TERRORISM AS A POLITICAL TOOL IN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CRISIS

Ibrahim B, Shehuri, Garba Mohammed & Abubakar Musa

Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

This paper tried to examine the effects of Palestinian-Israeli conflict that rampage the region for decades. History has availed us with the picture of the Middle East as a region infested with the "longest lasting struggles" of Political Terrorism between the Zionist on one hand and the Palestinians on the other over Land, Security, and Dignity. Since the beginning of the crisis, it has been warred upon wars without final and finite victor or a vanquished. Each regards itself as a victim and drew from that self-image a solipsistic self-righteousness that is used to justify ruthless means. On May 14, 1948, the Zionist, led by David Ben Gurion, proclaimed the state of Israel, and ever since, Israel has been bulldozing Arab villages, killing people with helicopter gun-ships, armored cars, and rockets. Occupation, sending into exile and discrimination of the occupied by the occupier became the norm. These maltreatments on the Palestinians spilled into what the Israelis term as extremism. Many militant groups from Palestine and other areas of the Middle East have therefore sprung up in recent years as well as past decades, engaging in acts such as suicide bombings, sniper shootings, and car or bus bombing - the West and Israel, and their propaganda media described as terrorism. The groups justify their actions as freedom fighting. This gory relationship spiraled into consequences, which tragic effect impinged on the Israelis, Palestinians as well as the Arab politics. It affected regional stability, inter-religious dealings, and the moral standing of Islam and global Jewry. The study relied on secondary data: published and unpublished works of scholars sourced from resource institutions. Data collected was qualitatively analyzed using content analysis. To capture the essence of the study, a correlation was conclusively drawn between the crisis, its immutability to solutions and political terrorism.

KEYWORDS: *Political Terrorism, Negotiations, Security, Conflict, and Dignity*

INTRODUCTION

The Middle East region is plagued with the "longest lasting struggles" of Political Terrorism between the Zionist on one hand and the Palestinian Nationalism on the other over Land, Security, and Dignity. Since the beginning of the crisis, there has been a ceaseless occupation of the Palestinian territories and the maltreatment of the occupied people. It has been warred upon wars without final and finite victor or a vanquished. Each regards itself as a victim and draws from that self-image a solipsistic self-righteousness (belief in self as only reality) that is used to justify ruthless means (Wasserstein, 2002).

Between 1947 and 1948, over 700,000 Palestinian Arabs were deracinated from their homes and land and forced to live in refugee camps on Israel's borders. They have been denied the right to return to their homes. They have been refused recompense for their homes, orchards, farms and other material goods stolen from them by the Israeli government, and after their expulsion, the "Israeli Forces" totally obliterated by bulldozing over 385 Arab villages and towns out of a

total of 475. More often, Israeli villages were built on the remaining rubble, and ever since, it has been bulldozing of villages, killing of the people of the settlements with helicopter gun-ships, armored cars, launching of rockets, occupation, exile, and discrimination of the occupied people by the occupier (Jewish Terrorism, 2011).

On the other side, the frustrations and maltreatments meted have angered many in the Arab world against Israeli policies. The Palestinian frustration has juxta posingly evolved into what the Israelis term as extremism. Many militant groups from Palestine and other areas of the Middle East have therefore sprung up in recent years as well as past decades, performing acts the West and Israel, and their propaganda media describe as terrorism (suicide bombings, sniper shootings, and car or bus bombings) and what the groups themselves justify as freedom fighting. The Israeli reprisal as well as the Palestinian suicide bombings, and past acts of terrorism have terrorized both Palestinian as well as Israeli civilians, making peace harder and harder to imagine, yet it has been easy to influence and recruit the young, impressionable and angry into extremist causes. As violence continues, it seems easy to find recruits to fan the embers of violent causes (Shah, 2000).

Many scholars, however, argued that political terrorism is 'any mindless act of violence organized or unorganized, with manifestly defined or esoteric (obscure) political cause of action or motive, staged by state, individual or group (s), which is deliberately intended to affects innocent (non-combatant) civilians and/or civilian infrastructure, and without exhausting existing legitimate remedies at disposal for redressal.' This definition is as contentiousas it may sound postulates that, it is not in who is staging the violence or the cause for which an individual, a group (s) or a state is staging the fight; but, the matter squarely rest on how the fight is carried out. The moment the fighter (s) intentionally get involved "non-combatant innocent civilians" and/or "civilian infrastructure", refusing to follow through existing legitimate sources of remedies at disposal in order to reach their political goals, it is called Political Terrorism.

However, the gory story of the duo terrorizing each other went on unperturbed for decades and decades more; in spite of several Peace Accords, series of UN Resolutions aimed at settling the crisis, and it appears crafting of the required diplomacy intended at the delivery of peace has to turn out to be elusive. The crisis is now engendering a lot of debate because of its seemingly irreconcilable standpoint vis-à-vis the myriad of problems it has precipitated in the region; ranging from refugees, displacement, social injustice, famine, and hunger, to suspicion, boycotts and acrimony. Others include general politico-economic and socio-cultural instability, insecurity of life and properties in the region, as the world stands divided over the conflict. The conflict had remained of interest for scientific inquiry with a view to understanding its dynamics, causes and manifestations and reasons for the escalation of the crisis, in spite of decades of mediatory efforts aimed at resolving it.

Statement of the Problem

Since over half a century ago when the state of Israel was founded in Palestine, the Middle East has never known peace. The Palestinians and the Israelis have engaged each other in acts of political terrorism for decades. The relationship between the Israelis and the Palestinians can at best reminiscent the cat and mouse perpetual rivalry and vendetta. The Israelis and Palestinians remain locked in one of history's longest lasting struggles. Zionism and Palestinian Nationalism have mimicked each other down the decades, each resorting to acts of political terrorism and offenses against human rights. At the heart of each is an obsessive national vision, borne out of a century of struggle, and focused on land, security, and dignity (Wasserstein, 2002).

This violent orgy and vendetta of political terrorism escalating into complex, larger, and costlier tragedies are what goes on as the nature of relationship between the Palestinians and the Israelis for decades precipitating socio-economic, cultural and political problems, translated into refugees, displacement, social injustice, famine, hunger, bigotry, acrimony e.t.c within the region as well as outside. The escalation of the conflict and its tragic effects affected the Israelis, the Palestinians as well as the Arab politics -- accounting for regional implosions and volatility. Its effects are on the inter-religious relations, on the moral reputation of global Jewry and Islam. It is as well on the Arab and Islamic relations with the West. What's more, the tragic effects of the conflict, in addition, have affected International Law and organizations as it is on the world order.

The growth of political terrorism in the Middle East is fast affecting the international community in the form of threats to global peace and security (such as the World Trade Centre Attack, Tanzanian and Kenyan U.S. Embassies bombings, the Istanbul bombing) which can be traced to the Middle East. The world seems to be divided over the crisis, with some supporting the Israelis and others the Palestinians, and evolving from that, a threat of a World War emanating from the clash of civilizations (Western and Islamic civilizations), that is imminent. The United Nations Organization is already overwhelmed with problems of how to cope with displacements, refugees, e.t.c emanating from the region. Its intermittent Resolutions on the matter are violated with impunity.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is an abstract from my dissertation submitted for the award of Master of Science (International Relations) at the University of Maiduguri. Therefore the data is empirical rather than speculative. The data was obtained through a careful examination of the literature on Palestinian and Israeli conflict from the 1940s to 2000. In this regard, the sources extensively relied upon are published or unpublished works of scholars on the Israeli and Palestinian Crisis, books, journals, magazines, newspapers, Conference papers, Workshops and Seminar Papers. Others include Internet Materials and lecture scripts. The choice of this method is for the fact that it is broad and comprehensive, as it allows us to collect data from many sources.

The History of Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

When the Jewish people were facing persecution and anti-Semitism in Europe, towards the end of the 1800s, there were questions as to how the Jewish people can overcome the prevailing predicament. The Biblical 'Promised Land' led to a political movement known as Zionism, whose aim was to establish a 'Jewish homeland' in Palestine. From 1920 to 1947, the British Empire had a mandate over Palestine. At that time, Palestine included all of what is now known as Israel and occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank. The increasing number of Jewish people immigrating into the "Holy Land" increased tensions in the region (Shah 2000). The first shots in the region were fired in 1920 during the anti-Jewish riots in Jerusalem, then under British rule. Arab nationalists protested against the Balfour Declaration of 1917, of support for a Jewish national home. In 1921, more serious disturbances broke out at Jaffa. However, the colonial secretary, Winston Churchill, refused to be deflected from the pro-Zionist line. Mass immigration of Jews fleeing Nazi Germany, anti-Semitic Poland aroused and renewed Arab opposition in the 1930s. Between 1936 and 1939, a full-scale revolt erupted. The British resorted to ruthless repression. By 1939, most of Palestine's nationalist leaders had been hanged, imprisoned or exiled, and these actions led to a chain of eventful terror that has unfolded for over half a century between the duos (Wasserstein, 2002).

