INTERNATIONAL HISTORY

Unit 16

International Terrorism
The Arab-Israeli Conflict
Globalisation

Form 5
Unit 16.1 - The Nature of International Terrorism

1. The nature of modern terrorism

**Definition:** the use of violence, or the threat of violence, to create a climate of fear among the people.

**Aims of terrorism:** terrorists target ethnic or religious groups, governments, political parties, corporations, and media enterprises.

**Setup and organization:** terrorist groups are almost always small in size and limited in resources. Through publicity and acts of violence they are often seen more powerful.

**Recent history:** In the latter half of the 20th century terrorism multiplied, driven by extremist political ideologies (e.g. Zionism, Islamic Fundamentalism, Marxism, extreme nationalism). International terrorism has been made easier by technological advances in transportation, communications, microelectronics, and explosives.

2. Terrorism in the Middle East, Europe and the USA

In the late 1940s radical Jewish groups resorted to terrorist acts to force the British leave Palestine. Palestinian Arabs resorted to terrorism against the new state of Israel. PLO renounced terrorism in 1988, but extreme Palestinian groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah, the Islamic Jihad and Al-Qaeda continued to use terrorism.

Since the 1970s terrorism spread to Western Europe when terrorists were inspired by Marxist and Communist ideologies. Their aim was to bring about widespread fear and chaos and the eventual collapse of the institutions of government. The most prominent of these terrorist groups were the Baader-Meinhof Gang in West Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy.

The Sicilian Mafia conducted terrorist attacks because the Italian government brought to trial a number of Mafia leaders. These attacks included the bombing of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and the murder of anti-Mafia Magistrates Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino (1993). Extreme nationalism in Europe resulted in the setting up of ETA (in Spain) and the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Northern Ireland - both groups fought for independence of their region.

**Effects of terrorism on the general population**

American citizens have become the target of Palestinian terrorists or their sympathizers due to their support to Israel. The most known acts of terrorism directed against US were the explosion of the Pan-American Flight 103 over Lockerbie in Scotland (1988), the bombing of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre (New York) in 1993 and 2001.

Since 2001 the US Government issued a series of anti-terrorist legislation aimed to strengthen the power of the federal government, to anticipate and respond to international terrorism. Advances in technology made possible greater security measures at airports, train stations and international sports activities against possible terrorist attacks. Civil rights movements tend to oppose certain laws because they claim that encroach upon the private life of ordinary citizens.
1. **Hamas**

Militant Palestinian Islamic movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, dedicated to the destruction of Israel and the creation of an Islamic state in Palestine. Founded in 1987, Hamas opposes the 1993 peace accords between Israel and the PLO.

In 1987, at the beginning of the Palestinian intifada (uprising) against Israeli occupation, Hamas (Arabic word for ‘zeal’) was established by members of the Muslim Brotherhood. The new organization quickly acquired a broad following. In its charter, Hamas maintained that Palestine is an Islamic homeland that can never be surrendered to or partitioned with non-Muslims and that waging jihad to liberate Palestine is the duty of Palestinians. This position brought it into conflict with the PLO, which in 1988 recognized Israel’s right to exist.

Hamas’ armed wing began a campaign of terrorism against Israel. In 1991 Israel imprisoned the founder of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yasin and hundreds of Hamas activist. Hamas denounced the 1993 peace agreement between Israel and the PLO and intensified its terror campaign by the use of suicide bombers. The PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat sought to include Hamas in the political process, appointing Hamas members to leadership positions in the Palestinian Authority set up in 1993 to govern the **West Bank** and **Gaza Strip**.

3. **The Hizbollah flag**

Hezbollah was founded in 1985, following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon (1982), by Muslim clerics, funded and trained by the Iranian Islamic government of Ayatollah Khomeini. Hezbollah's manifesto listed four main goals: Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and its final obliteration, ending foreign (Western) influence in Lebanon and set up an Islamic state in Lebanon.

4. **ETA** (Abbreviation of ‘Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna, meaning ‘Basque Homeland and Liberty’)

ETA is a Basque separatist organization in Spain that adopted violent methods in its campaign for an independent Basque state in historic Navarre. ETA grew out of the **Basque Nationalist Party**, founded in 1894 and survived under General Franco’s dictatorship by maintaining its HQ in exile in Paris. In 1959 some youthful members broke away and founded the ETA, setting revolutionary socialism as their end. During Franco’s regime attempts to crush ETA were severe, the police used arrest, beatings and torture. By 1970 the principal leaders had been captured and subjected to military trials. After Franco’s death in 1975, Spain’s democratic government established regional autonomy for the Basque provinces and offered pardons to ETA members renouncing terrorism. But in the following years the number of ETA killings by bombing and murder multiplied tenfold over what had existed under Franco. Most of the victims were high-ranking Spanish military officers, judges and government officials.

