

THE EVOLUTION OF HEZBOLLAH: PARTY FORMATION AND POLITICAL
LEGITIMACY

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to several individuals whom were of great help and positive influence in my life.

To my parents, Serge and Anna Maria whom were advocates of my pursuing higher education, and gave me the ability to experience and be part of a unique cultural upbringing,

To my siblings Alexander, Grace, Olivia, Kristel, and our princess Mia, showing them that continuous success requires hard work,

To my Maltese family whom stood by me through this process and pushed me to be over the average,

Finally and most importantly to my Lebanon and every oppressed around the world with hopes of achieving peace, security and justice.

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ABSTRACT

THE EVOLUTION OF HEZBOLLAH: PARTY FORMATION AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

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This research describes the notion of evolution in terms of the Party of God 'Hezbollah'. The assessment of the transformation of Hezbollah endured due to domestic and international pressure alongside its strategically based interests is stressed using the understandings of theoretical frameworks of Conflict Analysis and Resolution and International Relations. Broad theoretical frameworks that encompass this research include culture, and identity. The struggle for its continuous presence and security Hezbollah faces in its home of Lebanon, a high conflict area, located in the far east of the Mediterranean Sea has been claimed to have been the cause or part of events that have engraved trauma in the domestic and international regions.

Lebanon a country that is at war with several identities within and outside its zone holds one of the keys to establishing peace in the region. The struggle this organization holds within its society and internationally, has caused its positional defense for its culture and

identity to aspire and drive for political legitimization and increasing mobilization. It is a fight in which Hezbollah is seen to have taken, that has evolved over the years to almost looking like a diplomatic fight for its presence in an unwanted setting by some of its neighboring states and even its domestic area which has impacted diplomatic relations. In the process of researching and writing this thesis, it is divided to provide literature search and reviews of media documents, scholarly journals, books, and memoranda of Hezbollah to analyze the social movement's evolution.

CHAPTER ONE

“Peace does not mean an absence of conflicts; differences will always be there. Peace means solving these differences through peaceful means; through dialogue, education, knowledge; and through humane ways.”

Dalai Lama

1. Introduction

Lebanon, the land of the bible, has been there for thousands if not millions of years, its Geo-platform changes as people change. However, the today Lebanon, a contradiction and a meta-conflict, is still remembered as a piece of the sky as per Lebanese famous singer Wadih El-Safi, a platonic description of a peaceful place on earth. That peaceful place lost its image and was chattered by conflicts and wars. Sounds of gun shots, missiles and rockets shivered Lebanon’s peaceful earth. The thunder of war planes in the sky heard rather than normal weather thunder, and streaming blood seen instead of clear mineral waters. As a consequence, people adapt to and adopt new life style that is old, old as recorded human history of wars. This occurred to part of the Lebanon populace, the Southerners or “El Jnoubeyeen” as they are known in Lebanon, whom are mostly Shi’a Muslim. Due to their proximity to the Israeli border with Lebanon, they have adapted the life of armed strugglers “Muqawama”, in which they

adopted martyrdom “Shahada” as a way to be recognized, where death became more valuable than the desire to live.

Is it the environment in which they are located that has become the cradle of mobilizing radical identities such as ‘Hezbollah’, or terrorists as they have been labeled by the United States of America? Or, are they exercising an ‘Identity’ cognizance of an armed struggle renaissance, which their founders “Hussein” and his father “Ali Ben Abi Talib” have scribed for their followers the ‘Shi’a’?

History reminds all of how pain and suffering has shadowed communities worldwide, and how acts of state and non-state violence manifested domestically and or internationally has shivered the earth. Impacts of such action have caused an increase of radical identity conception and mobilization that incited fuel to fire that has violated many human rights. Conflict mapping one of the fundamental processes of conflict analysis and resolution reveals an approximate understanding through its many theories, reasons of such conceptions, causalities and resolutions.

The aim of this thesis is not to put blame on who is right or wrong, but to provide a proper insight and understanding of the environment in which a social movement was founded upon. The analyses of the foundation and the evolution of the case study Hezbollah is built by using scholarly journals and books that have already been completed, they are accompanied in this thesis by theoretical frameworks of conflict analysis and resolution. The importance of understanding the fundamental identities and environment that impacted and influenced a culture in establishing such social movement

or any alike are vital for any peace initiatives. Thus, the evolution of Hezbollah raises importance to academics and politicians alike.

The once called militant organization was founded in the midst of fragmentation and decay of a state. This movement was later accepted in its domestic milieu as a national resistance following it becoming labeled a terrorist organization and eventually succeeding in becoming one of the major actors in the Republic of Lebanon.

1.2 Research Design

It is clear that the Middle East region has been involved in many conflicts over centuries. The importance of this region to conflict analysis and resolution and Mediterranean security is delineated by its geography. We are in an era of growing interdependence and complex reciprocal political, economic and socio-cultural exchanges. The Mediterranean has often been considered to be a microcosm of the global arena. Since the end of World War II this region of the world has attracted the interests of many external players. Thus, understanding social movement inception and developments are of high interest in the area for comprehending conflicts and reaching peace.

In this thesis it will be discussed how Hezbollah as a social movement developed and entered the Lebanese political platform through conflict analysis theories. Questions arise as to whether this evolution is part of seeking political legitimacy for a minority in the region or it is part of “pious dissimulation” similar to the sleeper cell concept to gain power and support in order to implement Wilayat Al Faqih. The understanding of this social movement is vital to reaching a peaceful resolution. Not only will it lessen the tension between protracted enemies that are allied with the United States of America, but

it will achieve security to economic interests worldwide. The newly found natural gas and oil in the Mediterranean Basin is of top interest for Europe and the United States of America among the states where the gas has been found in. Thus, ensuring the safety of extraction and free flow of oil and gas to the world requires the region to be stable and unperturbed by conflict as much as possible, so as not to upset the global demand for energy and its markets.

The time frame of conducting research on Hezbollah is limited. This is due to the on-going participation of Hezbollah in Syria whom changed their strategy from defense to offense. If the backbone of Hezbollah whom is currently the Syrian regime loses in the civil war in Syria, Hezbollah could be terminated as a Lebanese resistance. The termination of the power of the resistance would be due to the loss of ground transportation of weaponry, and eventually would be surrounded by its enemies.

Before attempting to come to a slight understanding of who Hezbollah is and its environment, the thesis will provide a literature review of theoretical frameworks of conflict analysis and resolution that relate to the proceeding chapters. The chapter will highlight theories pertaining to the macro and micro levels of conflict and the differences between violent state and non-state actors along with identity, culture and other peacemaking theories and frameworks. Eventually these theories and frameworks will produce answers to my questions of the evolution of Hezbollah as a social movement. It is also more likely that more questions will be generated that could lead to future research on the subject matter.

After introducing theoretical frameworks that are applicable to the case study, chapter two provides a historical background of the identity of Lebanon, and explores its 15 year civil wars leading up to the conception of Hezbollah. This chapter will reveal the fragmentation and decay of Lebanon that led to the inception of militias and movements that still exist today.

After setting the foundation of the Lebanese identity, chapter three merges into the religious historical conflict in Islam. This is to set the foundation of the case study of Hezbollah in which it recognizes Shi'a Islam as its ideology. The conflict that was the cause of a major split that established the Shi'a identity, one of Islam's sects holds a high presence in Lebanon and importance in conflict throughout the region. It specifically highlights the oppression that the Shi'a sect perceives themselves to have lived through from the Islamic split to this day.

Chapter four highlights the evolution of Hezbollah from its birth to the ultimate sacrifice in defending its identity. The chapter will also mention the process of strategic and evolutionary stages that led into political accommodation in the Lebanese parliament. This evolution reveals strategic choices that Hezbollah acted upon that supposedly opposes its ideological belief to accommodate the modern lifestyle. This section explores the shifting evolution of Hezbollah's political platform development and focuses on how its achievement of political legitimacy has impacted Lebanon's domestic and international relations and today's on-going phenomenon the so called 'Arab Spring'. Today, with the on-going conflict in Syria, internal and external players have intensified

their lens on Lebanon fearing the countries involvement will lead to the return to the 15 year civil wars that fragmented and decayed the complex Lebanese identity.

Chapter five is the analysis of the thesis. This section links the theoretical frameworks provided in the literature review section with the case study Hezbollah. Many of those theories complement and explain the evolution that Hezbollah has went through. However, few theories introduce questions more so than answers with hopes for further research and marking its importance in not only the conflict analysis and resolution field but also to the Mediterranean security and international relations.

Chapter six concludes the thesis and the results of the analysis. In addition, this chapter recommends further research for Hezbollah as a social movement.

1.3 Literature Review:

Conflict entered a new phase in the modern world as Samuel Huntington hypothesized. Nation states remained powerful as has been seen over centuries; however, the clash of civilizations dominated today's politics. Civilization groups constitute of a high cultural relevance linked to their identity, which could be distinct in various elements. These elements or views of the people of the different civilizations are basic. They could be "both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people" (Huntington, 1993: 24). As history has revealed, their capability to remain the same has not been proven to be possible. They have either fallen or merged into another sub-division by redefining their identities. However, the rise and fall of different civilizations and the possible bilateral and multilateral interactions, have caused conflict and even violence to

spur in the modern world. Although those same interactions have led to globalization and the acceptance of coexistence, this process has taken a role in diminishing historical identities. Thus, the 'sacred pasts' of nation states that are chosen glories for their self-identities becomes weakened or lost. Consequently, movements known as 'Fundamentalists', whom are ideologically driven, rise in the midst of such decay. Fundamentalists become the authoritarian regime of religion and ethnicity within politics that call for the people in stressing their selective past, present and future. This transformation from social co-existence of one nation, to fragmentation and establishments of social movements causes questions as to what are the root causes.