After World War II, the newly formed United Nations (which then had fewer developing countries as members) recommended the partition of Palestine into two states and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The minority Jewish people (who hitherto were occupying 2.5% of the total land) received the majority of the land (54%). Arabs of Palestine who at that time owned 97.5% of the land were given 46% of the total land (Islamic Association for Palestine in North America www.islamovoice.com, 2004). The Arab states rejected the partition of Palestine, "on the grounds that it violated the provisions of the United Nations Charter, which granted people the right to decide their own destiny. They said that the Assembly had endorsed the Plan under circumstances unworthy of the United Nations and that the Arabs of Palestine would oppose any scheme which provided for the dissection, segregation or partition of their country or which gave special and preferential rights and status to a minority"(UN General Assembly).

The Palestine problem quickly got widened into the Middle East as a dispute between the Arab states and Israel. From 1948 there have been wars and destruction, forcing millions of Palestinians into exile, and (United Nations, 1990), while the Jewish people were successful in creating their homeland, there was no Palestine and no internationalization of Jerusalem either. Palestinians were driven out of the new Israel into refugee camps in Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, and other regions. At least 750,000 people are said to have been driven out or ethnically cleansed. However, this aspect is not usually mentioned by the mainstream media when recounting various historical events (Shah, 2000).

On 14 May 1948, the Zionist, led by David Ben Gurion, proclaimed the state of Israel, displacing and destroying "418 Palestinian villages" (Bah-our, 2002). Ben Gurion led the country to victory over the Arab armies. The Palestinians, divided and disorganized, failed to establish their state. Through a deliberate policy of mass terror against Palestinians, the Israelis drove 800,000 Palestinians from their houses, businesses, and farms into exile (Encarta Encyclopedia, 1996). They and their descendents ended up in camps in the Gaza strip, the West Bank, Lebanon, and Syria, dreaming of a return to their homes one day.

On October 29, 1956, fighting broke out as a result of the Israeli army's invasion of Egypt's the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. Soon after, the forces of Great Britain and France launched air attacks against Egypt, forcing Egyptian soldiers back to the Suez Canal. That crisis had its roots in two factors: earlier that year, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser had nationalized the Suez Canal - a major economic trading route (entry point) from the West to the rest of the Middle East, evoking concern in Great Britain and France that the canal might be closed to their shipping. (Microsoft Encarta Reference Library 2002); the other reason is the friction on the armistice line, established after the 1948 war between Israel and Egypt. In that war, Egypt was defeated, however, international pressure forced the Israeli withdrawal from the peninsula (Richman, 1991; Shah, 2000).

In 1967, Israel simultaneously attacked Egypt, Syria and Jordan in a "pre-emptive strike" against the Arab troops along its borders. Israel captured key pieces of land, such as the strategic Golan Heights to the north on the border with Syria, the West Bank from Jordan and the Gaza strip from Egypt. In fact, Israel more than doubled its size in the six days that this war took place. Since then, negotiations on how to return to the pre-1967 status quo, as required by international law and UN resolutions had been on and off. Resolution 242 (1967) declared the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and insisted on Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since the 1967 war. The Security Council and the General Assembly have consistently maintained since 1967 that the territories that came under Israeli control during the 1967 war are 'occupied territories' within the meaning of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Both the Security Council and the

General Assembly have also stated in numerous resolutions that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to these occupied territories (United Nations, 1990).

In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur to attempt to regain their lost land but failed. In 1978, the Camp David accord was signed between Israel, Egypt and the US, and Israel returned Sinai back to Egypt in return for peace between them. To many in the Arab world, Egypt had sold out due to US pressure. To the US and Israel, this was a great achievement; Egypt was obviously not to be underestimated in its capabilities, so the best thing would be to ensure it becomes an ally, and not an adversary (Shah, 2000).

However, in 1978, due to the rising Hezbollah attacks from South Lebanon, where many Palestinian refugees live, Israel attacked and invaded Lebanon. In 1982, Israel went as far up Lebanon as Beirut. Bloody exchanges followed between Israeli attempts to bomb Yasser Arafat's PLO locations, and Hezbollah retaliations (Shah, 2000). On September 16, 1982, Israelis and their phalange militia allies embarked on a three-day orgy of rape and knifing and murder in the Palestine refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila where 1800 lives were lost. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was designed to drive the Palestinian Liberation Organization out of Lebanon. The invasion cost 17,500 lives of Palestinians and Lebanese civilians. Hundreds of cluster bombs were dropped in civilian areas of Beirut by the Israelis, which killed many civilians (Perle, 2001). Although Israel withdrew from much of Lebanon in June 1985, it retained a six-mile security buffer zone (never recognized by the UN) along the southern edge of the country for another 15 years. Israeli forces were accused of massacres on many occasions (Pape, 2003).

In the late 1980s, the fortunes of the PLO waned as Egyptian withdrew in their claims to the Gaza Strip as well as Jordanian abandonment of the West Bank coupled with Israel's brutal repression which included extra-judicial killings, mass detentions, house demolitions, indiscriminate torture, deportations, land theft, and other abuses. Palestinians who chose to remain in Israel occupied territories continue to live under conditions that effectively denied them their fundamental human rights. They continue to have their liberties efficiently trampled upon; freedom to have, take or do anything is excessively and severely curtailed and indeed, to say the least, they live under perpetual siege and treated with all kinds of "racial and religious discrimination disguised under fatuous labels like "Israeli Democracy" (Edward, 2000). Corroborating, Charles Reese, Orlando Sentinel (2002), states:

Palestinians must at all time carry special identity cards. Their cars must have a special license tag. They effectively have no right. Their lands have been confiscated and Jewish settlements built on it. Palestinians are frequently placed under "closure" which means that they cannot travel to get jobs. Often they are placed under curfew which means they cannot leave their houses for any reason.

Palestinians in the occupied territories took their fate into their own hands. Beginning in 1987, a revolt called the Intifada began in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The revolt was initiated by local residents and involved mostly low-level violence such as rock throwing, winning sympathy for the struggle of the Palestinians against the Israeli occupiers. By 1991 the Intifada had all but ended, but massive Israeli repression in this period laid the seeds for future violence (Middle East Resources, 2009).

The first "Intifada", regarded as "uprising" or "shaking off" against Israel in all the occupied territories continued unabated for seven years from 1987 – 1993, in spite the increasingly ferocious Israeli efforts to crush it. Palestinians in the

Gaza and West Bank rose up in a popular civil revolt opposing Israeli occupation. The Intifada concentrated its effects in two main areas; first, provocateurs caused the daily creation of large mobs, stoning Israeli civilians. Second, generally, on the background of the unrest, there were numerous deliberate attacks. The terrorist attacks were varied in type and style, which includes suicide bombings, ambushes, bombings of strategic locations, the assassination of senior Israeli governmentofficials e.t.c. Over 100 suicide bombings have taken place on Israeli targets, killing more than three hundred civilians, and fatalities in Palestinian terror attacks since 1987 through 1999 was estimated at 532 people dead (Israeli Government Press Office).

1993 saw the Oslo Peace Accord, whereby Israel recognized the PLO and gave them limited autonomy in return for peace and an end to Palestinian claims on Israeli territory. This has been largely criticized as a one-sided accord, which benefits only Israel, not the Palestinian people. It resulted in Israeli control of land, water, roads, and other resources. In 1994, Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip and Jericho, ending twenty-seven years of occupation. A Palestinian police force replaced them. In 1995, then Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, who had been involved in the Oslo peace processes, was assassinated by a Jewish extremist. In April 1996, Israeli forces bombed Lebanon for 17 days, with Hezbollah retaliating by firing upon populated areas of Northern Israel. Israel also shelled a UN shelter killing about 100 out of 800 civilians sheltering there. The UN said it was intentional. October 1998 saw the Wye River Memorandum outlining some Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank which Israel stopped it in January 1999 due to internal disagreements on its implementation. Further attempts at continuing the Wye River accord, kept breaking down due to Palestinian protests of continued new Israeli settlements. On 28 September 2000, Ariel Sharon's visit to the Mount Temple sparked off the second Intifada more violent than the first (Shah, 2000).

Palestinian terrorist attacks including suicide bombings elicited devastating Israeli reprisals. "By January 2002, more than a thousand people had been killed in the Second Intifada. While in the months of March, April through May to June and July 2002, there were at least 14 different series of suicide bombings in the cities of Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, West Bank, Netanya, Rison Let Zion, Haifa, South of Bethlehem, Northern town of Umm el-fahen, West Jerusalem. In all, an enormous number of the death toll of Israelis recorded ranged from 148 and at least 324 injured", as reported by the BBC News, on Thursday, 18 July 2002.