ETA came to rely financially on robberies, ransoms and ‘revolutionary taxes’ extorted from businessmen. ETA leaders continued to be captured by the Spanish government or killed in factional disputes, but the organization remained active into the 1990s.
5. The IRA (Irish Republican Army)

An unofficial semi-military organization based in the Republic of Ireland that sought complete Irish independence from the UK, the unification of the Republic of Ireland with Northern Ireland, which had remained a part of the UK.

The IRA was created in 1919 as successor to the Irish Volunteers, a militant nationalist organization founded in 1913. The IRA’s purpose was to render British rule in Ireland ineffective by the use of armed force. During the Irish War of Independence (1919-21), the IRA employed guerrilla tactics that included ambushes, raids and sabotage. This activity forced the British to accept the creation of the Irish Free State (1921) having dominion status within the British Empire.

The extremist faction of the IRA (known as ‘Irregulars’) refused to accept the new Irish state to the extent that they organized armed resistance against the new independent Irish government. Illegal recruiting and drilling by the IRA continued, even after the organization was declared illegal by the Irish Government in 1931.

After World War II, the IRA continued to agitate for the unification of the Irish republic with Northern Ireland. In the late 1960s, Catholics in Northern Ireland began a civil-rights campaign against discrimination in voting, housing and employment by the dominant Protestant majority. The IRA responded to Protestant violence by a campaign of terrorist raids against the Ulster Protestants and British government personnel in Northern Ireland. In 1973 IRA carried its terror campaign to England itself, murdering Lord Mountbatten, a top member of the royal family, aboard his fishing boat in 1979.

IRA terrorism led to at least 3,000 deaths from 1970 to the mid-1990s, but it failed to convince the British government to withdraw its troops in Northern Ireland. In 1994 IRA announced a cease-fire in its terror campaign and started secret talks with British officials. In 1996, however, the IRA ended the cease-fire and resumed bomb attacks in England and Northern Ireland.
The **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** is a political body working to create a nation for Palestinian Arabs in Palestine now controlled by Israel. In 1993 and 1995 the PLO and Israel signed peace agreements leading to limited Palestinian self-rule in almost all Palestinian towns in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The **Palestinian Authority**, which was created to rule these Palestinian areas, has largely taken over the role of the PLO.

The PLO was founded in Jerusalem in 1964. **Yasir Arafat**, leader of **Al-Fatah** was elected Chairman of the PLO. The PLO’s aim was to recover the land taken over by Jews in Palestine and set up an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. The PLO mainly operates in Jordan, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO achieved several diplomatic victories: Arab nations recognized the PLO as the ‘legitimate representative of the Palestinian people’ (1974); the PLO was granted observer status in the UN (1974). In 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon to stop PLO raids across its northern border. As a result, Arafat transferred the PLO headquarters in Tunis. But thousands of Palestinians stayed in Lebanon in refugee camps. In 1987 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip began an **intifada** (uprising), demanding a Palestinian state. Soon the uprising spread to the West Bank too.

The end of the Cold War made the US give more attention to the Palestinian Question. In 1988 the PLO recognized the state of Israel and renounced the use of terrorism (both former US demands). The US and the PLO began diplomatic talks between them. In the meantime, the **intifada** had grown in strength and created pressure for Israel to negotiate with the PLO. But several fundamentalist Islamic groups, such as **Hamas**, **Hizbollah** and the **Islamic Jihad**, accused Arafat of making too many concessions.

Secret talks with Israel continued until in 1993 President **Arafat** and Israeli PM **Yitzhak Rabin** concluded a surprise peace accord at **Washington D.C.** The agreement opened the way for limited Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. In 1995 a second agreement extended Palestinian self-rule to almost all Palestinian towns and refugee camps in the West Bank. The **Palestinian Authority** held its first elections which elected Arafat as its first president. But Hamas and other fundamentalists boycotted the elections. In 1996, the PLO abolished the sections from its charter that called for Israel’s destruction. Soon the newly established Palestinian Authority clashed with and killed Muslim fundamentalists who opposed the peace talks with Israel. Arafat had to order the arrest of several Palestinians suspected of terrorism. Since then, Palestinians have become divided between those who want to continue peace talks with Israel (Al-Fatah and the moderates) and those who still want the destruction of Israel (Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, Hizbollah and other extremists).
## Unit 16.4 - The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Palestine 1945-1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event or Development in Palestinian Question</th>
<th>One major consequence of such an event or development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. After World War II thousands of <strong>Jewish refugees</strong> enter Palestine, then a British Mandate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The <strong>United Nations</strong> partitions Palestine between Jews and Palestinian Arabs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. The First <strong>Arab-Israeli War in 1948</strong></td>
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<td>4. Revolution in Egypt and the <strong>Suez Canal Crisis</strong> of 1956</td>
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<td>5. The Palestinian Arabs set up the <strong>Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)</strong></td>
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<td>6. Increasing <strong>Soviet influence</strong> in the Middle East in the 1960s</td>
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<td>7. The <strong>Six-Day War</strong> of 1967</td>
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<td>8. The <strong>Yom Kippur War</strong> of 1973</td>
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<td>9. The <strong>Camp David Accord</strong> of 1979 between Israel and Egypt</td>
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<td>10. The <strong>Washington Peace Treaty</strong> between Israel and the PLO</td>
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(Total 10 x 2 = 20 marks)
Unit 16.5 - Case Study on Al-Qaeda