Almost every society is perceived to have a unique identity intertwined with different civilizations. In some, these identities are most of the time a prerequisite to economic status, thus, one root cause of social movement mobilization could be social capital. However, many conflicts that have risen and were mobilized by religious fundamentalists based on economic context; it is more likely that the individuals will choose sides based on their ethnic and cultural identity rather than economic status. This causes the founding roots of the conflict that people initially protested about to become redefined as an 'us' versus 'them' mission. Therefore, these social movements become a call for moral outrage. These clashes of civilizations face two different levels of conflict: micro-level and macro-level. Micro level conflicts are perceived to be with contiguous groups, between civilizations, fighting over the control of a territory and power over each other. On the other hand, macro-level conflicts are a struggle between different civilizations and states which are promoting political and military power, and ideological

values on an international scale. These conflicts that often spur operations of violence and bloodshed become chosen trauma for many identities. Chosen trauma is a term used by Vamik Volkan that describes the involuntary response to a mourning process that becomes enlarged and shared with a large group of people. Thus, the loss of someone or something becomes widely known as a collective loss. Furthermore, chosen trauma could “be manipulated by political leaders to develop new political programs and /or take new actions supported by this ideology” (Volkan, 2004). Similarly with chosen glory mentioned above, it is a process by a group that is activated in remembrance of a victory over an enemy in order to increase their self-esteem. These two terms have been highly favored in being broadcasted in the media that has mobilized supporters and enraged oppositions. These concepts have been seen by Vamik Volkan to be significant to understanding long term conflicts and operations of violence.

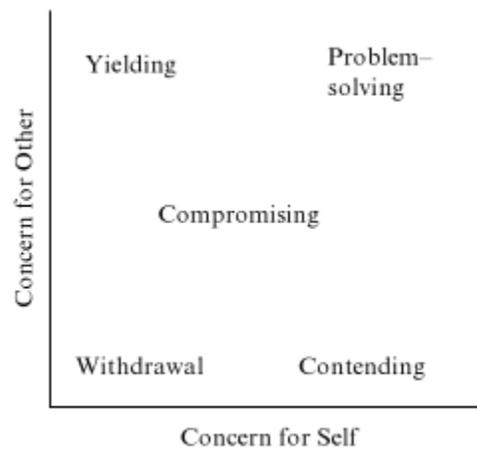
Operations of violence have either intensified over the years or the creation of media outlets that has become a tool for globalization has increased our knowledge of the universes daily news through the virtual realm. The media has reached “the communications revolution” stage as addressed by Ted Gurr (Crocker, et al, 2007: 136). Not only has the media been an informative tool, but it has also become powerful and rapid in mobilizing outrage and inspiring individuals to become supporters of certain political actions. The significance of the effect that the press has had created “imagined communities” which have “developed a sense of common identity” (Popkin, 1995: 23). Journalists and media personnel have used propaganda and or persuasion to enhance their viewer’s ratio. Thus, the way a story is framed can have a strong influence on people’s

attitudes towards an issue. Organizations internationally, specifically terrorists and even nation states have become dependents on the media to gain attention. By setting an agenda and framing an issue they have intertwined with the media to gain recognition, respect, and sympathy. Terrorism or acts of violence has become the perfect story in every household's breaking news. The dramatization and the gory scenes that are viewed or read about have been dehumanizing the enemy which has achieved a collective mobilization against them. Finally, it is argued that whether the media is run by the oppressed or the oppressor, or even a third party it has become an extensive usable tool or weapon for the existence of such actors and actions.

Renowned theorists like John Burton and Johan Galtung among many of conflict analysis and resolution have hypothesized and argued their explanation for root causes of violent actions. Around the world people have felt the sense of relative deprivation from this growing violence, in which their basic human needs has been violated. These groups of people or even just one individual whom was able to gain a voice, are seen today protesting or even committing violence themselves against the oppressing regimes in order to attain what they are entitled for, simply, human rights. Many of these groups have several types of engagement choices. Some adjoin collectively for the pursuit of their interest, whether it is power, rights in utilizing diplomacy, negotiations and political processes. Whilst others have taken destructive approaches to resolving such conflicts which in itself brought violent wars and protracted conflicts.

Approaches to conflict could defer by individuals as assumed by the dual concern model of conflict resolution shown in Figure 1. According to this model, there are five

different types of approaches to conflict. These different types of approaches are “distinguished by whether concern for self and concern for other is high or low” (Ramsbotham, et al, 2011: 17).



Source: from Katz and Lawyer, 1985

Figure 1: Dual-Concern Model: Five Approaches to Conflict

This model reveals that one approach to conflict is by yielding: this happens when one has high concern for other and low concern for self. On the other hand, one individual is contending in other words being an opposition when he or she has high concern for self and low concern for other. Another possibility is to balance the concern for both self and other which allows for compromise. Neither concern for self nor other leads to a withdrawal, but the preferable style of conflict approach by peace activists is care for both self and other. When parties are clear of the needs of others and come to a

problem solving mode it is then that most likely there will be a non-zero sum outcome in which both parties gain.

It is essential that for any conflict to be resolved, the concerned parties must reach an understanding of their counterparts needs. Classical thinking stresses on the importance to understand that there is a difference between values and needs although conventional thinking hasn't drawn a distinction between the two. Values could be ranging from the superficial attitudes, behavioral patterns, which are called cultural values, to individual values that are created by individuals which are called human values. However, John Burton brings us back to the root of the 'Basic human needs' theory and to its importance in conflict analysis and resolution. He recognizes that the fundamental drives and basic human requirements are not all universal and common to all organisms, but there are few that overlap and to those needs that if not attained would disrupt a harmonious society. Some of these needs that would create conflicts and spur violence are needs for identity, recognition, and security.

The basic human need of identity is created when a particular individual or group feels threatened or insecure. The concept argues that it is not just about the basic needs of survival that a human needs, on the contrary, there are essential conditions that an individual requires in order to be a functioning component of society. Such components could be simply the creation of an identity. These individuals create an identity for example a culture, tribe, militant group, religion, language, political group, etc. and they require it to be legitimized by other identity groups in order to be recognized as a self-identity. Therefore, as a second component, recognition within an organization,

community, or at the regional and international level gives freedom or a sense of independence for identities. Finally, security is the need in which keeps these identities surviving such as enough food, shelter, as well as security of the individual and family from violence. Nevertheless, if the conditions aren't met, as previous studies by Jack Goldstone have revealed, mobilization of social movements for change will increase especially during a "social crisis or breakdown" of their society as it "is a better predictor of success" (Useem, 1998).

Needs are uncontrollable, and people will always create new needs in order to be and feel satisfied. However, traditional thought accepts that needs could be achieved only under few conditions: if needs are universal, it is when they become societal needs and override individual needs, it is then when they will be easily satisfied, if not, then they must be controlled by "law and custom and by moral obligation" (Burton, 1979: 50). If the needs created by individuals are not to just satisfy on an individual term, but to create a harmonious civilization, then that would reach the 'historic process' which is the end result in the conflict between values and needs. Nonetheless, if individuals do not attain their basic human needs it has been revealed that both the individual and social systems will most likely face destructive violence.

Destructive violence on institutions and individuals could be rooted to three different types of violence among others. According to Johan Galtung there are three specific forms of violence that lead to one another. This theory defines the types of violence in a triangular shape thus the name the conflict triangle or the violence triangle shown in Figure 2. Each angle represents various types of violence.

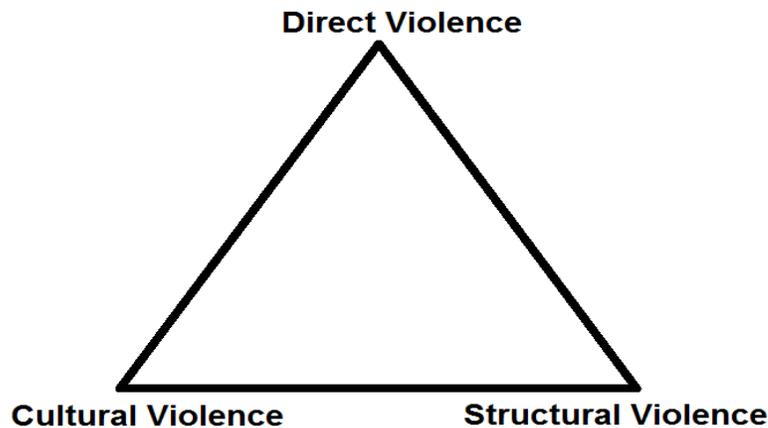


Figure 2: Galtung's Conflict Triangle

Direct violence is the actual act of violence that could be traced back to an individual. For example, if one assaulted or terrorized another it is defined as direct violence. Structural violence is indirect, although there is still violence, it cannot be traced back to an individual actor and it does not have to be intentional. For example, low income individuals might not have proper education, and bad medical services due to unevenly distributed resources. They are limited from achieving what they need based on social structures. Cultural Violence is a portion of culture, which could be entertainment, arts, religion, and ideology among others that could be used to legitimize and or justify the act of violence. For example, the honor killing is the act of violence which individuals identify this action as part of culture or religion in order for it to be justified. Violence has two different typologies: “The study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus rendered

acceptable in society” (Galtung, 1990: 292). Direct violence and structural violence are both seen as preventable ‘insults’ to life and basic human needs.

These types of violent actions could be acted upon by two different types of actors: Violent non-state actors and violent state-actors. Both of these actors are those whom “resort to organized violence as a tool to achieve their goals” (Mulaj, 2010: 3). The difference however is in the ‘puzzle of legitimation’. Non-state actors are not perceived to be legitimate ‘deployers’ of force whereas state actors are. That is not to say that non-state actors have not sought legitimization. By establishing institutions that provide the public with services that are usually associated with government structures or systems, non-state actors have established a sort of legitimacy as the de-facto government. In addition groups could be formed for the purpose of protecting and securing a community or identity and in such manner is alleged to by the people they are aiding. Within the scope of research pertaining to violent non-state actors Klejda Mulaj clarifies their diverse phenomenon as “not inherently ‘good’ or ‘evil’ nor are they inherently ‘legitimate’ or ‘illegitimate’”. (Mulaj, 2010: 25) Thus, it is recommended that when looking at actors whether they are non-state or state-actors scholars and academics must concentrate on a specific case study instead of generalization. Therefore, this paper will concentrate on the specific case study of Hezbollah’s supposed state sponsored terrorism, and as a non-state terrorist actor and its evolution into the political sphere. In the following chapter the environment of the state in which this social movement was created will be highlighted.

CHAPTER TWO: LEBANESE CIVIL WAR

“My brother and I against our cousin; my cousin and I against the enemy”
Arab Proverb

Lebanon proceeded in a long path after French General Catroux’s announcement in 1943 that Lebanon shall gain its independence. Few of Lebanon’s prominent leaders made a pact that set the foundation to establish the new Lebanese state. This path presented Lebanon with few years of peace, and Swiss comparison by flooded tourists. Not long after, the land of the Cedars became filled with haunting sorrows of children crying, and mothers dressed in black, craving for their warriors return due to the protracted conflict.

