

# Hezbollah: Social Services as a Source of Power



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**On the cover.** 19 August 2006. Wearing the Hezbollah flag, women volunteers fan out over the bombed-out southern suburbs of Beirut in a Hezbollah campaign that offered funding to help Shia Moslem families rebuild their lives. (UPI Photo used with premission of Newscom.)





*Hezbollah: Social  
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Source of Power*

James B. Love

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## Foreword

Major James Love's paper on Hezbollah provides the Special Operations reader an illustration and reminder of the importance of civic actions to achieving strategic objectives. He outlines the comprehensive activities of the Hezbollah Social Service Section as the precursor for success in Hezbollah's political and military actions. Love estimates that about half of Hezbollah's budget is dedicated to social services sectors such as health, veterans' services, reconstruction and compensation, education, women's groups, and even the Imam al-Mahdi Scouts (like the Boy Scouts). Such efforts are employed to capture the willing support of the people in order to further Hezbollah's political aims. The concept is working, as Hezbollah has largely supplanted the Government of Lebanon in the southern part of that country while it continues to harass Israel and the West on the political-military front.

Hezbollah is a significant terrorist organization worthy of study, not only because it has pushed aside its rival Shi'a political-militia group, Amal, in Lebanon to dominate there but because of its continued effectiveness as a terrorist organization with operations outside of Lebanon. Hezbollah is known (or accused) of perpetrating a string of suicide bombings to include the U.S. Marine barracks (1983) and the U.S. Embassy in Beirut (1984). It was also involved in the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 (1985) and the attack on the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia (1996). Reaching further afield, Hezbollah is believed to have instigated the assassination of Saudi diplomats in Thailand (1989) and two bombings in Argentina (1992 and 1994). Hezbollah cells currently operate from Lebanon, Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. What helps make Hezbollah such a viable terrorist enterprise is the moral and financial support it receives from the Shi'a community in Lebanon and the wider Diaspora that feeds the movement via several funding lines.

Author Love explores the importance that the funding stream plays for maintaining Hezbollah's high level of social services and how this is done. "Without funding, Hezbollah would be an ideology and not a threat..." he suggests. Illegal activity, charity organizations, the expatriate population, and Iran are the principal sources that contribute to its war chest. While funds come from *zakat* (act of charity) and legitimate businesses (and fronts), much of the inflow comes from money laundering the profits from

drug trafficking, smuggling, shakedowns, and human smuggling. Moving this money to Lebanon is critical if Hezbollah is to maintain its activities. Thus Islamic banking, *hawala* (transfer of value system), and secret bank accounts in places like Iran or Switzerland play a critical role in sustaining the power of Hezbollah. While the source of Hezbollah's power, its center of gravity, resides with the Shi'a population of Lebanon, the robust social services program is the glue that binds the people to the political arm of the movement. Love's paper implies that the process of moving money from the Diaspora to Lebanon is a potential vulnerability that could be neutralized in order to deflate Hezbollah's power.

Major Love acknowledges that U.S. civil-military operators cannot fully replicate a number of advantages that Hezbollah enjoys that make its social services program successful. As a Shi'a political-military organization in the midst of a Shi'a population, Hezbollah is in the fray for the long run, enjoying a religious affinity and deep cultural connection with the people that U.S. Special Operations Forces cannot replicate. But there are some concepts that are transferable that could improve U.S. civil-military operations (CMO). For example, our response to natural and man-made destruction and disaster could be made faster to provide immediate relief during counterinsurgency operations. Funding and authorities processes could be streamlined. Major Love elaborates on these ideas as he makes recommendations for improving the CMO effort. The reader will appreciate Love's review of Hezbollah's development since the 1982 Lebanon War, its successful use of social services to build popular support, and his insights that recommend changes to the way the U.S. does CMO.