On the 16 of April 2002, The Independent reported the monstrous war crime that Israel tried to cover-up for a forth night as follows:

"….troops [had] caused devastation in the center of Jinni refugee camp. A residential area roughly 160, 000 square yards, about a third of a mile wide has been reduced to dust. Rubble has been shoveled by bulldozers into 30ft piles. The sweet and ghastly reek of rotting human bodies is everywhere … there are hundreds of corpses, entombed beneath the dust, under a field of debris, crisscrossed with tanks and bulldozers tread marks"

In the same view, El-Fassed (2002) elaborates: "Israel commits a massacre in Jinni Refugee camp. More than 150 Israel Tanks, Armored Personnel Carriers and artillery, backed by F 16 fighter-jets, continue to attack Jinni refugee camp, home to 15,000 Palestinian refugees living on one square kilometer. Since April 3, Israel forces have shelled the refugee camp with heavy weaponry. Water and electricity networks have been destroyed. Food and medicine supplies are prevented from reaching the refugee camp. Dozens have been killed and injured. Many bodies are left under the rubble of demolished shelters and in the streets and highways of the camps."

On a Good Friday day in the year 2000, Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Prime Minister, launched a terror outfit known as "Operation Defense Shield" to accomplish what he considered a campaign to eliminate "the infrastructure of terror". Since the commencement of Operation Defense shield, thousands of Palestinians remained detained in Israel detention centers throughout the West Bank and inside Israel. "In a wave of arbitrary mass detentions, thousands of Palestinian prisoners have been rounded-up by the Israeli Military, hand-cuffed, blind-folded and transported to detention facilities where they are exposed to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. Over 10, of these newly arrested, are children. The detainees are denied access to attorneys and information of their where-about is often unknown by their families and human rights organization" (Addameer Prisons Support and Human Rights Association, 2002). There was also very heavy and fierce fighting at the Church of Nativity in Jerusalem. Enormous casualties were recorded (Daily Trust, 25 June 2002).

In all this, the Palestinian people have been without any nation, and have had limited rights, while suffering from the poverty at the same time. Israel continued to increase and expand their settlements giving up less and less land compared to what was promised. Many Palestinians (that are not Israeli Arabs since 1948) do not have the right to vote or have limited rights while paying full taxes. For decades, the Palestinian people have been living under military occupation.

Political Terrorism

The term 'Terror' simply means 'great fear', or something or somebody that causes great fear. Sullivan (1986) conceptualizes terror as "a psychological state – a state of extreme fear and anxiety". There are almost infinite varieties of events, phenomena, persons, and objects that may, under given circumstances, strike terror into hearts of human beings. The things that terrorize man include death; arms and ammunitions; natural catastrophes like volcanic eruption, fire, flood; diseases such Ebola, HIV/AIDS; hunger and starvation; unemployment; poverty; spirits and ghosts; accidents; armed robbery; and hired assassinations have provided the common dreads of men and women throughout history.

In his usually perceptive manner, Wilkinson (1974) sees terror as that which signifies a psychic state of great fear or dread. The Dictionary of the Social Sciences conceptualizes Psychic terror as "Tyranny characterized by failure of obedience to guarantee the safety and the infliction of arbitrary punishment to create fear and paralyze resistance". The word terror also implies the action or its quality causing dread and, alternatively, a person, object or force, inspiring dread. As if such fundamental terrors as in natural catastrophes were not enough, man has also invented his own systems of psychic terror, generally in the material form of an awe-inspiring magical belief, myth and other superstition, typically sustained by the secret society, medicine men and other forms of primitive religious gullibility. Examples are bound in human sacrifice for appeasement of gods and barbarous punishments for offenses against priestly codes e.t.c are part of such terror. Terror, whether it concerns the terror of divine punishment or retribution or terror of the decrees of the party or law, has been as functionally desirable if not essential by many leaders and rulers throughout history (Wilkinson, 1974).

What's more, is that in all communities you come to experience or across some individuals with consuming worries of electricity 'leaking' or of being raided by armies of intruding burglars. Moreover, there are for all time, others who seem to positively enjoy terrorizing themselves in an orgy of vicarious horror through films or books. It is, however, important to remind here that these various forms of psychic terror, whether self-induced or stimulated by art, religion, or indoctrination, are not the main concern of this paper. Our main concern relates to Political terror; that phenomenon Wilkinson (1974) aptly described as "…the use of coercive intimidation by revolutionary movements, regimes or individuals for political motives."

Over time, several scholars had marshaled all kinds of polemical ideas in an attempt to define the term or the phenomenon of political terrorism. The Headquarters, Training and Doctrine Command of the United States of American Army describes political terrorism as "a criminal act, often symbolic in nature, intended to influence an audience beyond the immediate victims; a calculated use of violence or the threat to attaining political… goals by instilling fear or using intimidation or coercion" (TRADOC US Army, cf: Sabo, 1997). Netanyahu defines political terrorism as "the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent in order to instill fear for political ends" (Netanyahu, cf: Nwolise, 1997). Thornton also sees political terrorism as "the use of terror as a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior by extra-normal means, entailing the use of threat of violence" (Thornton, cf: Wardlaw, 1982). Correlating to the conceptual configuration of Political Terror by Wilkinson, (1974), these definitions from different scholars make obvious the fact that Political Terrorism, captures all key characteristic ingredients common to terror in such elemental characters as indiscriminateness, unpredictability, arbitrariness, ruthless destructiveness and the implicitly amoral and antinomian nature (Wilkinson, 1974).

Though, Political terror shares certain affinities with political terrorism; there is, however, an important distinction between the two. Political terror may take place in isolated acts and in the form of extreme, indiscriminate and arbitrary mass hostility that typified the killings and sackings at the height of the grand styled terror in parts of France during its revolution. Such terror is not systematic as it is not organized and is frequently impossible to control (Sullivan, 1986). Therefore, as Huntchinson (1973) asserts, "neither one isolated act, nor a series of random acts is [political] terrorism", but, when an organized "… group, whether holding governmental office or outside government, resolves to pursue a set of ideological [and/or political] objectives [and sustains such struggle] by methods which not only subvert or ignore the requirements of domestic and international laws, but which rely on their success primarily upon the threat or use of violence", such a phenomenon can be regarded as Political Terrorism. Similarly, and in a rather more rapt and brief manner, Wilkinson (1974), regards a phenomenon political terrorism when "…a sustained policy involving the waging of organized terror either on the part of the state, a movement or faction or by a small group of individuals emerges with the sole aim of achieving certain salient political goals or objectives". Therefore, the underpinning points are that, in addition, it must be an organized, systematic, coordinated and sustained terror activity backed by political objectivity.

Wardlaw (1982) argues further that, the definition of Political Terrorism as a concept is fraught with complicatedness. The difficulty in defining it according to him lies within the confines of the moral realm, at the threshold of what he paraphrased as: "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". Wardlaw (1989) gave an instance that, the "Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is seen by a number of countries as a terrorist group having no political legitimacy and using morally unjustifiable means of brutality to achieve unacceptable ends. Conversely, there are also other nations whose perception considers the PLO as the legitimate representative of an oppressed people using 'necessary and justifiable violence' (not terrorism) to achieve just and inevitable ends". In that light, he states that the conception of the Palestinian struggle by these nations rests on moral justification. He, however, pointed out the fact that the proper study of terrorism should seek to explain a phenomenon, and not justify it (Nwolise, 1997).

Therefore, for a universally acceptable or working definition to materialize, certain elemental ingredients must necessarily form a part of it. Pointing out, Wardlaw (1989), suggest that such definition must, as a matter of exigency or requirement: "transcend behavioral description to include individual motivation, social milieu, and political purpose", and for these reasons, he asserts Political Terrorism as:

"… the use or threat of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear-inducing effect in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators".

Since the emergence of the phenomenon political terrorism, major arguments that were advanced from diverse authorities came out with each having a distinct coloration that transcends behavioral description to include individual motivation, social milieu, and political purpose. The variety of definitional paradigm: individual, governmental or the one with dual coloration (individual cum state) that came up to usurp the scene include; postulations ranging from those who seek to believe it is an act of individuals, sub-nationals, and group; to those who saw it out- rightly as states related act and those that have a co-joint view i.e. both state and individual related issue (Wardlaw, 1989).

Khanduri (2002), "Terrorism", in Terrorism: History and Development, Encyclopedia of International Terrorism, historically illustrates that the contemporary manifestation of the terrorist theory started with the industrial revolution and the ensuing restructuring of society and the collapse of the existing value of norms. Terrorism aimed at political ends; the term was first used immediately after the French Revolution. Then the infamous new classes used weapons of terror or struck at dissent by whatever means available – the guillotines, the gun, assassinations or annihilation.