1 Emblem and flag used by Al-Qaeda

2. The attack on the Twin Towers

3. Bin Laden (left) and Al-Zawahiri (right)

Origins in Afghanistan – Al-Qaeda (Arabic meaning ‘the Base’ is an international Sunni Islamic movement founded in 1988 when the Mujahedeen Islamic fighters set up a base in Afghanistan to fight against the Russian occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. They used to call the training camp ‘al-Qaeda’ (the Base). Al-Qaeda’s main camps are situated in Afghanistan and Sudan. In the 1980s Al-Qaeda received funds from all over the Muslim world for the Afghan jihad against Russian occupation. Since 1984, the person in charge of these financial transactions was Osama bin Laden, who had his headquarters in Peshawar, Pakistan.

Following the Soviet Union’s withdrawal from Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 had put Saudi Arabia’s oilfields at risk. The arrival of US troops in Saudi Arabia against Iraq angered Bin Laden for he believed the presence of foreign troops in the "land of the two mosques" (Mecca and Medina) violated the sacred soil of Islam. After speaking publicly against the Saudi government he was exiled to Sudan and his Saudi citizenship was revoked.

Militant Operations - In 1993, a truck bomb was used to attack the World Trade Centre in New York. The attack was intended to break the foundation of Tower One knocking it into Tower Two, bringing the entire complex down. The towers shook and swayed but the foundation held and he succeeded in killing only six people (although it injured 1,042 others). The September 11th 2001 attack on the same Twin Towers in New York were the most devastating terrorist acts in American history, killing nearly 3,000 people, destroying the World Trade Centre towers, and damaging The Pentagon, the headquarters of the United States Department of Defense.

US response to Al-Qaeda’s attacks - These actions were followed by the US government launching a military and intelligence campaign against Al-Qaeda called the War on Terror. The United States government decided to invade and overthrow the Taliban regime for supporting Al-Qaeda. The Talibans were Islamic fundamentalists who took over power in Afghanistan after the Russian War. But Al-Qaeda’s top two leaders, Bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri, evaded capture. By the end of 2004, the U.S. government claimed that most of the top leaders of al-Qaeda were in prison or dead. The U.S. government, however, continues to warn that the organization is not yet defeated because autonomous branches of al-Qaeda continue to emerge around the world.

Organization, structure and membership – Al-Qaeda’s modus operandi include suicide attacks or bombings on chosen targets. Members of Al-Qaeda pledge loyalty to Osama bin Laden, and his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri. Al-Qaeda's objectives include the end of foreign influence in Muslim countries and the creation of a new Islamic Caliphate. Al-Qaeda holds that a Christian-Jewish alliance is conspiring to destroy Islam. The number of individuals belonging to the organization is also unknown. Due to its secrecy and structure of semi-autonomous cells, al-Qaeda's size is difficult to establish. Its rank and file has been mostly Arab and Pakistani and an estimated 62% of its members have university education. According to a number of sources there has been a "rising tide of anger in the Islamic world toward Al Qaeda due to the killing of Muslims, especially in Iraq.
Unit 16.6 – Factshhet on the World’s Main Terrorist Organizations

Fill in the following fact table as shown in the examples given. (Total 40 marks)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terrorist organization</th>
<th>When founded?</th>
<th>By whom was it founded?</th>
<th>Where does it operate?</th>
<th>What are its principal aim?</th>
<th>What is its <em>modus operandi</em>?</th>
<th>Its well-known militant operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRA</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Irish nationalists</td>
<td>Northern Ireland and England</td>
<td>The independence and union of N. Ireland with the Republic of Ireland.</td>
<td>Arsons, bombings, kidnappings, murders</td>
<td>The murder of Lord Mountbatten in 1979</td>
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<tr>
<td>ETA</td>
<td>1959</td>
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<td>Al Fatah</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>Hamas</td>
<td>1987</td>
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<td>Hizbollah</td>
<td>1988</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al Qaeda</td>
<td>1988</td>
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</table>
1. Definition and origins