The power-shared government along religious lines which was agreed upon in 1943 mandated that the President to be a Maronite, the Prime Minister a Sunni and the Speaker of the House to be a Shi’a (Norton, 2007: 12). Power in Lebanon was divided depending on the population ratio using religious lines based on the population census of 1932. Therefore, the majority of the population being Maronite Christians at the time gained them the majority of the seats in the parliament and the strongest voice in the government. It was perceived that this census caused an underrepresentation of certain sects in the government posts, especially the Shi’a.

Soon after, 1948 came along and brought what is said to have entered the region in a never ending conflict. The Arab-Israeli war forced thousands of Palestinians out of their

homeland. These refugees were pushed into the adjacent countries of Jordan and Lebanon. It was then when Arab nationalism grew within particular groups in Lebanon whom rushed to aid their Palestinian brothers. The newly sovereign government of Lebanon could not remain neutral; the strong willingness to fight for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs caused a power imbalance that generated the fragile state into its brutal decay.

The strong increase of Palestinian Commando camps continued, the Sunni population amplified in Lebanon, and the realization of political and social inequality was then realized. The Muslim community in Lebanon recognized that the Christians had most of the power and most of the money which led them to question and amend part of the constitution of power sharing. However, it wasn't with diplomatic means in which the parties took to make this change but they brutally fought with each other in the land of Lebanon. The war intersected religion and power along with other basic needs; thus legitimizing the struggle to the people under the impression of protecting ones needs, from being neglected or cleansed.

What is known to be 'The Events' as referred to by most of the Lebanese populace regarding the 15 year civil wars that began in 1975, was a mobilization for Arab nationalism. It was also when political uprising in Lebanon broke out. Initially it began as Lebanese Christians versus Palestinian Sunnis. Eventually the events led all religious sects in Lebanon to become involved in this complex war. Jurgen Endres highlighted the Lebanese civil war's complexity by describing it to be as "the ally of today could be the enemy of tomorrow, and vice versa" (Endres, 2003: 126). Elias Maroun a Lebanese

Christian professor in Lebanon interviewed by Reine El-Ashkar described the complex wars by stating that “the war involved a Lebanese-Palestinian conflict and Lebanese-Lebanese, Palestinian-Syrian, Palestinian-Israeli, Lebanese-Syrian, Syrian-Israeli, and Lebanese-Israeli conflicts” as well as intervention by “western forces including the United States, France, England and Russia” (Al-Achkar, 2005) however leaving out Iran and other states as also other third parties to the conflict that used Lebanon as their battleground.

In the midst of this social breakdown or as it is described specifically for the 15 year civil wars in Lebanon as ‘lebanonization’, approximately “5 percent of the resident population were killed” (Endres, 2003: 119). The mobilization for Arab nationalism and political uprising in the government destroyed the population and damaged many of its technology, infrastructure, among other basic needs. Society broke into different militias along sectarian lines. The militias were formed by feudal landlords and sectarian groups whom each controlled their specific territories. The first coalition of militias consisted of mostly Christians, the Phalangist militia, the Marada Brigade, the Guardians of the Cedars, and the Tigers of the Liberals, whom were at one point in the civil wars identified as one the ‘Lebanese Front’. The second coalition, whom are mostly Muslim are known as the ‘Lebanese National Movement’ which consisted of the Amal ‘the movement of the deprived’, the Progressive Socialist Party, the Popular Nasserite Organization and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Along these two major coalitions a few independent militias were formed, the South Lebanese Army, the Lebanese Arab Army and Hezbollah.

Some of these organized militia groups created mini-states within the state of Lebanon that exercised their own functional authority, despite the legitimate state of Lebanon in which they all recognized. This act as of '*cantonization*' paralyzed the state of Lebanon which allowed continuous conflicts to spur. Jurgen Endres described the Lebanese civil war in three specific characteristics. The first is basically highlighted in the quote that states "the ally of today could be the enemy of tomorrow and vice versa" (Endres, 2003: 126) which meant that the alliances or pacts in the coalitions created in the civil war were broken at many points in time and reversed. The second characteristic is that the militias were acquiring to rise in the Lebanese political milieu to change its existing structure, but were opposed to the complete destruction and establishment of a new state. The third and final characteristic is that the militias didn't want to eliminate their opponents; on the contrary, they wanted to protect their existence in order to legitimize their own political and military presence for the sake of securing their community.

The protection of one's community in Lebanon, in most cases, means the protection of one's religious identity. This comes as a consequence, due to most of Lebanon's cities and towns' significant divisions under evident religious sects. Christians and Muslims massacred each other during the civil war. The complexity of this war continued to reveal itself, especially when the Islamic religion's sects the Sunni, and Shi'a fought each other, in addition to the Christians whom also split and fought each other. These specific fragmentations within Lebanon especially within the Muslim community lay behind them tension that goes back centuries.

CHAPTER THREE: THE FRAGMENTATION OF ISLAM

In order to understand the complexity of the sectarian violence between Muslims, this chapter reveals a brief background of the Islamic fragmentation that established two main denominations that dates back to the year 632. It is important to understand the conflicts that arose over time in order to understand the conflicting situation that Lebanon faces due to religion. In addition, understanding Islam and specifically Shi'a is important due to it being Hezbollah's ideology. Religion is a vital component of the roots of conflict that happened, and is happening today, especially within the Muslim Community in Lebanon and the region. Religion calls for laws to be established, a certain type of governance, and a leader that must be alleged to by the majority, if not all.

Soon after Prophet Mohammed's death in 632, the Muslim community reached the biggest conflict as to who shall be the successor. Muslims were united in their belief, and followed the Prophet; however his death, perplexed the Muslim community as to who shall succeed him. This dispute arose from fundamental political reasons as to who should succeed and religious reasons which led to the establishment of the two Islamic branches known today as the Sunni, and the Shi'a. It is important to understand that the majority of the Muslims were the Sunni, even till this day. They are those whom believe that the "leadership should fall to the person who was deemed by the elite of the community to be best able to lead the community" (Shuster, 2007) as noted by Gregory

Gause professor at the University of Vermont. On the other hand, a minority group in the Muslim community believed that the next person to lead should be related to the Prophet, one whose blood is blessed by God. This dispute over the successor set the first seed for the Islamic split. The Sunni voted for Abu Bakr Al Siddiq as their 'Calipha' whom happened to be the father of Aisha, Prophet Mohammed's wife.

The minority group whom are today called the Shi'a favored Ali Ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son in law of Prophet Mohammed; he was married to the daughter of Prophet Mohammed and Aisha, Fatimah. Ali is said to have been the first male to have prayed with the Prophet, making him the first male to have accepted Islam. Even though Abu Bakr was nominated to become the first legitimate Calipha after the Prophets death, Ali did not claim allegiance to him until after Fatimah's death that also opposed Abu Bakr's succession. Ali had to allege to Abu Bakr in order to keep the Islamic Ummah (nation) united.

Two other Caliphates were nominated before Ali was finally nominated in 656 after the assassination of the Caliphate Uthman. After this assassination, tension grew within the two Muslim communities. Some wanted to arrest the assassin whilst others believed that the assassin did the Muslims a favor by killing Uthman due to his deviance from Islam. This led to the first civil war between the Muslims, known to be as the 'First Fitna'. Uthman's cousin Muawiyah I refused to give allegiance to Ali, which caused bloody battles. Eventually Caliphate Ali moved the Islamic capital to Iraq a town named Kufa, which happens to be a strategic point in the Islamic land.

Bloody battles between the two continued, until an agreement was made for the sake of the Muslim community. However, after time the agreement was being violated therefore battles stirred up again. A prominent event that is widely remembered by the Shi'a and Sunni is when Imam Hussein son of Imam Ali was killed and beheaded by the Umayyad Caliphate Yazid. Although the events of the story vary between Sunnis and Shiites, it is agreed upon that Imam Hussein had died as a martyr. This event created for the Shiites what is called 'Ashura' Aramaic for tenth "as the commemoration of the Martyrdom of Hussein at Karbala" (Hawting, 2006: 173).

The differences between the Sunni and Shi'a grew as time continued. The population of the Sunni Muslims headed by a Caliphate spread and increased to be more powerful in the region than the Shiite population. The Shiites split from the Sunnis and began to focus on the progression of their own belief system headed by an Imam in the midst of whom they believed the Sunni's have become their oppressors.

Shiites grew larger and expanded throughout the Middle East region and Central Asia with the large majority being in Iraq and Iran. However, the Shi'a sect didn't remain united over time, on the contrary, it developed many branches. "The three most significant branches within Shiism are labeled with numbers- Imami Shiites are Twelvers, Ismaili are Seveners, and Zaydi are Fivers" (Akasoy, n.d.). Branches of Shi'a also include the Alawites, among others that has roots and were influenced by the Shi'a belief, the Druze, and Baha'i.

It is believed by the original Imami Shiites whom are now called the Twelvers that after the death of the eleventh Imam Hassan El Askari his son the 12th Shiite Imam

Muhammad El Mahdi didn't disappear but God took him into hiding. They believe that he will come back at the end of time as a savior to lead the 'Ummah' (Islamic Community). The Zaydi and the Ismaili Sunnis view that the 'Twelvers' belief of the savior is a sin, because Islam claims humans are only humans and the only divine is the one God. Some of the Shiite branches conversely believe that El Mahdi appeared and established an empire in Egypt.

The struggle has been continuous between the denominations of Islam as the Islamic religion progressed within the area. Different schools of jurisprudence were created which provided religious knowledge to those acquiring possible religious authority. "The *marja* is a senior religious and juristic authority with a following, and his office is known as the *marja'iyya*" (Rizvi, 2010: 1300). The *marja* becomes the religious reference and authority whom is funded by *zakat* and *el khums* (one fifth). In such way the Shiite community created a role for a religious scholar '*marja*' to follow. Since the last Imam had disappeared, the Shi'a community was in need of someone to lead them. Therefore, the *mujtahid* (Faqih) was placed to become deputy Imam that deals with religious and social matters. Over time the community required a political leader to be the supreme figure of the Shi'a Ummah until Al Mahdi returns; consequently giving the Faqih political power adding to the social and religious ones.