The consolidation of industrialization brought about the growth of Capitalism, Imperialism, Colonialism, and Terrorism. By the third quarter of the century, the nihilists in Russia and anarchists in Europe had taken on terrorism as a political philosophy. Since the newly consolidated industrial societies predisposed or influenced and used the tools of the state apparatus to threaten and force their subjects, both at home and in the new colonies, the disposed of individuals and groups saw terrorism as their only means of fighting back. Raids on banks to finance themselves, assassinations of the rulers to underscore the susceptibility of those in power, planting of bombs to disrupt meetings as a way of voicing protest all became the standard methods and techniques of retaliating. This was considered a potent way of paralyzing the state and thus paves the way to its eventual disintegration to be replaced, by various visions of a better planet.

While answering the question on whether the term 'Political Terrorism' should be confined to individual and groups of private actors or should it embrace government as culpable too, Mushcat (2002) emphatically states, "political terrorism originated not so much in intergroup hostility as [it is sometimes] in [the] policies of government [that] intimidation [are] designed to spread terror among a population for the purpose of ensuring its submission to and conformity with the will of that government." The term "Terrorism," first came into use at the time of the "Reign of Terror" during the French Revolution in France; it was employed in connection with the intimidating practices of the governmentin power from 1789-1794 (Mushcat, 2002).

A study prepared by the UN Secretariat for the Sixth Committee, states that the meaning of terrorism has undergone major evolution so that it "now seems to be mainly applied to actions by individuals or group of individuals" (UN General Assembly, A/C 6/418, 2 Nov. 1972; 06). In the preliminary observation submitted to the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, most states confirmed this evolutionary transformation of meaning, addressing their comments exclusively to terrorism on the part of individuals (observation of states in accordance to General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII) – (UN General Assembly A/C. 160/1: 09).

Gupta (2002) states certain Western Powers see terrorism as an "act of violence against the government." He said,

"indeed, the League of Nations, the Organization predating the United Nations Organization, whose membership was, at then, merely drawn from the western world and America, in its convention on terrorism, Article 1, referred to terrorism as "criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of persons or the general public. Article 2 went further to catalog and lay emphasis on the acts as "any willful act causing death or grievous bodily harm or loss of liberty to (a) head of state, person exercising the prerogative of state, their hereditary or designated successors; (b) the wives or husbands of above mentioned persons (c) persons charged with public functions or holding public positions when the act is directed against them in their public capacity" [convention adopted at the Geneva Conference on 16 December 1937 UN Doc. A/C. 6/418, Annex 1]. The convention included not only the commission of the crime but also attempts, conspiracy, incitement, willful participation and knowingly giving assistance (Sharma, 1986). "Advocates" of state terrorism such as the USA regarded the reference to state terrorism as an attempt to blur the nature of the problem. The US representative claimed "such an approach had to be rejected because it mixed two distinct problems in such a manner as to ensure that no meaningful action would be taken with regard to either" (Report on Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism – 28th session GAOR, Supp No: 28 (A/9028) New York, 1973, P.85). Another argument is the one put forward by the school of combined paradigm i.e. the view of several other states that look at the issue of terrorism in their submissions as both "individual and state terrorism" (Anwar-ul-Haque, 2002). In the draft proposal submitted by Venezuela, for instance, Terrorism pertained to "any threat or act of violence which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, committed by an individual or group of individuals" as well as to "[in]human repressive measures carried out by colonial or racist regimes" (Report on Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism – 28th session GAOR, Supp No: 28 (A/9028)1973).

However, the Syrian Arab Republic as well as some Arab and non-aligned states, conversely did not share these viewpoints and categorically stated that "an objective consideration by the UN of the International terrorism begin by considering 'state terrorism', as this is the most dangerous brand of violence, the most often practiced on the most comprehensive scale". In their conception, "official terrorism contains the most drastic form of savagery and barbarism and the greatest dangers threatening the security and safety of peoples. Any consideration that evades coming face to face with terrorism practiced by state, the real source of violence, blackmail, domination and illegitimate exploitation would defeat the very purpose and objectives of the Charter it intends to defend" (General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII) – UN General Assembly A/C. 160/136 - 137). The Syrianobservatory position argued that 'state terror' was the arch problem whereas 'individual terrorism' was an international concern only when employed or deployed exclusively forthe reason of personal gain or caprice as distinguished from acts committed in furtherance of a political cause, especially against colonialism and for national liberation. Algeria as well focused on "State Terrorism", connecting it with colonial domination, foreign occupation of territory, racial discrimination and apartheid, foreign intervention, foreign exploitation of national resources, systematic destruction of flora and fauna and any act in violation of the UN Charter (Report on Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism – 28th session GAOR, Supp No: 28 (A/9028) New York, 1973:85).

Those who came under the sledgehammer of apartheid also concurred along with this conception. According to Nwolise (1997), Oliver Thambo of blessed memory who was the leader of the liberation struggle against apartheid said "the fundamental terrorism in South Africa was that of apartheid and not that of 'Umkhonto we sizwe," – meaning the 'Spear of the Nation' -- [an armed wing of the African National Congress]. He clearly stated: "…we will not take to arms if they give us human rights/." To the subjugated, it is "the violence that they face every day from the forces of colonialism

and imperialism. It is the violence that the state in colonial and neocolonial countries perpetrates – the oppressed feel – which should be called "terrorism" (Nwolise, 1997). Yogesh K. Tyagi (1987) also considers Israel's Arab policy as the epitome of state terrorism. Apartheid South African is a fervent follower of it. State Terrorism, is a strategy used by forces of domination or states to combat "resistance" as the liberators called it. Conversely, the liberators themselves as labeled "group terrorism", by apartheid South Africa has been in practice for the last decades in the apartheid South Africa and Palestine. Therefore to counter this act of oppression, and free themselves from "the clutches of colonial or neocolonial yoke the subjugated people all over the world have taken to acts of violence …to end colonial terror" (Gupta 2002). Gupta (2002) further pointed out that "…it is in the very nature of Colonialism to suppress and coerce the colonized. And that is terrorism." Going further he said, "…according to a leader of a movement for self-determination, terrorism serves reaction and reaction fosters terrorism. Suppression of national liberation struggle with state might is the terrorism of the worst kind".

The South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), African National Congress (ANC), Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Polisario Front (PF), were belligerent against governments which were exercising colonial imperium over the people these Organizations represent. As a result, they were practically anti-colonial in temperament, anti-imperialist in action and anti-capitalist and by corollary – anti-west in rhetoric. The colonial situation, due to the polarization of social forces, is manic (frenzied or insane) in nature and could be properly understood only by looking at the evil the colonized people encounter in the form of physical and psychological terror of the colonizer. The terror is a product of many years of brutal suppression, physical torture and cultural dehumanization and is sustained by the use of repressive state machinery. For instance, in the apartheid South Africa, there had been "daily violent killings, torture and the ever-increasing brutality of a ruthless regime in savage defense of its misguided racial beliefs" (Gupta, 2002). And as such, the violence of the oppressed to counter the violence of the colonizing oppressor has cathartic (purifying) functions. In countering the dehumanizing violence the oppressed throw-up possibilities of paving the way for the flowering of the human potentialities distorted or destroyed under colonial oppression and as Fanon (1986) observes, "At the level of individuals violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inactions; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect."

Violence at the collective level has similar cathartic functions. Yet anti-colonial violence even where it leads to the regaining of manhood (or human hood) of the oppressed, has limited utility in political terms if it is not channeled through proper political Organizations which alone can direct the groundswell of anger in an effective way to achieve the long-term goal of elimination of the structure of inequality and the sources of evil definable in terms of unjust annexation in the case of Western Sahara, usurpation in the case of Palestine, illegal occupation in the case of Namibia and internal colonialism in the case of white minority-ruled South Africa. The Polisario, PLO, SWAPO, and ANC were, thus, fountainheads that channel and highlight the anguish, anger and actions of their people suffering under the pain and terror of colonial forces (Madunagu, E. 1976 and Nnoli, 1987).

In the process of anti-colonial struggle for national liberation, violence and terrorism become both strategy and a necessity given the power relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Terrorism is resorted to when open political activity cannot be undertaken, the former because of the oppression, and the latter because of the practical realities of military power which generally weigh in favor of the colonizing regimes. Terror in the case of national liberation movements, in reality, is the antithesis of existing terror and is exercised in the hope that it would lead to a synthesis that

can restore the human rights of the colonized (Madunagu, E. 1976 and Nnoli, 1987)

Making his contributions on "Individual Terrorism Vs State Terrorism", Anwar-ul-Haque (2002) condemns the act of "state terrorism", and considers much of it as what precipitates "sacrifice of life by individuals while protesting against… genocide," brutal oppression, etc, and opined further, "…no doubt innocent civilians have to pay and suffer even in such individual acts of terrorism [in order to fight against such] criminal state terrorism". At a stage, it hinted that, many have argued that states machinate with international institutions such as the United Nations Organization or is it the "United Notorious Organization", World Bank and the International Monetary Fund -- "a gang of thieves bent upon snatching even the right of crying from the weak and suppressed people. It was UNO which killed thousands of Bosnians first trapping Bosnians into safe havens and then shooting them as sitting duck." The "Russians, like Israel, also engaged in massive state terrorism. Poor Chechens face relentless bombing and tank attacks from the Russian army that numbers over 100,000. Mr. Putin who is a strong Zionist has a deadline from IMF and World Bank to accomplish complete genocide of Chechens by 31st March 2000… Russian massive state terrorism costs approximately 100 million dollars a day, all funded by IMF and the World Bank" (Anwar-ul-Haque, 2002).

