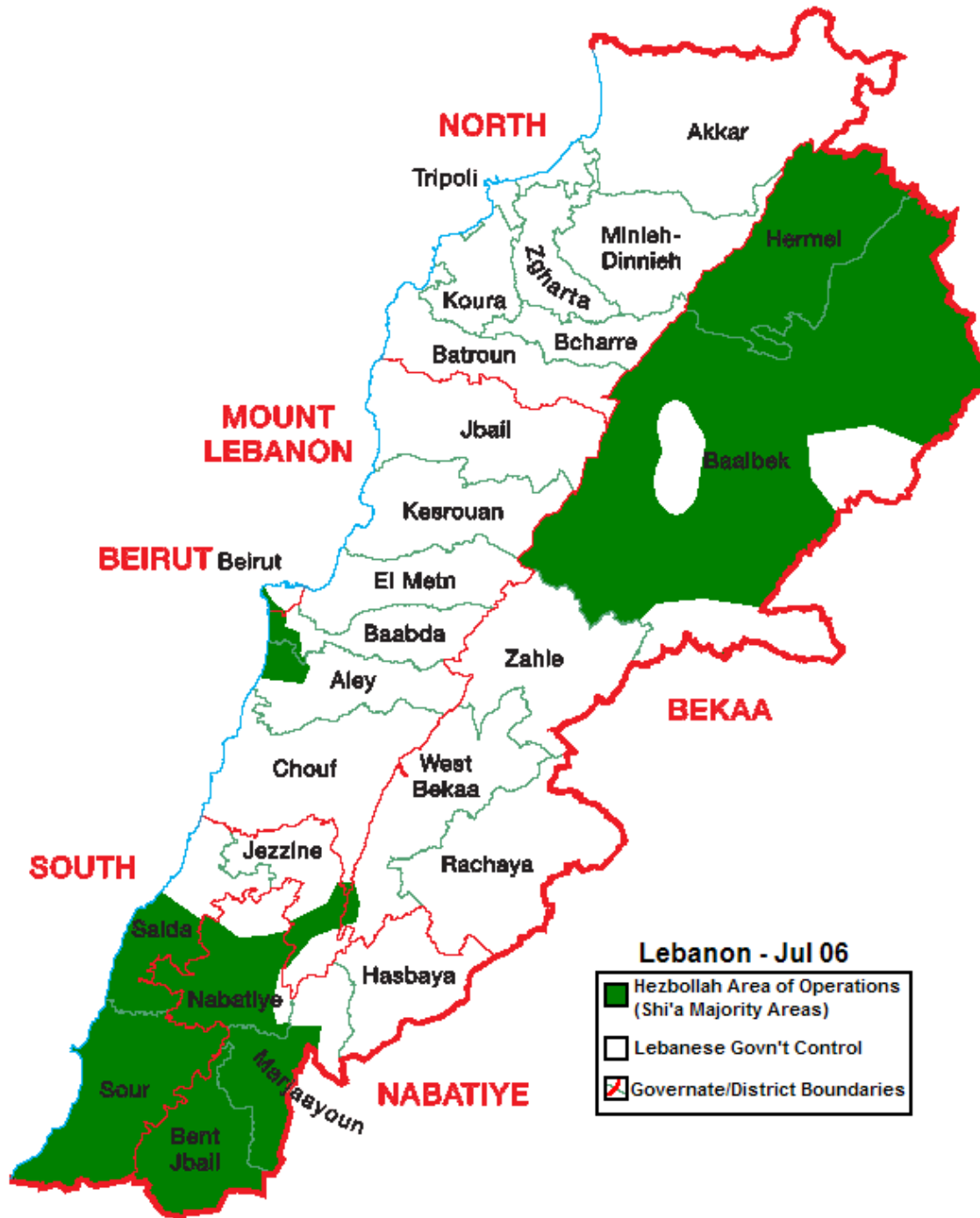**Figure 4 Map of Hezbollah Strongholds in Lebanon** [215]

Figure 5 Map of Hezbollah Area of Operations in Lebanon [216]

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