As a result of a latter revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Iran, the concept of Guardianship of the Jurisprudent known as *Wilayat Al Faqih* was established. Essentially, Khomeini rejoined the Imamate belief to become an Imam and combining it with the *Wilaya* (governance) concept. After the revolution Ayatollah Khomeini

promoted “the theory that the authority the clerical jurists possess as representatives of the imams gives them the right to exercise power in the state” (Rizvi, 2010: 1300). In addition, Imam Khomeini legitimized political power to the ulama’ (Muslim Scholars); in which case they could play a role not only as spiritual advisors but also in public affairs. “Khumayni’s innovation was to unequivocally and cogently metamorphose Wilayat Al Faqih into a system of political administration” (Alagha, 2006: 91).

The importance of understanding the Sunni-Shia conflict is due to its large role “in defining the Middle East as a whole and shaping its relations with the outside world” (Nasr, 2006: 24) Shiism is important for this thesis in particular due to it being the obvious ideology of Hezbollah. Their geographical placement between the so called authoritarian Sunni elites has converged faith and identity in the conflict. Although “theological and historical disagreements fuel it, but so do today’s concerns with power, subjugation, freedom, and equality, not to mention regional conflicts and foreign intrigues” (Nasr, 2006: 20). However, as revealed above, the Shi’a belief in addition is dynamic in which other denominations encompass this sect that are intertwined with different cultural zones and ethnicities whom are also hungry for power and basic human needs of securing their identity. Many influences from different schools of Islam evolved the Shi’a belief from its initial conception by Caliphate or Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib.

Shiism’s evolution could be said to have stopped in the hands of Ayatollah Khomeini with his establishment of the Wilayat Al Faqih which is led by the supreme leader over all Twelvers or Imamate Shia in the world. Conversely, by looking at Hezbollah in Lebanon, their evolution reveals another type of Shiite rendition even though they

perceive themselves to be one in the same with the Shiites of the Wilayat Al Faqih. Shiism and its multi renditions could be perceived as part of globalization. However, one could explain that the evolution is part of the Islamic concept of “el taqiyya”. The term that is practiced by Shiites is “the activity of hiding one’s true beliefs so as to avoid persecution in a hostile environment” (Gleave, 2000: 32).

CHAPTER FOUR

The latest statistics retrieved from the 2006 Foreign Affairs article by Nasr (table 1) the Shiite community grew considerably in Iran, Iraq and Lebanon. However, in the overall regional population the Shiites remain a minority in comparison to the Sunni population in the region.

Table 1: Shi'a Demographics

Country	Total population	Shia population	Shia of total (%)
Iran	68.7 million	61.8 million	90%
Iraq	26.8 million	17.4 million	65%
Saudi Arabia	27.0 million	2.7 million	10%
Lebanon	3.9 million	1.7 million	45%
Kuwait	2.4 million	730,000	30%
Bahrain	700,000	520,000	75%
Syria	18.9 million	190,000 (+2.8 million) ²	1% (+15%)
The United Arab Emirates	2.6 million	160,000	6%
Qatar	890,000	140,000	16%

Notes: "Shiites" includes Twelver Shiites and excludes Alawis, Alevis, Ismailis, and Zaydis, among others. Percentages are estimated. Figures under 1 million are rounded to the nearest 10,000; figures over 1 million are rounded to the nearest 100,000.

Source: Based on data from numerous scholarly references and from governments and NGOs in both the Middle East and the West. Retrieved from: Nasr, V. (2006) *When the Shiites Rise*. Foreign Affairs. Vol 85, Number 4 pp. 58-74 and Luomi, M. (2008) *Sectarian Identities or Geopolitics? The Regional Shia-Sunni Divide in the Middle East*. The Finish Institute of International Affairs

Lebanon's Shiite population counts approximately 1.7 million, considered to be about 45% of Lebanon's total population as of Table 1. However, in 1975 at the beginning of the Lebanon civil war, Shiites, a minority religious sect of Islam felt oppressed by a Christian dominated government, a strong Druze influence, and by a Sunni dominated region. This oppression stimulated a sense of relative deprivation for the Shi'a due to their "segregated rural setting, the community's exposure to the affluent and Westernised lifestyles of their Christian and Sunni counterparts in the new urban milieu" (Saad-Ghorayeb, 2002: 7). The socio-economic factor along with the political imbalance that alienated the Shiite community, adding the Israeli invasion to Lebanon all the aforementioned instituted the birth root causes of their militant mobilization. Even though the mobilization of the Shiites was founded on the basis of Arab Nationalism, the split of Islam into two politically ambitious sects the Sunni Arab power and Iranian Shiism radicalized the Shiite community which led to the formation of Hezbollah.

4.2 1982-1991 Hezbollah

The birth of Hezbollah began as early as 1982 during the decay of the Lebanese country by different invasions which coincidentally occurred after the Iranian Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in 1979. The transformation that Iran had gone through brought forward a stronger Shiite role present in the region. The Iranian revolution that occurred, facilitated the latter, the inception of Hezbollah in Lebanon. Israel had set many conditions on the Lebanese government and its people during the

invasion of 1982 that occupied many of Lebanon's territory. These conditions are perceived to be one of the main reasons that Hezbollah was mobilized. During the environment that Lebanon was living, the inception of Hezbollah began. Three different Islamic groups located in Lebanon and eventually united as one. The first is the Islamic AMAL Movement led by Husayn El Moussawi, a group that divided from the AMAL movement in 1982. The second is the Islamic Call (Al Da'wa Al Islamiya) led by Sobhi El Tofayli. Thirdly, the Muslim Scholars Grouping (Tajamo' Al 'Ulama Al Muslimin) led by Abbas El Moussawi, it was made up of Islamic scholars from Lebanon. In addition, each group was allowed to have three additional leaders calculating them to be nine Islamist leaders in total. The purpose of the unification was to establish basic principles and objectives of the movement. One of the main purposes was to organize a resistance against the Israeli occupation and not to be a political party in Lebanon. Due to the same ideology, the resistance was highly supported by Wilayat Al Faqih and Ayatollah Khomeini as a Marja'iyya.

Due to this relationship the Iranian Revolutionary Guards send aid to the unified resistance in the southern part of Lebanon. "The contingent, initially 1,000 strong, eventually numbered as many as 1,500 and became the nodal point for the Iranian training, supply, and support of Hezbollah" (Norton, 2000: 24). The training and supplies sent were predominantly taking place in the Biqa' Valley of Lebanon. This was possible due to the approval of Syria that allowed the troops to enter the Syrian territory to reach Lebanon. The Pasdaran personnel share the same religious identity and enemy (Israel) as some of the Shi'a in Lebanon. Some of the Shi'a in Lebanon were the 'ulama in Hizb Al

Da'wa Al Islamiyya (The Islamic Call Party) based in Iraq whom took refuge in Lebanon. They were encouraged "to join and infiltrate AMAL (The Brigades of the Lebanese Resistance) in order to disseminate a more radical and revolutionary message to a wider audience and to challenge the secular and moderate orientations of AMAL" (Alagha, 2006: 31-32). Amal was the leading militia for the Shiites in the South led by Nabih Berri, the main rival of the resistance at the time. Ayatollah Khomeini and his followers in the Shiite community in Lebanon accused Nabih Berry of being a deviant from Islam due to his decision to cooperate with the Lebanese Government.

During this time, the presence of the Americans and other western forces was resented by many Lebanese as they are clearly Israeli allies. Thus, on April 16th, 1983 a suicide car bomber, bombed and destroyed the United States' Embassy in Beirut. The newly unified organization didn't claim the attack; on the other hand, they blamed an Islamic Jihad Organization for this act. Along with the previous attack, two second assaults followed that destroyed simultaneously French and American Marines military compounds killing many soldiers. These assaults caused many of the Western countries to blame the still unofficial movement Hezbollah for the devastating terrorist attack.

Iran continued to play a central role in Hezbollah's development. Hezbollah's strong emergence requires from Iran several types of aid, such as "religious (marja'iyya), financial, organizational, and military" (Alagha, 2006: 35) which Iran is capable of providing. The professional military training of the Shiites in Lebanon persisted in order to fight for protection and to expel the Israeli occupying army from the Lebanese territory, and return the Palestinians to their homeland. This strategically based move by

Iran's Supreme leader Ayatollah Khomeini was a tactic to legitimize their presence in Lebanon for the latter. One reason for such move is to implement this movement's ideology in order to be able to use that tactical force in the future for the implementation of the guardianship of the jurisprudent in Lebanon also known as Wilayat Al Faqih. "This was the foundation upon which Hizballah movement was built" (Rosset, 2011: 2).

The manifesto inaugurating Hezbollah in February 16th, of 1985, the following was written:

"We are often asked: Who are we, the Hizballah, and what is our identity? We are the sons of the Umma [Muslim community] - the party of God (Hizb Allah) the vanguard of which was made victorious by God in Iran. There the vanguard succeeded to lay down the bases of a Muslim state, which plays a central role in the world. We obey the orders of one leader, wise and just, that of our tutor and Faqih [jurist] who fulfills all the necessary conditions: Ruhollah Musawi Khomeini. God save him!

By virtue of the above, we do not constitute an organized and closed party in Lebanon, nor are we a tight political cadre.....Our behavior is dictated to us

by legal principles laid down by the light of an overall political conception defined by the leading jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih)" (Rosset, 2011: 2).

The 1985 open letter is published in the first Hezbollah instituted organization Al 'Ahd Newspaper. The above mentioned letter introduced Hezbollah's ideology, portraying it as a social organization yet it advocates for an Islamic state that is ruled by the Twelvers Imam's doctrine 'Wilayat El Faqih'. Hezbollah accuses Lebanon's Government of being influenced by Western politics, thus didn't recognize the legitimacy of the Lebanese Government. Therefore, Hezbollah accuse Lebanon's Government as a 'puppet' affected by foreign forces. Hezbollah calls for an Islamic Governance as a substitute to the current Lebanese Government, which develops into a primary focus of Hezbollah's interior strategic effort equal to the strategic struggle and fight against Israel.

The letter emphasizes two Islamic expressions the 'oppressed' and the 'oppressors'. As the letter also clearly stated that its allies are the oppressed no matter who they are, with the emphasis "that mustad'afin (oppressed) applies to the wronged, unjustly treated, tyrannized and impoverished who do not own their daily bread, and who are oppressed in their freedom, dignity, and endeavors without any consideration whether they are Christians or Muslims" (Alagha, 2011: 16). The letter continued to argue that there is a direct correlation between international states and certain religious sects in Lebanon. In defending its argument they stated that the Western world supports the Lebanese Christians and Israel, whom both have oppressed the Shi'a. This public statement set the foundation to establish the resistance called (Hezbollah) the Party of God to protect the Muslim Shi'a's interests from foreign powers, religious biases and oppression.