Citing other examples, Anwar-ul-Haque (2002), was quick to point out that, the United States of America is acknowledged globally to make available huge funds for Israel that is guilty of the massive and worst form of human rights and terrorism. Pulling down of poor Palestinian houses and obliteration of settlements were a common occurrence. This is centuries old heritage of Jewish people who used to demolish homes of their different tribes. And for these reasons, these big countries in concert with the International Organizations who are involved in the worst genocide and massacre have no moral grounds to condemn individual terrorism, which is seen by many not as an act of terrorism but rather anti-terrorism – individual's effort to fight a massive state terrorism or individual 'terrorism' against massive state 'terrorism' and that the time has come to shun hypocrisy. The onus lies on the citizens of the countries that are either directly committing state terrorism or supporting such terrorism to stand up and checkmate the excesses of their countries.

Anwar-ul-Haque concluded by stating, one can't solve the problem of terrorism by acting an Ostrich. Crocodile's tears and self-justification will not prevent such acts. If we are serious in eliminating or reducing terrorism, then we have to eradicate it at all levels. Before individual acts of terrorism can be discouraged, we will have to eliminate state terrorism. The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.) has not only miserably failed in eliminating state terrorism rather on the contrary it is alleged to have helped and facilitated state terrorism. The dual standards of UNO and eccentric selective morality have caused more problems.

Majority of the postulations largely anchor Political Terrorism on a cause-effect dichotomy; cause-effect relational activism of one factor or a set of factors on one hand and another factor or a set of factors on the other igniting an effect or set of effects. Generally, political terrorism may have its origin in diverse causes, viz colonialism, communalism, racialism, obscurantism, political persecution, human rights violation, religious intolerance, economic exploitation, unemployment, poverty, alienation, communication gap and in an overall moral decay of society. Tyagi (1987) said, "Violence breeds (or begets) violence. And when violence shouts, reason becomes dumb and deaf," such condition subjection to injustices and deprivation of rights definitely ignite the inescapable effect of producing "…men [that] are prepared to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in the attempt to effect radical changes." Naturally, the political relationship between individuals, state actors, and non-state actors vice versa principally determines the behavior of all.

The state and indeed the world is a system, where sort of systematic order that works according to contract, with necessary adaptations dwells.

When that orderliness eventually is respected in breach, it is whence agitational and/ or enforcement terrors will come into play as a result of the conflict that will arise; because of their disagreement with the establishment; dissatisfaction with the available conflict-resolution mechanisms; the use of commonly unacceptable means to achieve certain ends which they consider legitimate; and a certain type of motivation, ideology or indoctrination.

The Exploit of Terrorism as a Political Tool in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Palestinians, as well as Israelis, have made use of terror in pursuit of their individual national vision and the sustenance of their struggles. The following sub-paragraphs make an analysis of how political terrorism was used, with vivid examples, in the pursuit of their specific individual objectives:

Proclamation of Israel and Expansion of its Frontiers in Palestine

The state of Israel was founded and sustained through Terrorism. Zionism is rooted in the age-long tradition of terrorism against Palestinians. The Revisionists Zionist political movement has openly stated at the very beginning of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict that the establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine was impossible without violence and the forcible transfer of the indigenous population. The Zionist state could only be established "in blood and fire" (Shaoul, 2003). Specific examples were bound in what was happening on the eve of the creation of the Israeli state (the pre-state period) should illustrate the Israeli activities of terrorism against Palestinians and those they perceived as a threat to the Zionists' objective of a "Jewish State" in Palestine. Palestinians were living in their thousands in their home-country – Palestine a (British Mandate) for decades before 1948. A few years prior to that, there were these waves of the huge influx of European Jews inspired by the World Zionist Organization. Opposition to this moves was checkmated through the use of Zionist gangs on the prowl, terrorizing, frightening not only the Arab population but also British Mandate Administrators. Stern gang, to which Yitzhak Shamir (former Israeli Prime Minister) belong, for example, murdered Lord Moyne, the British Resident in 1944; and in 1948 they assassinated the Swedish diplomat Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN mediator, for his proposal to internationalize Jerusalem. Four days later, with coordination with the Stern-Lehi gang, they moved to Nasir al-Din village and killed everyone. Five days later they descended on Karmal and butchered 22 people.

On May 3, they went to al-Qabow and killed 30; and the same day they reached Beit Darras and wiped out every one; and the following day, they were at neighboring Beit al-Khuri, where they killed everyone except the aged. On May 6, they reached al-Zaitun and blasted the central mosque with everyone in it; and before they left they massacred all the inhabitants in their homes. At the end of the month, they rounded up their operations by bulldozing and completely erasing all the 23 villages around Yafa, which the Zionists thereafter renamed Jaffa. This is the process/deliberate policy of mass terror against Palestinians (Adamu, 2009). It was the systematic method by which they expelled more than 768,000 Palestinians from their homes, businesses, farms (Encarta Encyclopedia, 1996 Funk and Wagnalls), in order to settle alien European Jews on the land of Palestine.

From 1949 running through several years afterwards, this kind of annihilation perpetrated through gangs' terror got perfected later and got anchored on state terrorism, a phenomena the Arabs referred to as "al-Naqbah" – the catastrophe - where hundreds of villages, towns, homes, farms, orchards were obliterated and literally wiped from the map by the

Israeli Defense Force. Tens of thousands of homes were bombed, bulldozed or dynamited during peacetime!; forceful expulsion of all Palestinians from the occupied territories (described as lice or cancer) and the assassination of all those who resist Israeli occupation; Tens of thousands of men, women and children, Palestinian poets, politicians, philosophers and clerics, who by their words [and never by any kind of acts of terror or violence] have inspired in their countrymen the desire for freedom from Israeli occupation have been killed; (Duke, 2001). Even greater numbers have been blinded, crippled, disfigured and maimed. Hundreds of thousands more have been imprisoned and/or tortured. Maltreatment and torture of those thrown into detention, who sometimes "endure the indescribable terror of chemical, nuclear or biological research as human guinea pigs in secretly ran laboratory in case there will be all-out warfare" (Duke, 2001) was a norm. To underscore the point, the Israeli Chief of Staff Morde Chai Gur once stating how purposeful they were said:

For 30 years, from the war of Independence until today, we have been fighting against a population that lives in villages and cities…we struck civilian population, purposely and consciously. The Army has never distinguished civilian (from the military) targets…(but) purposely attacked civilian targets (Edward H. 1982)

Offering specific examples, Edward H., (1982), stated the bombardments that cleared the Jordan Valley of all inhabitants and drove million and a half civilians from Suez Canal area in 1970, among others. Unwinding the overall political agenda involved, Eban Abba, Israeli Foreign Minister, and UN Representative revealed:

"The picture that emerges is of an Israel wantonly inflicting every possible measure of death and anguish on civilian populations in a mood reminiscent of regimes (which orthodox analysts of terrorism attribute to- and use to condemn) that deliberately attack in order to achieve higher ends" (Edward H. 1982).

The higher ends or goals of conquest, expansion and consolidating the state of Israel further resettling Israelis on the captured Palestine. What Edward Said in (Double standards: The US celebrates Serb freedom, but the case of the Palestinians is, apparently different; Special report: Israel and the Middle East, published in The Guardian, Thursday 12 October 2000) described as:

portents designed to segregate the Palestinians in non-contiguous enclaves, surrounded by Israeli-controlled borders, with settlements and settlement roads punctuating and essentially violating the territories' integrity, expropriations and house demolitions proceeding inexorably through the Rabin, Peres, Netanyahu and Barak administrations along with the expansion and multiplication of settlements (200,000 Israeli Jews added to Jerusalem, 200,000 more in Gaza and the West Bank), military occupation continuing and every tiny step taken toward Palestinian sovereignty - including agreements to withdraw in minuscule, agreed-upon phases - stymied, delayed, canceled at Israel's will.