Kenneth H. Poole  
Director, JSOU Strategic Studies Department

## About the Author

Major James B. Love began his Army service in 1994 after graduating from Cameron University in Lawton, Oklahoma and receiving his commission in the Infantry. Upon graduating from the Infantry Officer's Basic Course, Major Love was assigned to the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) in Fort Campbell, Kentucky where he served as a Rifle Platoon Leader, Anti-Armor Platoon Leader, and Brigade Maintenance Officer. After completing the Artillery Advanced Course, Major Love was assigned to 1st Brigade, 4th Infantry Division at Fort Hood, Texas. He served as an Assistant S-3 for Operations and commanded Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1-22 Infantry and Bravo, 1-22 Infantry. During this time, he deployed to Kuwait in support of Intrinsic Action and to Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) I as the commander of B/1-22 Infantry.

Major Love transitioned to Civil Affairs in 2003. Upon completion of his Civil Affairs training, he was assigned to the 96th Civil Affairs Battalion where he served as a Civil Affairs (CA) Team Leader, CA Detachment Commander, and CA Company Commander. Major Love deployed in support of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and Operation Iraqi Freedom in each capacity.

Upon change of command, Major Love attended and graduated from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Intermediate Level Education and the Advanced Military Science Program/School of Advanced Military Studies (AMSP/SAMS). Major Love is currently assigned as a Joint CA Planner within the U.S. Africa Command.

Major Love holds a B.A. in History from Cameron University, M.S. in International Relations from Troy State University, and Master of Military Arts and Science in Campaign Design from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College/AMSP.



# Hezbollah: Social Services as a Source of Power

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## 1. Introduction

Feed those who need it, but do so especially when or where the sources of sustenance, physical, moral or spiritual are cut off.

— Quran, v.6141

**T**he militant Lebanese Shi'a organization, Hezbollah (Party of God), has evolved into the largest and most professional terrorist group in the Middle East. Since Hezbollah's inception in the early 1980s, its political wing has been successful at placing several representatives in the Lebanese Parliament while its military wing has been training, recruiting, fighting, and conducting terrorist attacks within the Levant and globally against U.S., Israeli, and European interests. The popularity of the organization has continued to grow throughout southern Lebanon and Beirut since the 2000 evacuation of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon; it received additional credibility as a paramilitary force during its victory in the 2006 war with Israel. Although seldom discussed, a major factor in Hezbollah's success has been the use of charity or social services.

It is important to note that *zakat* (the act of charity), a pillar of Islam, is a duty mandated by God to address the comprehensive needs of the less fortunate.<sup>1</sup> The act of *zakat* and the

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*It is important to note that *zakat* (the act of charity), a pillar of Islam, is a duty...*

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western construct of social services are often used synonymously to describe charitable acts, public services, and infrastructure development. *Zakat* is a religious duty, and social services are a function of governance. For the purposes of this paper, the terms will be used synonymously.

The intent of this paper is to prove that Hezbollah's overwhelming success as a global terrorist or Shi'a defense organization and subsequent political power in the Lebanese political system is attributed to its use of social services. The paper examines Lebanese history, the evolution of Hezbollah,

Hezbollah's organizational structure, funding sources, and social service achievements to provide a systemic understanding of how the organization morphed from a resistance movement into a stateless government that leverages charity to meet the needs of the neglected, oppressed, and marginalized Lebanese Shi'a population to maintain popular support.

To understand the role of the social service effort and its critical role in Hezbollah's organizational model, it is important to understand the interests, strategic goals, and relationships of the stakeholders and those of Hezbollah. Hezbollah is in a unique position in that it enjoys the support of both Syria and Iran—that is, while both countries share the successes of Hezbollah, they have different strategic interests that cause the nature of the relationship to change. In 2004, Hezbollah's Deputy Secretary General, Shaykh Naim Qassem, categorized the organization's vision into the three pillars of

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*... the three pillars of Hezbollah: Islam as a model for governance, the obligation of jihad, and the jurisdiction of the jurist theologian or Al-Wali al-Faqih.*