The year 1986 marked the start of the resistance's operations to attack and kidnap soldiers from Israel for the liberation of Palestine. These operations were helped in building trust with the Lebanese and Arab nations to prove to their strength and dedication as a resistance and social movement. This incident was the first operation videotaped by the resistance's own media and previewed on various television stations. Up until 1987 Hezbollah had not participated in the Lebanese civil war, to the contrary, they focused on training their fighters while the other militias was rampaging the Lebanon. February of 1987 was the first battle of Hezbollah aligned with the Progressive Socialist Party whom fought fiercely against AMAL and the Syrian Army in control for West Beirut.

Hezbollah grew its name within the nation and multiplied its Shiite constituency becoming one of the main rivals of AMAL the leading movement of the Shiites in Lebanon. Hezbollah and Amal movement competing for the same territory and constituency did eventually face each other on the battle field. Fierce battles spread throughout the Shi'a dominated areas in Lebanon, where the battle would have not ended without the pressure by the Syrian and Iranian players, which resulted in a tête-a-tête relationship, which lasted till now.

In 1989, Hezbollah already grown rapidly declares a new pledge to Ayatollah Khamenei named the successor of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini whom had died. That year and the following years thereafter, Hezbollah carried out four suicide bombings against Israeli targets that marked its militant capabilities to conduct suicide missions, on the other hand Israel assassinates and kidnaps Hezbollah members one of whom is Sheikh

Abdel Karim Obeid. These assassinations and kidnappings along with the rapid growth of Hezbollah as a resistance movement played a major organizational role in nominating its first head of its organization Sheik Subhi El Tufayli as Secretary General and Sayed Hassan Nasrallah head of the 'Shura' council. The amending of the organization's roles and actors was seen to best fit this growing party. In addition to the amending of the organization, the Lebanese government went to Saudi Arabia and signed the Ta'if agreement to end the civil war. It is then when Hezbollah legitimized the Lebanese government, even though it disagreed on vital components of the Ta'if agreement. Some of the disagreements were such as the continuing of the sectarian divide that doesn't solve the root cause of the civil war or possible future conflicts.

Even though Hezbollah's main priority was to fight for the liberation of the occupied territories and Palestine, its perception of the government of Lebanon in the 1980s was an oppressive regime. Lebanon's civil war led to the 1989 Ta'if accord in which the Lebanese constitution was amended, thus changing the politically sectarian government from a power holding Christian head of state to a multi sectarian confessional type government. This change incited Hezbollah to re-adjust in 1992 with the leadership of Sheikh Na'im Qasim, Hezbollah deputy Secretary General and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah who advocated for a dialogue with the Lebanese Government. That dialogue led to the participation of Hezbollah members in the Lebanese parliament. Hezbollah's "changing perception of this state, from one which warranted revolutionary rejectionism to one which merited political accommodation, provides a deeper insight into the transformation of its political stand," (Saad-Ghorayeb, 2002: 26). This

transformation of political alienation from oppressing states, to accommodation in a lesser evil government that ended the civil war was perceived as a drastic change. This type of political co-existence wasn't necessarily a depiction that the government has changed from being an oppressor but an attempt for Hezbollah to work with the oppressing system to modify it. Modification of the political system meant for many Lebanese as the ultimate transformation of the Republic into an Islamic State. "By 'complete' and 'comprehensive', the party means the diverse social, political and economic laws embodied in the Shari'a which, according to Khumayni, presupposes the existence of an Islamic state for their execution" (Saad-Ghorayeb, 2002: 35). However, the several religious identities located in Lebanon made it difficult for this goal to be implemented. In addition, a study done by Judith Harik in 1992 revealed that "only 13% of Shi'ites lent their support" (Saad-Ghorayeb, 2002: 35) for this transformation.

Hezbollah's endorsement of the Ta'if accord was conditional, and a gain of a momentum for the movement. This gain besides being part of the political system is for the Lebanese Government's official recognition of Hezbollah as resistance movement rather than a status as civil war militia. As a result of the accord, the government of Lebanon must additionally confiscate the weapons of all the militias but allow the sole movement, the Hezbollah resistance, the right to bear arms for the protection of the state.

4.3 1991-1996 Hezbollah

The year 1991 is seen to be the beginning for Hezbollah's infitah (opening-up). The Lebanese government had finally confiscated all the weapons of the militias and forced them to close down their training camps. Hezbollah held a second conclave that revised many components of its agenda as a result of the Lebanese governments change. The Subhi El Tufayli term as Secretary General of Hezbollah and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's term in being the head of the Shura Council term had ended. Tufayli was succeeded by Sayyed Abbas El Musawi during the assembly that Hezbollah had, which made him the second Secretary General of Hezbollah and the first to be elected. The developments that Lebanon and Hezbollah were going through at the same time caused the 'infithah' which forced Hezbollah to enter the political sphere. The newly elected Secretary General Sayyed El Musawi was seen to have been a very social person. He had achieved to establish a positive relationship with the AMAL party. Sayyed Al Musawi was a strong spokesman; he spoke at many events organized by Hezbollah and was there in person amongst the people. Consequently, Israel took advantage of this characteristic in which made the assassination attempt easy to uphold. Thus, Israel assassinated Sayyed Al Musawi along with his wife and six year old son by means of bombing his car with an Israeli helicopter, after leaving one of the events he was addressing.

In the same night of the assassination, Hezbollah went into a conclave and elected Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah to become the third secretary general. Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah was a student of Sayyed Abbas Al Musawi, and a former member of the AMAL party. Therefore, with a new and young face Hezbollah entered a new path. This revolutionary decade paved the way for Hezbollah's entrance into the political and societal sphere

which expanded its possibilities to retain its image. Hezbollah sought to become part of Lebanon's political sphere for the first time in 1992. After Ayatollah Khamenei granted legitimacy for Hezbollah's participation, they created a new political party named The Loyalty Party to the Resistance. This party succeeded in attaining 12 seats in the parliament. Many of the Shiites questioned this change in perspective and ideology since in Shi'a Islam and specifically the Imamate Twelvers believe in the sole legitimacy of the Faqih and Wilayat Al Faqih. According to Hezbollah, "empowered only with the ability to initiate rulings that relate to the *umma* as a collectivity of states, the Faqih's limited political authority permits the party to pledge its political allegiance to the Lebanese state, and to thereby uphold the concept of nationalism" (Saad-Ghorayeb, 2002: 83). Sayyed Nasrallah also remarked that Hezbollah's affiliation to the Twelvers Imamate Shi'a Islam and its allegiance to Wilayat Al Faqih are just as other religions such as Christianity whom affiliate themselves with a certain political system but remain as a national identity. Therefore the cause that Hezbollah has affiliated themselves and their actions against the enemy has become not only an Islamic or an Arab resistance but also a Lebanese national resistance.

On another note, two different attempts of peacemaking occurred between 1991 and 1993. The first is the Madrid Conference of 1991 which united the region in Spain for a peace agreement. Hezbollah perception of this conference was that any agreement is seen to be a submission to Israel. The second attempt was by President William Jefferson 'Bill' Clinton whom hosted a meeting in the United States and invited two conflicting leaders. The first is Prime Minister of Israel at the time Yitzhaq Rabin and the second

Palestinian Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat. They met together to achieve in what is known today as the Oslo Accords of 1993. This peace accord hosted by the United States is also seen by Hezbollah as a failure in achieving Palestine's full rights for their territory. Therefore, Hezbollah members were called to rally on the street for the Oslo Accord. The Lebanese army attempted to stop the rally from reaching Beirut which caused an attack on the protestors. Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah prevented the Hezbollah supporters and members from creating a backlash because this type of action will be in the sole interest of Israel only.

In addition, Hezbollah's evolution didn't remain on the political and military aspect but also entered the media world. Hezbollah began previewing its videotaped operations on the newly established Al Manar, its private television station. The usage of the media in battles and missions were encouraged by Hezbollah supporters and non-supporters because it revealed the truth of the events making them non-disputable. The visual media achieved what both written articles and claims could not achieve.

In 1995, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's term had ended, party members entered into the conclave with two different mind sets. The first was to elect a new Secretary General, the second was the debate as to either revise the law that permits the Secretary General to only serve two years, and or amend it to three years. Accordingly, the party members came into agreement to extend Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's term. A ceasefire was also made that Israel and Hezbollah in agreement will neither attack civilians during battles. In 1996 the Lebanese government held another parliamentary election. Party of the

Loyalty of the Resistance under Hezbollah won nine seats in the parliament that was headed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafiq El Hariri.

4.4 1997-2000 Hezbollah

The battles on the occupied Southern Lebanese territories were persistent between Hezbollah and the Israeli's during the end of the 1990s. However, Hezbollah's focus didn't remain only on the 'jihad' against the Zionist enemy, but, they also began to increase their public and social service networks and institutions within Lebanon. Due to the Lebanese government's neglect of the Southern part of Lebanon, whether it was due to economic problems or lack of interest in investing in the South, Hezbollah as a consequence created the slogan 'the promise' in reference to one of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's speeches, which became its restorative mission. Institutions such as schools, hospitals, clinics, and youth organizations such as the scouts, flourished. Due to the burden that the civilians had to go through the Resistance in an effort to clean the mess, sent engineers to rebuild the areas damaged from the war. The Governments negligence also forced Hezbollah to provide water and hire garbage collectors in the areas they were in as well. In addition, Hezbollah improved the technological tools and increased the workers of its media institution Al Manar television station. One of the most important events that took place during this restoration mission is that women entered the Hezbollah milieu and began to work in the newly built institutions. These social services

had a great impact on the people it was provided to. Thus, during the election processes in Lebanon these services compensated the Hezbollah candidates by voting for them.

In the meanwhile, as some battles were victorious by Hezbollah against Israel, the Israeli people were unsatisfied with their president Benjamin Netanyahu and the ruling government. The Israelis decided to have an early election, in which Ehud Barak won the presidency seat. This ruling change within Israel allowed Ehud Barak to pledge the withdrawal from Lebanon on July 7th, 2000. Hezbollah wanted the Israeli's to be pushed in a humiliation style out of Lebanon; therefore, they forced them to withdraw early using continuous violent actions. On May 24, 2000 CNN, BBC, Haaretz, The Guardian news among many domestic and international news networks published the full scale withdrawal from most of the Lebanese territory. Few media outlets claimed that Israel withdrew due to economic reasons, claiming that pressure from Hezbollah had nothing to do with such action on the contrary to Hezbollah media outlets and allies.