Alluding to the German Nazis policy of Lebensraum [settler colonialism] - that was determined to remove all Slavic people from the plains and steppes of Eastern Europe, Rodney Shakespeare in his write-up: "Israeli Nazis vs German Nazis" (Thursday 22 November 2012) also wrote, "following a similar policy of lebensraum, the Nazi-Zionists want a Jewish state in the lands of Palestine from eastern end of Mediterranean right across to the river Tigris. These lands are to be made "racially" pure i.e. to have only Jews and no Muslims or Christians. Strutting like Nazi gauleiters (not "like", they actually are Nazi gauleiters), the Zionists view all present inhabitants of these lands sub-humans, as animals. Bits by bits, atrocity by atrocity, they are determined to create a racist, Zionist state. Israel has no borders and it has no borders because it is determined to expand, slaughtering whenever the circumstances allow so that it can populate lands free from Arabs or others"; an age long mission David Ben-Gurion was succinctly explicit of when he asserted the agenda

wider: "The Zionist enterprise is of conquest…[and concluded] The acceptance of partition does not commit us to renounce Trans-Jordan [and others]… the boundaries of Zionist aspirations are the concerns of Jewish people and no external factor will be able to limit" (Yediot Ahronot April 17, 1983) – a premeditated mission through which 9 percent minority Jewish population in Palestine, using terrorism, grew within the span of 64 years to establish its own exclusive and powerful nation-state.

Securing the Release of Palestinian Political Prisoners

One celebrated example of a terror method used by the Palestinians in order to secure the release of their leaders held captive in Israeli custody is plane hijack, and the famous 1976 Air France plane hijack readily comes to mind. On 27 June 1979 an Air France Flight 139 (Airbus A300B4-203), registration F-BVGG (c/n 019) with 248 passengers [en-route from Tel-Aviv after a stopover in Athens] was hijacked by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] and German Revolutionary cells (Dunstail, 2011) - known as Revolutionary Zellen, abbreviated RZ – a self-described "urban guerilla" organization. The plane was diverted to Benghazi, Libya, held for seven hours for refueling (Ben Eyal, 2006) and flown to Entebbe, near Kampala, the capital of Uganda. On arrival, the enthusiastic and [politically] exuberant President Idi Amin, who was sympathetic to the Palestinian cause as well as eager to gain admiration of the Arab states granted temporary asylum, additional weapon and personnel to the hijackers (BBC News retrieved 21 June 2010) The hijackers separated the Israelis from the larger group and forced them into another room (Dunstail, 2011). That afternoon, 47 non-Israeli hostages were released (Ensalaco, 2008). The following day, 101 more non-Israeli hostages were allowed to leave (Wolly Days Entebbe, 2006).

The hijackers issued their ultimative demands to the governments of Israel, France, Germany, Kenya, and Switzerland. They demanded the release of 40 Palestinian political prisoners held in Israel and 13 other detainees [allies] imprisoned in Kenya, France, Switzerland, and West Germany. They also demanded a ransom from France (BBC News 21 June 2010, PM Press, 2009). As the standup unfolded, attempts were made to solve the crisis by negotiating the release of the hostages. According to declassified document, the Egyptian government under Anwar Sadat tried to negotiate with both the PLO and the Ugandan government (conversation between Henry Kissinger and Israeli Ambassador Simch Dinitz, 30th June 1976 retrieved 24th July 2011). While negotiation was underway, it was made futile as Israel in collaboration with the government of Kenya - granting permission for the Israeli Defence Force taskforce to cross Kenyan airspace and land and refuel at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport - carried out rescue mission tagged: Operation Thunderbolt via which 102 hostages were rescued.

Using similar malevolent tactics in pursuit of an immediate objective of securing the release of Palestinian political leaders held captive by the Israeli government, in March 1997, Hamas began a suicide attack campaign that included an attack about every two months until September 1997. In response, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu authorized the assassination of a Hamas leader. The attempt, in Amman, Jordan, failed and the Israeli agents were captured. To get them back Israel agreed to release Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader of Hamas held in its custody for a long period of time (Pape, 2003).

The Israeli Withdrawal from the Occupied Territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip)

Suicide Bombing is a strategy of terrorism Palestinians adopted to coerce Israeli withdrawal from its occupied

territories. Suicide bomb attacks against Israelis are aimed at killing and injuring as many people as possible, and to create the greatest amount of dreading fear possible among encroachers, settlers, usurpers and occupiers. The victims are often civilians. Suicide attacks are designed to achieve the specific political purpose: to [use threat of punishment to] coerce atargetgovernments to change policies, to mobilize additional recruits and financial support, or both (Crenshaw, 1981). Suicide bombers typically consider their acts as self-martyrdom – a supreme sacrifice made in pursuit of their denied specific political beliefs (BBC News, Monday 29 January 2007).

As a strategy, the Palestinians mounted campaigns of inflicting enough pains on the opposing society [Israeli] to overwhelm their interests in resisting their demands and, so, to cause either the Israeli government to concede or the population to revolt against the government… vast majority attacks they carried out occur in clusters as part of a larger campaign by the various organized group such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, etc to achieve that specific political goal of withdrawal from its territory (Pape, 2003). Examples of such campaigns involves the bombing activities that took place between the Afula bus suicide bombing that took place on the April 6, 1994 and the Ben Yehuda Street Bombing of September 4, 1997 in Jerusalem, which brought the Israeli's apparent concession to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories of West Bank and Gaza strip - buttressing the rhetoric of a major suicide terrorist group that reflects the logic of coercive punishments. Abdel Karim, a leader of al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, a militant group linked to Yasser Arafat's Fatah Movement who once said, the goals of his group was "to increase losses in Israel to a point at which the Israeli public would demand a withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip" (Greenberg, 2002).

Struggles for the Permanent Status of Jerusalem

In November 1947, the UN partitioned Palestine into two independent states; a Jewish state on one hand and an Arab state on the other, with Jerusalem, considering its uniqueness and symbolic religious importance to Islam, Christianity and Judaism was internationalized - that is - it was kept under the supervision of the UN. This, as a matter of fact, did not go down well with the Israelis as well as the Palestinians who insist and look-up to it being their respective future capital cities; and as a result, there was a serious contest.

The Second Intifada, also known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada or the Oslo War, was the second the Palestinian uprising [after the first Intifada that took place between 1987 and 1993], a period of intensified Palestinian-Israeli violence, which began in late September 2000. "Al-Aqsa" is the name of a mosque, constructed in the 8th century AD at the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem, a location considered the holiest site in Judaism and Islam. "Intifada" is an Arabic word that translates into English as "uprising". This conflict referred to by the Palestinians as the "Al-Aqsa Intifada", combined riots of the civilian population with the military conflict between the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the Palestinian civilians (Lakstein, Dror, Blumenfeld, Amir, 2005).

Palestinian rioting erupted on September 28, 2000, following Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount, a highly sacred area to both Jews and Muslims, also known as Al-Haram Al-Sharif, accompanied by 1000 police officers (BBC News: "Al-Aqsa Intifada timeline"; Dan Diner, Jonathan Frankel, 2005); where he stated on that day, "the Temple Mount is in our hands and will remain in our hands. It is the holiest site in Judaism and it is the right of every Jew to visit the Temple Mount" (Rioting as Sharon visits Islam holy site, The Guardian, Friday, September 29, 2000). Still, others believe it started a day later on Friday, September 29, a day of prayers, when an Israeli police and military presence was introduced and there were major clashes and deaths ("Sharm El-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee Report" (Mitchell Report), April 30,

2001). Palestinians have since claimed his act was a provocation and see it as the beginning of the Second Intifada, ("The Middle East | Al-Aqsa Intifada timeline". BBC News. September 29, 2004, retrieved November 13, 2011). In the first five days of rioting and clashes after the visit, Israeli police and security forces killed 47 Palestinians and wounded 1885, (Menachem, 2003).

The Palestinians driven by the force of self-determination and religious obligation see it as a point of duty to liberate the Al-Aqsa mosque from the Israel grip and as such; they cast attacks [suicide] as acts of revenge and seem to believe that they will go straight to paradise for dying or sacrificing self in defense or pursuit of independence of homeland [population, property, and way of life] from foreign influence or control; honor and human dignity they desperately crave (BBC News, Monday 29 January 2007). Suicide attacks, therefore, became a hallmark during the Intifada – uprising, where many of the groups that effectively participated in the armed struggles indulge in such acts. For instance, a study carried out by Amnesty International of Palestinian suicide bombings during the 2nd Intifada (September 2000 through August 2005), where well over 142 incidents and 605 fatalities were recorded using: successful deliberate attacks committed by Palestinian militant groups against civilians and security forces using suicide bombers or other similar kind of bombing attacks as criteria revealed that: "39.9 percent of the suicide attacks were carried out by Hamas, 25.7 percent by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), 26.4 percent by Fatah, 5.4 percent by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and 2.7 percent by other organizations" (Amnesty International, 2002).