Globalisation in its literal sense is the process of transformation of local or regional things or phenomena into global ones. It can also be used to describe a process by which the people of the world are unified into a single society and function together. This process is a combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural and political forces. Economic globalisation is the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign investment, transfer of capital, migration, and the spread of technology. Globalisation can mean also the removal of national boundaries for economic purposes.

The term globalisation has been used by economists since the 1980s. The first instance of globalisation in history occurred in the 19th century with the British Empire, which spread its power, institutions, ideas and culture in its colonies spread around the world.

Modern globalisation is largely the result of planning by economists, businessmen and politicians who believe in the benefits of integrated international economies. Several international institutions helped to bring about globalisation:

- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank)
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) renamed World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995.
- The European Union
- North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA)
- The United Nations and its various agencies (e.g. ILO, UNICEF, WHO)

Globalisation has been facilitated by advances in technology which have reduced the costs of trade. International trade negotiations led to a series of agreements that removed restrictions on free trade.

Economic globalisation can be measured in different ways. There are four main economic flows that characterize globalization: goods and services, movement of people, capital investment, advances in technology. According to this criteria, the world's most globalised countries are Belgium, Austria, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The least globalised countries are Haiti, Myanmar the Central African Republic and Burundi.

2. Arguments of the pro-globalists

Globalisation advocates point to the average drop in poverty rates in countries such as China, Brazil and India, compared to areas less affected by globalisation, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, where poverty rates have remained stagnant.

The pro-globalists believe that the first phase of economic globalisation would be followed by political globalisation, that is building global political institutions. Nation-states would be gradually transformed into multicultural societies. National citizenship would be replaced with world citizenship. Nationalism would make room for cosmopolitanism.
3. Arguments of the anti-globalists

Critiques of economic globalisation look at both the damage to the planet, increased poverty, inequality, injustice and the erosion of traditional culture. They also point to a series of fatal social consequences, such as social disintegration, a breakdown of democracy, weakening of national governments, weakening of trade unions, deterioration of the environment, the spread of new diseases, increasing poverty and alienation by mass media and commercial advertising and greater power and influence by international companies. They claim that these are the unintended but inevitable consequences of globalization. Members supporting this viewpoint describe themselves as the **Global Justice Movement**.
1. Define the word ‘globalisation’. ____________________________________________________________

(2)

2. When and how did the term globalisation come into use? ________________________________________

(2)

3. Name the two international organisations that act as agents of globalisation in the world.

______________________________________________________________________________

(2)

4. Identify two recent developments that have led to a marked increase in economic globalisation.

______________________________________________________________________________

(2)

5. Identify two countries whose economy is highly globalised and two other countries whose economy is least globalised.

______________________________________________________________________________

(2)

6. Explain and expand upon these types of globalisation:

   (a) industrial: ____________________________________________________________

   (b) financial: ____________________________________________________________

   (c) political: ____________________________________________________________

   (d) cultural: ____________________________________________________________

   (e) ecological: __________________________________________________________

(5)

7. Pro-globalization is also called __________________ while anti-globalization is also referred to as ____________________.

(1)

8. Explain one criticism of the pro-globalists and another one by the anti-globalists.

______________________________________________________________________________

(2)

9. What is your own opinion of globalisation? _________________________________________________

(2)

(Total 20 marks)
Read carefully the following essay titles and answer any ONE in about 200 to 300 words. Essays carry 20 marks each.

PAPER 2A
1. Why has the Middle East been for a long time in a state of acute and increasing crisis since the Arab-Israeli War of 1967? What prospects of peace have emerged in recent years? (10 x 2) (SEC 1998)
2. Account for the advantages and disadvantages of globalisation in today’s world. (SEC 2009)
3. What are general characteristics of globalisation? Explain its main advantages and disadvantages. (Annual Exam 2012)

PAPER 2B
1. What have been the most important landmarks in the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1947 to date? (SEC 1996)
2. Answer the following questions with reference to the second half of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century.
   (a) What does terrorism mean? (3)
   (b) Name three terrorist groups. (3)
   (c) Which are generally the factors which lead to terrorism? (5)
   (d) Mention and explain two ways in which governments have tried to combat terrorism. (4)
   (e) Which are the main effects of terrorism? (5) (SEC 2009)