4.5 2000-2008 Hezbollah

After the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from most of the occupied territories of Lebanon, leaving the Shebaa Farms in their control, six years of rare violence occurred between the two conflicting parties. Hezbollah had until now achieved to establish several 'organs' as a type of organizational structure to its movement run by a collective leadership. The four organs that completed the organization are divided as such: The first organ is Enforcement and Propaganda which works to provide clerics who preach to youth about the mission of the party, and recruits more Shiites into its lines within several Shiite centers. In addition, the media whether it was the Hezbollah's main television

station Al Manar, or its Al Nur radio and Al Intiqad newspapers, they were also used as a tool for this organ. The second 'Jihad al Bina' the Holy Reconstruction organ; it provides support, community outreach, and services to members and their families. These services range from medical care to financial aid, repair housing from damages and provide public utilities such as schools, and super markets. In addition, this organ among others employed thousands of people that belonged to the party, thus, helping its community's economic status. The third organ is Security in which it is in charge of protecting party officials and be the central operating system for surveillance and intelligence on enemies. The fourth organ is Combat that is viewed as the most controversial and anti-Western section of the party. This organ is in charge of the suicide attacks against enemies. (Hamzeh, 1993: 327-328)

An important constituent of Hezbollah's political accommodation is its antagonism toward the West. Saad-Ghorayeb characterizes this anti-Western perception due to the cultural difference. She asserts that Hezbollah's rejection of western civilization is rooted in the historic confrontation between Islam and the West. On the other hand, Norton believes that the antagonistic behavior toward the West is a result of a defensive response toward the hostile involvement of the United States in the region, and its direct connection through Israel. In Norton's opinion, today's struggle is more political and ideological than it is cultural.

As political realism continued in the mindset of Hezbollah leaders, the party continued to change in reaction to current events. Thus, the new accommodation into politics that occurred earlier required the new official organ formed to provide the

political path in which Hezbollah can now partake in; the Loyalty to the Resistance bloc. Hezbollah's integration into the Lebanese political life caught the eye of various politicians and scholars in the West. They argued that the transformation into politics can either jeopardize Lebanon's democracy, or work in favor of further neutralizing the party's combat organ. (Norton, 2007) Thus, scholars and politicians alike hoped that this transformation could bring peace to the region. This revolution indicated that by putting pressure on Syria and Iran, who have substantial influence on Hezbollah, the organization might defuse its military activity, and move directly and exclusively into the political life. Politicizing the party was applauded somewhat by the West, yet not entirely, since the party's aggressive combat wing was still operating, even after the Israeli withdrawal from Southern Lebanon in 2000. Hezbollah, on the other hand, described its persistence in fighting Israel, who still occupies a number of farms known as the Lebanese Shebaa Farms, and to liberate Palestine in calling both actions a Lebanese, Arab and Islamic resistance.

The political life of Hezbollah strengthened over the years affecting it to become one of the most important parties in Lebanon. It began its open dialogue with the Christians, Sunni and other religious sects in Lebanon which eventually led the establishment of new coalitions. Therefore a new set of coalition parties were created in Lebanon different than those of the civil war. March 14th Alliance was created in 2005 as an anti-Syrian regime, after the death of Prime Minister Rafiq El Hariri. The March 14th Alliance consists of the Future Movement whom holds the majority of the Sunni demographic in Lebanon, along with the Lebanese Forces, Lebanese Phalanges whom are

both Christian parties, alongside several other parties. This coalition is seen to be supported by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia among many Gulf States, and the United States of America.

On the contrary, March 8th Alliance was formed after a demonstration occurred in Beirut responding to the Cedar Revolution. The demonstration that was led by March 14th Alliance as the Cedar Revolution was used for calling the Syrian Army to withdraw from Lebanese territory after the assassination of Prime Minister El Hariri. Consequently March 8th Alliance responded to the demonstration with its own Mass demonstration thanking Syria for aiding and supporting Lebanon during the instability of the civil war and the invasion of Israel. March 8th Alliance consists of Hezbollah and Amal movement whom are predominantly Shi'a, the Free Patriotic Movement, and Marada Movement whom are Christian, alongside several other political parties based on various religious sects. This Alliance is most notably supported by the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Syrian Arab Republic.

The several years that led up to 2006 were filled with very few incidents of clash between Hezbollah and Israel. However, an attack on Israeli forces on the morning of July 12, 2006 by Hezbollah members initiated thirty three days of war between the two parties. Although this crisis brought on a massive and brutal bombardment on Lebanese territory by Israel, it was declared a victory for and by Hezbollah. The challenges that Israel faced within this war against Hezbollah were perceived as asymmetric operations. (Kreps, 2007: 27) One of the challenges was the high value assets that are usually similarly confronted between two states at war. By entering a battle with a militant group

or a terrorist organization, Israel faced Hezbollah an organization with very low value assets. Therefore, any large scale attack on a high value asset was merely impossible for Israel to find on Hezbollah. Another challenge was the ability for Hezbollah to contain and hide weaponry in civilian compounds and institutions. This strategy led to negative effects on Israel through the eyes of the media, due to them being targets. Thus, by calculating the several strategies and tactics Hezbollah used within this war, allowed them to come out victorious.

On May 5th, 2008 Walid Jumblatt and several other March 14th members accused Hezbollah of placing hidden cameras outside the Beirut International Airport to monitor the arrival and departures of planes. In addition, March 14th alliance requested to remove Hezbollah's private communication lines and adjoin them to the national communication lines, one that had been infiltrated by Israel several times. As a consequence, Hezbollah felt threatened by several March 14th members and their accusations; coincidentally on May 7th, 2008 Hezbollah mobilized a number of its military members to a Lebanese domestic fight. The Hezbollah members entered Al Mustaqbal Newspaper offices owned by Sunni Leader Saad El Din El Hariri. By May 9th, 2008 "Hezbollah militants took over West Beirut" (S.C.R., n.d.) but retracted two days later after the Lebanese Army officials arrived to the sight and took control. However, fighting and violent clashes continued and were eventually spread from Beirut to the mountains. Negotiations delegated by the Arab League in Doha finally reached a consensus which ended the violence and political crisis.

4.6 2009-2013

In 2009, Lebanon entered a new election campaign in which Saad El Dine El Hariri the son of assassinated Prime Minister Rafiq El Hariri succeeded Fouad Siniora to become the second Prime Minister in President Michel Suleiman's era. The newly elected council of ministers formed a ministerial statement on December 8th, 2009. This ministerial statement gained the majority of the confidence of 122 in the parliament out of 128 seats as noted by Presidency of the Council of Ministers (P.C.M, n.d.). The new ministerial statement is important due to the entitlement that Prime Minister Saad El Din El Hariri composed of "its responsibility in maintaining Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, the government affirms the right of Lebanon, its people, its army and the resistance to liberate or retrieve the Shebaa Farms and Kafr Shuba hills of Lebanon and the Lebanese part of Ghajar village, and defend Lebanon against any aggression and stick to the right for its territorial waters, by all available and legitimate means" (P.C.M., n.d.). This new unified government although began with heated debates of Hezbollah's weapons resulted in support to keep its arms. The trinity a title given to the slogan of 'people, army, and resistance' became an essential component for the protection of Lebanese sovereignty from Israeli invasion and the legal legitimacy of the resistance's presence and role.

As the new ministers assimilated in the parliament with its new missions, the Special Tribunal was conducting an investigation in the assassination of Prime Minister Rafiq El Hariri. This horrific incident sparked many theories as to who were the masterminds of the crime. However, the March 14th Alliance was quick to blame Syria and Hezbollah for the assassination without proper evidence. Therefore, on January 12,

2011 March 8th Alliance withdrew from the parliamentary cabinet resulting in the collapse of the government and ousting of Prime Minister Saad El Din El Hariri. This action allowed Najib Miqati to become a Prime Minister to be designated as a caretaker until he forms his cabinet, which was announced in June of 2011. This newly formed government headed by Prime Minister Miqati allowed the majority of the cabinet seats to be filled with March 8th Alliance.

On another note, the region had fallen through a phase of revolutions which are called the Arab Spring. This spring flowed from the North African region and has reached the neighboring country of Lebanon, Syria. Protestors in Syria called for Assad's regime to step down. Clashes between the protestors of who are members of the Nusra Front, and Al Qaeda, both recognized terrorist organizations by the United States among other Takfiri groups became known under the media umbrella as the Free Syrian Army. The Free Syrian Army called for a 'jihad' against the Syrian military and regime. Hezbollah's political stance on this situation as it first began was that the Syrian call for reforms is just and must reach a settlement with the regime through dialogue. The events in Syria unfolded and the situation worsened due to the lack of dialogue and unwillingness by the anti-Assad groups. On May 25, 2013 Hezbollah's Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah "announced his party's entry into the Syrian conflict" (Nazemroaya, 2013). This comes after at least a year of Sunni Lebanese jihadists volunteering to join the Free Syrian Army in their attempt to overthrow President Bashar Al Assad's regime. (Blanford, 2012)

Hezbollah's entrance into Syria's war has become another controversial issue for many Lebanese and international states. Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah said in a speech on the Occasion of the Resistance and Liberation Day that the "armed groups taking control of Syria or specific Syrian provinces, especially those close to Lebanon we consider this a big threat to Lebanon, all Lebanese Christian and Muslims, the Government, the Resistance, and the unity" (Al Manar, 2013). This threat from the complex conflict was perceived by Sayyed Nasrallah as not just analyzing a situation but a direct threat was directed to Lebanon by the Syrian opposition and it will take place after the collapse of President Bashar Al Assad's regime. (Al Manar, 2013) On the other hand, some people perceive that the entrance of Hezbollah into Syria is not a matter of national resistance and will only result in Lebanon's revisit to the protracted civil war.