Israeli Militarism and Blockade for Deterrence, Security, and Domestic Political Objectives

According to Richard Falk, a UN Special Rapporteur in an interview with Press TV captioned: "Israelis suffer Tel Aviv militarism", Nov. 22, 2012, military superiority, violence and blockade an Israeli sine qua non for addressing the Palestinian challenge. The Israeli militarist frame of mind seems to suggest that the more superior they are militarily against the Palestinians, the longer they suppress them violently; keeping the Palestinians deterred from putting up resistance. It is as well translated to mean deterrence and security. However, they use these military tactics to divert attention from the issue that is important to them as the expansion of settlement in West Bank and the continued cleansing of East Jerusalem [al-Quds]. Richard Falk (2012) stated further that, the tendency has been to locate surges of military aggression in between American Presidential elections and their own internal elections that happened four years ago with the Operation Cast Lead [2008/9], and now Operation Pillar of Cloud; which real precipitating event was the assassination of al-Ja'abari [Hamas's leader], while he was negotiating a long term cease-fire and had already agreed on behalf of Hamas to the establishment of the temporary truce. The Israeli Zionist Likudnik neocon regime that has seized power in Tel-Aviv [has the penchants for this policy] (Kevin Barrett: "Zionist after dominating the Middle East", Press TV, Nov 22, 2012). On September 28, 2000, the Ariel Sharon (a Likud party candidate for Israeli Prime Minister's), visit to the Temple Mount guarded by hundreds of Israeli policemen, a provocative occupation of Al-Aqsa mosque, a holy Islamic religious site, East Jerusalem, sparking up the Intifada rioting (Rioting as Sharon visits Islam holy site, The Guardian, Friday, September 29, 2000).

Another use of military superiority by Israel is the blockade of Gaza. A situation that has caused a decline in the standard of living, unprecedented levels of unemployment, and unrelenting power of the apartheid regime of Israeli denies about 1.7 million people in Gaza their basic rights, such as freedom of movement, jobs that pays proper wages and adequate healthcare and education (Seyyed Hassan Nasrallah, 2012). Gordon Duff (2012), in a Press TV article: "Israeli

abuse of Palestinian Sovereignty", hypothetically retorted a question: one might care to ask how a UN resolution that established a new nation was re-interpreted to create a prison camp with walls and guard towers, towers where snipers regularly fire on civilians, where bombs are dropped, houses systematically destroyed, where political autonomy and the necessities of daily life are subject to the whim of what is technically a foreign power that systematically violates the sovereignty of a smaller neighbor.

Recounting his experience under such prison camps, a Palestinian Psychiatrist Doctor, Dr. Eyad Sarraj (1997), in his article: "Why We Have Become Suicide Bombers - Understanding the Palestinian Terror", corroborated retortly answering the questions he set: do you know what it does mean to live under Israeli military occupation? Do you really care to know? Let me tell you a few things. You are given an identity card number and permit to reside. If you leave the country for more than 3 years in succession, you lose that right to the residence. When you leave the country on a trip, you are given a laissez passez, a traveling document, valid for one year, and it tells you in its recordings of particulars that you are of undefined nationality. Israeli occupation means you are called twice a yearly by the intelligence for routine interrogation and persuasion to work as an informer on your brothers and sisters. No one is spared. If you are to be a member of a political organization you will be sentenced for ten years. For a military action, you will be sentenced to life.

To survive you are given chance to work in jobs Israelis do not like: sweeping the streets, building houses, collecting fruits or harvesting. You will have to leave your home in the refugee camp in Gaza at 3 am, go through the roadblocks and check posts; spend your day under the sun surveillance returning home in bed for a few hours the following day. We simply became the slaves of our enemy. We are building their homes in our villages, and we clean their streets. Do you know what does to you when you have to be a slave of your enemy in order to survive? No, you will never know how painful it is, unless your country is occupied by another force. Only then will you learn how to watch in silence pretending not to see the torture of your friends and the humiliation of your father.

Worse still, Israeli militarism as confessed by Victor Ostrovsky (a Jew and an ex- Mossadist - a former Israeli secret intelligence agent – MOSSAD) in his book: The Other Side of Deception (1990), simply means : the disappearance of thousands of Palestinians who illegally crossed into Israeli territories in search of work, whose whereabouts were traced to an Israeli research facilities known as ABC, abbreviation for Atomic, Bacteriological and Chemical laboratory, where they were now readily used as human guinea pigs. Ostrovsky (1990) explains that "ABC was [a facility] where our top epidemiological scientists were developing various doomsday machines…should there be an all-out war in which this type of weapon would be needed, there was no room for error. The Palestinian infiltrators came in handy in this regard. As human guinea pigs, they could make sure the weapons the scientists were developing worked properly and could verify how fast they worked and make them more efficient."

CONCLUSIONS

The paper established that both Palestinians and Israelis have been indulgent in the exploit of terrorism in the nurture and sustenance of their nationalistic vision of a state in historic Palestine in their struggles over 'land, dignity, and security.' They individually and collectively had failed to achieve their historical demands of attaining peaceful and progressive nation-states through the peaceful means of remedy available to them, and in its place considering what this paper views as political terrorism

The Israelis, using terror, had proclaimed a "fluid and borderless" state within Palestine through conquest, annexation, occupation, torture, and annihilation of Palestinians, obliteration of Palestinian villages for decades. Though victorious in meeting their dream of a Jewish state in Palestine, the victory, nonetheless, seems pyrrhic as they are yet to determine a definitive Jewish state of Israel within clearly defined boundaries or the 'Biblical Palestine from the Nile to the Euphrates'; and even within the virtual state so proclaimed, its citizens constantly face the threats of a vicious circle of insecurity and violence from the Palestinians challenge.

Palestinians on their part have been engaging their real and perceived enemies with acts of political terrorism. They belief the only way through which they could regain control of their land (Palestine) is the same way it was taken away from them – violently! Some of the groups do not see the Republic of Palestine coming through slow, frustrating and fruitless negotiations that have been going on for decades. Besides, to justify, the struggle itself according to them, was born out of what was referred to as: "al-Naqba" – the catastrophe – the miserable life in the refugee camps, the humiliation that destroyed their human dignity, the dirty and despicable life that destroyed their cultural, moral and political existence. They see terrorism as the only vent via which they could free themselves from the clutches of colonialism. They, therefore, had become obsessed with such violent activities as assassinations, plane hijacks, etc that are often followed with political demands. For instance, the Entebbe plane hijack scenario to secure the immediate release of Palestinian political prisoners conspiring with countries like Uganda and Libya, whose politically exuberant leadership's sympathy for the Palestinian cause, admiration of the Arab states and the clamor for a recognition knew no bound. In some other developments the Palestinians make "human bombs," a way they feel can make [Israeli] occupation that much expensive as in human lives, that much unbearable; and therefore capable of deterring occupation and guaranteeing the actualization of their political goals. They consider suicide attacks as the only form of armed resistance to occupation available to them, given the vast military superiority of the occupier. They consider suicide attacks as a desperate act of revenge born of their suffering and annihilation under Israeli occupation. They point to the political assassination of a large number of Palestinian political leaders, poets, and other civilians as a result of the actions of Israeli Army.

REFERENCES

1. *Adamu, A. (2009) Israel on trial [I]. Retrieved from www. harkanmusulci.com*

2. *Addameer Prisons Support And Human Rights Association (2002) Thousands of Palestinians   Blindfolded, Handcuffed and Torture. Retrieved from www. between the lines, (Article#0044).A Framework for Middle-East Peace (2002) Microsoft Encarta.*

3. *Amnesty International (2002): Without distinction - attacks on civilians by Palestinian armed   groups published 2002-07-11. Retrieved 2008-02-04.*

4. *Anwar-ul-Haque (2002:331) "Individual Terrorism Vs State Terrorism" in History and   Development   of International Terrorism, Encyclopedia of International Terrorism (Vol. 2) by Verinder   Grover, New Delhi.*

5. *Ben, E. (2006) Special: Entebbe's Unsung Hero, Ynet News. com, retrieved 4th July 2009*

6. *BBC News, Thursday 18th July, 2002www.bbc.co.uk/news*

7. *BBC News "Middle East | Al-Aqsa Intifada timeline", September 29, 2004, retrieved   November 13, 2011*

8.   *BBC News: "Al-Aqsa Intifada timeline"*

9.   *Charles Reese (2002) Israeli Democracy, Orlando Sentinel, published 16 November, 2002, retrieved fromwww.orlandosentinel.com*

10. *Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism (1937) United Nations, Geneva Conference on 16 December 1937 (UN Doc. A/C. 6/418, Annex1)*

11. *Compendium of United Nations Standards and Norms in Crime Prevention Criminal Justice (1972) UN Document General Assembly,(A/C 6/418, 2 Nov. 1972: 06)*