The spill from Syria has already initiated clashes in Lebanon. Hezbollah's entrance into Syria has incited Sunni backlash against the Shiites and Alawites. Tripoli and Sidon have been the battlegrounds between the Alawites in Jabal Mohsen, the Lebanese National Army and the Salafi Sunni whom are led by Ahmad Al Asiir. In conclusion, Hezbollah's evolution is still in process as tension in the region especially in Syria intensifies and interests of oil and gas findings in the Mediterranean provide an incentive for possible peace.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS

Much of the Middle East regional historical research has revealed instability due to different types of conflict clashes. These crisis settings have revealed that most of the time conflict management has been the most attempted in implementation rather than implementing conflict resolution. Thus, any fragmentation of society and instability along with wrong choice of peace initiatives has forced many states to become identified as failed states. This has become an increasing continuum today as few states are on the verge of joining this title and becoming themselves a failed state. The failed power establishments of such states have installed a loop hole for the rise of radical fundamentalists and resistance identities. These identities eventually develop their own militant objectives and or political agenda, thus becoming a de-facto government in opposition of the current government's structure. It is clear that the duality of society and its government develop in a cohesive manner; consequently, when the government fails the society fragments and vice versa. This is not to say that society is not already fragmented naturally, on the contrary, societies are flourished with certain sectarian lines that could be described within the culture concept, such as religion, and so on. Sectarianism is highly relevant to current conflict in Lebanon and the Middle East region especially "that it is surfacing at a time when anti-Americanism, religious conservatism, and extremism are on the rise" (Nasr, 2006: 27) One of the many questions regarding

culture and identity rises as to what is the reason that societies enter a phase of opposing co-existence, whilst at other times those same societies co-exist in a natural manner. Samuel Huntington the renowned theorist of the clash of civilizations claimed that the latest phase of conflicts have evolved into becoming conflicts of ideology and culture. Thus, the fragmentation of society as it played in the Lebanese civil wars increased radicalism and fundamentalists whom urged people to come in a collective manner and resist the failed or soon to be failed state. These same fundamentalists urged the people to join them in support by delegitimizing the legitimate state or regime and mobilizing an 'us' versus 'them' mission. The different perspectives that interpret ethnicity and conflict such as the *instrumentalists* could be used to understand the Shia in Lebanon and Hezbollah. (Smith, 2001) Thus, Anthony Smith an instrumentalist argued that ethnicity is a tool of mobilization used by political leaders in order to gain support for a certain causes. This type of mobilization that the many leaders in Lebanon have used to establish militias and movements pre and post-civil war has failed to achieve a national identity.

The conflict evolution that was mobilized by fundamentalists highlights the protracted conflict that arose in the 1970s in Lebanon. The undesirable nature of the environment that the Shiites lived in within the sovereignty of Lebanon was due to the neglect of the Lebanese government. Thus, Lebanon entered a complex civil war, in which religious lines and cultural backgrounds marked the borders that fragmented its society and delegitimized its authority. It is then when religious fundamentalists were nominated or elected as leaders and in the midst of this decay and violent non-state actors or as they were called militias entered the Lebanese sphere.

Among many movements established in response to the conflicts in the Lebanese civil wars is Hezbollah. This organization is recognized by several international states to be a radical movement. Hezbollah evolved through different stages in its ideology and political agenda that it partook in throughout the latter years. This evolution shows a portion of reality that deals with many Conflict Analysis theories. The multi-tier frameworks provided in the Literature Review section of the thesis lay a more comprehensive understanding of realities such as the conflicts in Lebanon and the mobilization of social movements affecting its own domestic and neighboring region and the international community. Thus within this chapter, the theories and case study will be intertwined to reveal the results and conclusion of the analysis.

The disheartening adjectives of Lebanon's civil war and its complex actors revealed to be an effect from the indirect structural violence that caused class inequality within the Lebanese society. As Johan Galtung introduced the term *structural violence* in his *Violence, Peace, And Peace Research* journal article, it is the act of violence where there is no specific actor, but the violence is taking place through indirect means. In this case the inequality of power within the government marginalized some of the population. This specific indirect violent act was initiated by the *Mithaq Al-Watani* also known as the National Pact through its establishment of an unequal power-shared government along religious lines. Thus the country was gradually penetrated by direct violent actions from individuals whom later were described as fundamentalists in order to achieve some, if not all, basic human needs and other expectations.

The fragmentation of society as it pertains to this thesis was highlighted pre and post Lebanese civil war. Fragmentation pre-civil war in Lebanon could date back to the Islamic Split between the Shiites and the Sunnis. The historical trauma that the Shiites perceive they endured placed themselves in the Muslim community as second class citizens or in other words the minority. Similarly, the historical trauma that the Shiites have faced of being the minority in the region resurfaced to be a tool for mobilization in and after 1975 in Lebanon. The oppression that the Shiites felt at that time was not just due to remembrance of the historical trauma, but also the current complete disregard from political discourse in Lebanon. The neglect from the Lebanese governmental authorities to the Shiite community eventually allowed the mobilization of the social movement to enter the loop hole leading to being admitted in the societal and in due course the political sphere.

Hezbollah's complexity began from the protracted conflict as had been briefly described in Chapter Two of the Lebanese civil wars. The invasion of Israel to relieve the Shiites and Christians from the Sunni Palestinian oppression and chaos was first celebrated; however, the western objectives and agenda that was hoped to be implemented through the invasion became seen as an oppressing action. Therefore, the fragmentation of Lebanon drew thick religious border lines that decayed the state. Few of the Lebanese society were already in acceptance of the Western influence, whereas others were in opposition. The movements that supported this Western project are those whom relate mostly to this Western culture, one of whom are the Lebanese Phalangist party. Whereas the others that did not accept this Western agenda were many of who belonged

to the Lebanese National Movement. This cultural and ideological struggle along with various kinds of deprivation resulted in the emerging of an identity into becoming what is known today to be one of the most controversial social movements. The formulation of such social movement required very little motivation in Lebanon. Due to the governments' neglect of rightful expectations or as John Burton theorized in his 'Basic Human Needs' theory, in addition to mass historical trauma this community has endured, the social movement Hezbollah was mobilized.

The neglect of giving basic human needs to the Shiite population brought on frustration and aggression to the community. The frustration and aggression hypothesis was revealed to be accurate by different Lebanese individuals through their action of joining the social movement Hezbollah. The aggression was displayed when many Shiite individuals left the strong Shiite Amal movement and or those individuals that joined Hezbollah a militant organization at the time to take up arms and train to fight Israel. The hypothesis is negated however, due to some Shiites remaining in the Amal movement, a strong Shiite party, and not mobilizing themselves the same way as Hezbollah's stand on the front lines of a war with Israel. Thus for many individuals within Lebanon the frustration with Israel was dealt with through different means than Hezbollah's military style.

Lebanon in 1975 described a scenario, where Shiites were being oppressed by the Christian dominated government, the increasing Sunni population within Lebanon and strong Druze influence, describing a similar oppression to their historical memoirs. This type of oppression became known as sacred pasts. Thus, the Hezbollah Shiites revealed

in their opening letter their chosen trauma by opposing any type of oppression, and their fight against their enemy was one of battling the oppressors. After achieving a governmental role within Lebanon as ‘Speaker of the House’ in the Lebanese parliament, Shiites still felt it was still a third class position similar to the environment in which they live in. Vamik Volkan’s concept of chosen trauma is celebrated within the Shiite community in the Ashura, and reiterated in speeches of the Secretary General almost every time. This type of action keeps reminding the Shiites of their history and why their mission today is what it is. In addition, the succession of the Iranian Revolution gave the Shiites hope and inspiration.

The clash of civilizations as Huntington described dominated Lebanon’s politics. The cultural entity that Huntington defines civilization as was clearly revealed in Lebanon’s society. Although the cultural identity of being Lebanese was shared by most, the most distinguishable element of cultural entity or high cultural relevance was religion. Therefore, Lebanon’s establishment of border line divisions utilizing villages and cities achieved the stepping stone of the beginning of the clash of civilizations, where different sects of Islam and Christianity under one nationality contravened.

With the establishment of an organization by the name of Hezbollah and their open letter that officially introduced them, they proclaimed their identity, with hopes of domestic recognition due to its aid for securing Lebanese sovereignty. Consequently, the basic human needs theory began as a main objective for Hezbollah. As revealed through the Hezbollah evolution, they partook in the restorative mission of the Shiite community. This type of action achieved needs for the community such as water, shelter, health

institutions and more. This evolving route that the organization went through succeeded in their attainment of political authority and credibility.

The need for security was attained in a different manner. Hezbollah is one of several movements that resorted to militant actions in many circumstances in order to obtain security and sovereignty for Lebanon. Due to these militant actions, they became as addressed by Klejda Mulaj as a violent non-state actor, specifically an “Insurgent guerilla bands which are engaged in a protracted political and military struggle aimed at weakening or destroying the power and legitimacy of a ruling government” (Mulaj, 2010: 3). Mulaj continued by saying that such actors can overlap with different categories such as militants, national liberation movements or even terrorist groups. In order to specify the definition of terrorism which no single answer has been universally accepted, Mulaj used Bruce Hoffman’s *Inside Terrorism* definition. This definition could be summarized in a broad manner that terrorism as specified is the ‘deliberate’ act in order to succeed in political change, using an action that causes fear by means of violence. The puzzle of the theory of violent non-state actors is when, how and why can these types of actors of who could be categorized as terrorists or militants evolve to become legitimate state actors? For example, Hezbollah began as a militant organization, however, today; Hezbollah is one of the main actors in Lebanese politics. In addition, Hezbollah became recognized as a national resistance by the Lebanese Government, hence, making it a legitimate Lebanese military actor for defense along with its National Army. Therefore, does the government legitimization of an organization in becoming a resistance movement exemplify state sponsored terrorism?

Although Jonathan White claimed that “governments use terrorism to maintain political power” (White, 1991: 7) this definition could be refuted by merely reviewing several state actor’s attempt to implement ‘democracy’ or political-religious structures in other states. Therefore, state terrorism doesn’t necessarily mean to maintain power but to also change or gain political power based on interests. As have been seen in many wars and battles over centuries, governments and authorities have utilized violence for their political gain and imprinted fear and terror in communities worldwide. Therefore violence is not only used by non-state actors, but also state actors in pursuit of political change. Thus, in reviewing Hezbollah’s evolution, supposed actions of terror have roared internationally by this organization. Whether it was the embassy bombing that took place in Argentina or the latest Burgas bus bombing, they were merely political accusations that have placed Hezbollah at the top of the suspect list. Hezbollah has refuted most of the attacks they were blamed for adding to very little evidence and or no legal evidence to prove their involvement. In any case, the latest bombing is during an era where Hezbollah is seen to be holding the majority seats in the parliament, does this mean this action, if was committed by them, is state sponsored terrorism? In response to this bombing, the European Union has agreed to name the military organ of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization leaving out the political and social organ as of July 2013 and not linking it to Lebanese state sponsored terrorism.