12. *Crenshaw, M. (1981) "The Causes of Terrorism" Comparative*

13. *Politics 13 (July): 397–99.*

14. *Duke, D. (2001) How Israeli terrorism and American treason caused the September 11   Attacks. Retrieved from* __www.davidduke.com__

15. *Douglas L Perle (2002) Dear President Bush. Retrieved from www.endtheoccupation.org (Article#00029).*

16. *Dunstail, S. (2011) Entebbe: The Most Daring Raid of Israel's Special Forces, The Rose Publication Group, pp 20-24*

17. *Edward, S. (2001) The Tragedy Deepens. Al-Akram Weekly, Cairo (Dec 7 - 13) Retrieved from www.thirdworldtraveler.com.*

18. *Edward, S. (2000) Double Standard, The US Celebrates Serb Freedom, But the Case of the   Palestinians is apparently different; Special Report. Israel (The Guardian, Thursday 12   Oct   2000). Retrieved from* __www.guardian.co.uk/netnews__

19. *Edward Herman, (The History of Terrorism in Israel and Palestine) The Real Terror Network,   South   End Press, 1982*

20. *Encarta Encyclopedia, 1996 Funk and Wagnalls*

21. *Eyad Sarraj, "Why We Have Become Suicide Bombers - Understanding the Palestinian   Terror",(August 1997) retrieved from* __www.MiddleEast.org__ *on 20   October, 2012*

22. *Freeman, C.W. (2011) Israel-Palestine: The Consequences of the Conflict, Speech delivered May 4, 2011, retrieved from* __www.mepc.org__ *on 2nd Dec, 2012*

23. *Gordon, D.: "Israeli abuse of Palestinian Sovereignty", Press TV article   (Wednesday, Nov 21, 2012) retrieved November 22, 2012. www.presstv.html*

24. *Greenberg, J. (2002) "Suicide Planner Expresses Joy Over His Missions,"*

25. *New York Times, 9 May.*

26. *Independent News, 16th April 2002*

27. *Islamic Association for Palestine in North America,*__www.islamovoice.com__*, 2004*

28. *Khanduri, P.N. (2002:50)"Terrorism", in History and Development of Terrorism, Encyclopedia of International Terrorism (Vol.2) by Verinder Grover, New Delhi.*

29. *Lakstein, Dror, Blumenfeld, Amir. "Israeli Army Casualties in the Second Palestinian Uprising", Journal Military Medicine, May 2005, Publisher: Association of Military Sugeons U.S., (Vol. 170; number 5, pp 427-430) www.direct.bl.uk*

30. *Madunagu, E. (1976): The Philosophy of Violence, Basic Truth*

31. *Martha Crenshaw Huntchinson, 'The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism, The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 16,3 (September 1972) pp. 383 – 96*

32. *Menachem, K. (2003) The Jerusalem Problem: The Struggle for Permanent Status, University Press of Florida, 2003 p.97.*

33. *MidEastWeb for Coexistence R.A - Middle East Resources (2009) - (viewed 16:10:2010 http://www.mideastweb.org).*

34. *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia Reference Library(2002) Terrorism.*

35. *Measures to Prevent Terrorism (1972) General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII) – UN General Assembly A/C. 160/1 09)*

36. *Measures to Prevent Terrorism (1972) General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII) – UN General Assembly A/C. 160/1 36).*

37. *Measures to Prevent Terrorism (1972) General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII) –UN General Assembly A/C. 160/1 37)*

38. *Nnoli, O. "Revolutionary violence, Development, Equality and Justice in South Africa", Nigerian Journal of International affairs, (Lagos), Vol. 13, No. 2 NIIA, 1987, P. 12*

39. *Nwolise O.B.C (1997) Terrorism; lecture delivered to Course 5 Participants: Abuja, National War College.*

40. *Nwolise O.B.C (1997) Smuggling as International Economic Terrorism, a commissioned paper presented at the Nigeria Customs Service Seminar, organized by Nigeria Customs Service, and held at the Ladi-Kwali Conference Centre, Sheraton Hotels and Towers, Abuja, 15th – 19th December, 1997*

41. *Nwolise O.B.C, (1997) ECOMOG Peace-Keeping Operations in Liberia: Effects on Political Stability in the West African Sub-Region.*

42. *Ostrovsky, V.(1990) The Other side of Deception (Confession of a former Jewish MOSSAD agent for Israel), P.188*

43. *Pape, R.A. (2003) The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, American Political Science*

44. *Review Vol. 97, No. 3 (APSR.cls July 14, 2003 20:32) P1: HAU CJ206E-01, The University of Chicago*

45. *Richman, S.L. (1991) Ancient History: US conduct in the Middle East since World War II and the Folly of Intervention, Cato Institute, Washington, retrieved from http://www.cato.org/home.html*

46. *Richard Falk, a UN Special Rapporteur in an interview with Press TV captioned: "Israelis suffer Tel Aviv militarism", Nov. 22, 2012*

47. *Said, K. (1998) Arafat, From Defender to Dictator, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp 41-90* *www.wikipedia.org*

48. *Seyyed Hassan Nasrallah, secretary Hezbollah, Press TV; retrieved 24th Nov., 2012*

49. *Shah, A. "The Middle East conflict—a brief background." Global Issues. 30 Jul. 2006. Web. 18 Jan. 2012. Retrieved from http://www.globalissues.org/article/119/the-   middle-east-conflict-a-brief-background.*

50. *Nazmi Issa Said Abu Libdeh,Impact of Israeli Settlements on the Peaceful Settlement of the Palestinian Case, International Journal of Political Science, Law and International Relations(IJPSLIR), Volume 6, Issue 5, November - December 2016, Pp 37-46.*

51. *Sharm El-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee Report (Mitchell Report), April 30, 2001*

52. *Sullivan, N.O. (1986) 'Terrorism, Ideology and Democracy' in Noel O' Sullivan (ed),   Terrorism,Ideology and Revolution: The Origin of Modern Political Violence, Wheatshef Books Ltd*

53. *Surya P. Sharma, (1986) World focus, New Delhi, Vol. 7 1986:8*

54. *Terrorism (2011)www.guardian.150m.com/Palestine/jewish - viewed, 31 Dec 2011*

55. *The Islamic Association for Palestine in North America (2004) 20 Basic Facts About the Palestine   Problem, Retrieved from www.islamovoice, viewed 14th December 2011*

56. *The Guardian: Rioting as Sharon visits Islam holy site, Friday September 29, 2000. www.theguardian.org retrieved 14th October, 2012*

57. *The Origins and Evolution of Palestine Problem 1917-1988, United Nations, New York: 30*

58. *The Palestinian Refugees www.mideastweb.org – viewed 13th December 2012*

59. *The Times Magazine: conversation between Henry Kissinger and Israeli Ambassador Simch   Dinitz   on 30th   June   1976,   Published   26th   July,   1976;   retrieved   24th   July   2011   from www.enwikipedia.org/Operation_Entebbe/*

60. *United Nations (1973) UN Report on Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism –   28th   session   GOAR, Supp. No: 28 (A/9028) New York, (1973) P.85)*

61. *United Nations (1990): The Origins and Evolution of Palestine Problem 1917 -1988. United Nations, New York.*

62. *United   Nations   Security   Council   Resolution   608   (1988),   United   Nations.   Retrieved fromhttp://www.un.org/docs/scres/1988/scres88.htm*

63. *United   Nations   Security   Council   Resolution   673   (1990),   United   Nations. Retrievedhttp://www.un.org/docs/scres/1990/scres90.htm.*

64. *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1322 (2000), United Nations. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/docs/scres/2000/scres00.htm*

65. *Verinder, G. (2002) Encyclopaedia of International Terrorism (Vol. 3), New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications PVT. Ltd.*

66. *Vijay Gupta (2002:97) "Liberation Movement: The Means of Violence" in History and Development of International Terrorism, Encyclopedia of International Terrorism (Vol. 2) by Verinder Grover, New Delhi.*

67. *Wardlaw, G. (1982), Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Counter Measures. Cambridge: University Press.*

68. *Wasserstein (2002) The Terrible History: how two tribes have fought to the death for land and dignity, The Guardian retrieved from: www.theguardian.co.uk*

69. *Wilkinson, P. (1974) Political Terrorism. London: The Anchor Press*

70. *WoolyDays: Entebbe– 2August2006. Retrieved 4th July, 2009 from http://nebuchadnezzawoolyd.blogspont.com/2006/08/entebbe.html*

71. *Yediot Ahronot, April 4, April 20, May 5, 1972 (eyewitness accounts);*

72. *Yogesh K. Tyagi (1987) "Political Terrorism: National and International Dimensions" in History and Development of Terrorism, Encyclopaedia of International Terrorism (Vol.2) by Verinder Grover, NewDelhi.*