Legitimacy as Mulaj mentioned can and have been sought by non-state actors in two different styles. As pertaining to the case study in this thesis, Hezbollah gained socio-political legitimacy and military credibility in several ways. First, Hezbollah sought

legitimacy as a social organization by establishing institutions such as schools and hospitals to aid the community. Second, they attained the resistance legitimacy by providing security and attempting to achieve full independence for the Lebanese state by being a national resistance. Third, its motion to enter the Lebanese political sphere and establish the Loyalty to the Resistance Bloc was another way of attaining political legitimacy. Finally, legitimacy for Hezbollah was not given by the Shiite community to this organization only. On the contrary the multi-lateral relations and coalitions Hezbollah attained with other major political actors in Lebanon gained them domestic and several international states' legitimacy as a Lebanese political state actor and resistance. Complete progression for non-state actors to becoming legitimate state actors at the international level is seen however, to be only when they are 'disarmed, demobilized, and reintegrated' (Mulaj, 2010: 23) into society. Nevertheless, the concept of legitimate state actor by the Lebanese society and few regional and international allies has given this type of state actor legitimacy to the organization without the three concepts Mulaj mentioned.

The strong utilization of the media by Hezbollah and other actors has been of great importance. The media has been used as one of the most important weapons for state and non-state actors. This so called 'weapon' allowed several types of achievements to occur for actors. The first is for recognition of motives and objectives. This achievement was revealed by Hezbollah through speeches of the Secretary General and other important members. The second type of achievement was to seek respect and sympathy by the viewers. By broadcasting live occurrences during the battles between

Israel, Hezbollah has posted videos and pictures of massacred civilians and demolished civilian infrastructures. The third and final achievement is to gain legitimacy and credibility. This is achieved by releasing live footage of confident militants resisting the enemy and succeeding to attack the enemy. Therefore, as mentioned in the literature review the media in the sense of being a weapon has allowed the creation of relationships and feelings between individuals that are oppressed to be inspired and relate. Consequently, social movements like Hezbollah, eventually either birth international enemies, or gain international support due to the utilization of the media. Hezbollah has been one of the strongest social movements worldwide in using the media, not only for the live footage of soldiers in action, but in addition to television shows like “Al Ghaliboun” meaning *The Victorious*. The plot of this show sheds light on Hezbollah to all the viewers from its inception in Lebanon and its evolving pattern. In addition, the show portrays “the sacrifices, bravery, patience, and triumph of the Lebanese society” (Rida, et al, 2012) in response to the Israeli invasion.

The media along with other sources have been helpful tools in analyzing Hezbollah’s conflict approaches. Hezbollah’s approach that has been taken within the conflict scope against Israel yields to high concern for self and low concern for other. As revealed by the Dual Concern Model in Figure 1, Hezbollah’s care for its own objectives and goals is very important to understanding if any resolutions will be made to the conflict. However, as long as Hezbollah yields in such approach to conflict, peace activists believe that the only preferable style to achieving peace is for care for both self and other. Whether it is due to the historical trauma, or the current state of environment in

which they live in, the Hezbollah jihad is to end oppression. Therefore, as long as oppression is being committed against either Lebanon or Palestine, Hezbollah feels the responsibility to protect and liberate.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The research of this thesis intertwined the evolution of Hezbollah and the theoretical frameworks of mobilizing collective individuals due to neglect of basic human needs and violations of human rights for a minority. The environment in which Hezbollah the social movement was born in was one filled with complexity of not only the clash of civilizations but the mere definition of identity. This research demonstrates that identity plays a vital role in Hezbollah the current dominant political force in Lebanon, historically and presently. This identity that is intertwined with historical trauma and chosen glories through ideology and politics in the region have been tools for uniting individuals and mobilizing them into becoming one of the most controversial social movement, resistance movement, and or terrorist organization. Objectives of this social movement that are linked directly to its identity are seen to have evolved since its inception. The changes that have been implemented allowed Hezbollah to integrate within the Lebanese societal and political milieu in addition to the new and modern globalized world. These changes range from a sole militant organization to entering the Lebanese Parliament, and establishing institutions that provide basic human needs for the ‘Jnoubeyeen’ the Southerners in Lebanon, and of technological advancements that have gained them recognition, sympathy, and credibility. However, the evolution of this social movement has in addition been controversial.

The current most controversial entity of Hezbollah is its military organ. The European Union has recently blacklisted this organ as a terrorist organization. In addition, the ongoing conflict in Syria and Hezbollah's military participation that allied with President Bashar Al Assad has brought a backlash within Lebanon. As conflict in the region is intensifying literally by the second while writing this thesis and the positions of the international community have been a part of this social movement's evolutionary process. The selective participation of the international communities when it comes to protecting human rights has frustrated Hezbollah. This selectivity has abandoned the Palestinian cause and the stop for human rights violations on Palestinians yet the mere suspicion or accusation of the Syrian regime's chemical weapon usage has provoked the international community to interfere in the war. Although Hezbollah adopted politics as another means for action, the endangerment of its identity that has struck its backbone Syria could lead it to select militant action only. This selective action might cause a brutal conflict that will intertwine many international states with Hezbollah and its state supporters such as Iran, and Russia. The war that is occurring in Syria has placed intense pressure on Hezbollah as it is perceived to be an indirect confront to them. Thus, Hezbollah's participation has although been seen as an action of offense rather than defense and not a national resistance action, could also be seen as an action of defense to their assets and force in Syria. Today, scholars and politicians fear that Hezbollah's participation in Syria among other Lebanese militants will lead Lebanon back to the 15 year civil wars. Clashes between the Sunni against the Shi'a and Alawites in the

Lebanese territory are already building up as recent terror attacks have been occurring in the Dahyeh and Tripoli.

The second controversial entity of Hezbollah is its belief in the Islamic governance. This rise of the Islamic radical movement in the midst of a multi-sectarian state has brought crises conditions to the Lebanese state and its region. This radical identity that rose was driven to exist to implement several objectives one of which is Wilayat Al Faqih in order to protect their Shi'a identity and Islamic cultural upbringing in the midst of Western invasions and other influences in Lebanon. In the analysis of conflicts, future research must not exempt religion from root causes of social movement mobilization and evolution. Although people might think that religion has lost its strength in the world, Monica Toft claims that religion has increased especially in the 21st Century. Most of the global milieu has accepted religion politically and in many contexts is regarded highly in the political sphere. However, globalization has intercepted religions not only in a positive manner but also in a negative manner. It has split religions into more sects and lessened the radicalization for some, and or strengthened the radicalization for others. The strengthening of radicalization has caused continuous spur of terror that has been seen or heard by almost everyone in the world especially within intrastate wars. This terror is similar to the Lebanese civil war that started in 1975, today's on going Arab Spring, and Syria's current civil war among other conflicts in the Middle Eastern region and internationally. This fragmentation of society has created loop holes for fundamentalists and radical movements to mobilize and increase. Few of the mobilizations that are taking place in the world are calls for 'Jihad' by the radical Muslim

leaders. This call has been one origin of many terror acts felt by the national and international communities. Globalization might have been a part of the process which tainted some religions and forced them to modify for co-existence in order to be tolerated. On the contrary, other religions or religious leaders have used globalization to mobilize an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mission; therefore, they took a different path of opposing co-existence. As provided in Chapter three of the thesis, Shiites have believed and fought for their ideology since 632. The awaiting for Al Mehdi has pushed a political move for Ayatollah Khomeini, to establish a role of a deputy Imam to establish a united Islamic Nation until the Mehdi’s return. Wilayat Al Faqih was an essential objective for Hezbollah to be implemented when it first began. However, the global milieu and globalization within itself has forced Hezbollah to take a turn from what could be called a radical agenda to be amended to a more liberal agenda in its local, regional and international milieu. However, a question in this thesis has risen as to whether “el taqiyya” an Islamic concept that has a similar meaning to the term ‘sleeper cell’ which literally translates to “pious dissemination” is part of this evolution that led Hezbollah to change its view of this implementation. This Islamic concept allows or in other words legitimizes ideological beliefs to be set aside for a period till the time permits to implement their ideological agenda, in this case Islamic governance of the Wilayat Al Faqih in Lebanon.

This evolution from sole militant organization to a socio-political and military movement could be seen to have given hope to reaching a peaceful resolution. Since it was of the interest of Hezbollah to enter the political milieu in Lebanon, if the

international community creates an interest for Hezbollah to leave its military wing, peace and possible bi-lateral relations might occur with Israel and other states. However, as Hezbollah has claimed in previous speeches, the Lebanese National Army and the Lebanese government are not capable of solely working for the benefit of the entire Lebanese society due to its multi-confessional system. Therefore, the presence of the militant organ of the resistance is not only to protect the sovereignty of Lebanon and all the oppressed in the region but to also protect the interest of the Shi'a, their identity, and security.

Further research is required about Hezbollah and any other social movements that partake in conflicts especially in the Middle East region for reaching peaceful resolutions. As discussed in the introduction the security of the Mediterranean Basin is of great importance to the world market and country economics. Lebanon being in the Mashreq plays an important role in the Mediterranean region, and Hezbollah and its allies are the current dominant political force in Lebanon. Therefore, peace initiatives and studies of international relations, conflict and security must focus on how peace can be achieved with this social movement or as it is recognized by the United States of America and the European Union as a terrorist organization. The studies must present an understanding of identity whether its ideology, and or other cultural theories due to this social movement's strong linkage to its ideological beliefs. In this case, the complexity of Islam and their concepts such as "el taqiyya" must be analyzed specifically for the case of Hezbollah. In addition, studies of historical trauma and neglect of basic human needs play a vital role in mobilizing individuals. Thus, with looking at this social movement it could lead to

understanding of how to stop radical movements to mobilize. It is important to remember that for any peace initiatives each social movement evolves differently, thus generalization must be excluded from future research.

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BIOGRAPHY

Anastasia Franjie was born in Maryland, United States. She came into the field of conflict analysis after experiencing second hand dynamics of war and massacres that her family was confronted with in their home town of Zgharta, Lebanon. The experience of war between Lebanon and Israel was also of great impact on her childhood. After moving back to the United States of America she graduated from Annandale High School, Annandale, Virginia, in 2008. She received her Applied Associate Degree in Administration of Justice from Northern Virginia Community College in 2010 and Bachelor of Science in Criminology, Law and Society from George Mason University in 2011.