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Hezbollah: Islam as a model for governance, the obligation of jihad, and the jurisdiction of the jurist theologian or Al-Wali al-Faqih.<sup>2</sup> Hezbollah continues to believe that Islam provides a basis for a comprehensive, appropriate, and ideologically sound method for

the organization.<sup>3</sup> Islam provides guidance on all aspects of governance, war, and personal life. The second pillar, jihad, was justified by the 1982 Israeli invasion and occupation. According to Qassem, resisting the occupation in defense of Lebanon and the Shi'a population is Hezbollah's priority and all the organization's resources should support this effort.<sup>4</sup>

The third pillar of Hezbollah's vision—the recognition of the jurisdiction of the Al-Wali al-Faqih—is the God-appointed spiritual guide and legitimately constituted authority in Islamic governance.<sup>5</sup> This concept originated with Ayatollah Khomeini's interpretation of a quote from the twelfth *imam* (leader), “as for the events that may occur, refer to the transmitters of our sayings...” which he interpreted as a mandate ordained by God to rule.<sup>6</sup> Hezbollah's primary goals emerged from the intent of the three pillars vision. The organization's strategic goals are the establishment of the Islamic state of Lebanon, the destruction of Israel, and export of the Islamic revolution.<sup>7</sup> How the vision and goals contributed to the development and configuration of the organization is discussed in chapter 3.

Iran can be credited with the creation and subsequent successes of Hezbollah. The organization has been heavily influenced by Ayatollah Khomeini's revolutionary ideology and receives substantial monetary and materiel support from Iran.<sup>8</sup> Lebanon and Iran have historical connections that date back to the early 1500s, but Iran's interests in Hezbollah originated after the success of the Iranian revolution and the establishment of the Islamic state of Iran in 1982.<sup>9</sup> Iran saw an opportunity to export the Islamic revolution through assistance of the oppressed Shi'a population in the Israeli-occupied territory.<sup>10</sup> Both conditions reflect Iran's strategic goals in respect to Hezbollah and the Levant area. Iran viewed Hezbollah as a vehicle and model to export the revolution to the Levant and ultimately to the rest of the Arab world. The Hezbollah strongholds in southern Lebanon are strategically located to attack, harass, and terrorize Israel—allowing Hezbollah to fight a proxy war with Iran's sworn enemy. The threat of facing terror or conventional attacks from Hezbollah serves as a strategic deterrent against potential threats from the United States and Israel, which gives Iran a strategic foothold in the prosperous, contested Levant region without having to commit regular forces or spend political capital. Hezbollah also assists Iran by serving as liaison between Iran and other Arab and Muslim militant groups. Based on Iran's strategic goals, Hezbollah appears to be the perfect agent for supporting Iranian interests.

Syria's strategic interests and proximity to Lebanon make it a stakeholder in the future of Lebanon. Syria's primary interest, from Lebanese independence in 1943 to Syrian intervention in Lebanon in 1976, was security.<sup>11</sup> Because of its tradition of political freedoms, Lebanon has served as a center of subversion and conspiracy against Syrian regimes.<sup>12</sup> Although Syria and Lebanon have a relationship that predates their independence in 1943, Syrian involvement in Lebanon both in governance and in support of Hezbollah has been constant since the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon in 1982 and the subsequent creation of the organization.<sup>13</sup> Syria has acted as a conduit for weapons, materiel, funds, men, and training.<sup>14</sup> Initially, the former President of Syria, Hafez Al Assad, viewed Hezbollah as a simple pawn used to fight Israel; in 2000 the organization was elevated to the status of *strategic partner* by his successor, Bashar Assad.<sup>15</sup> This increased Hezbollah's funding, access to weapons, and training. This relationship allowed Syria, through Hezbollah, to maintain the alliance with Iran, maintain the ability to strike

indirectly at Israel and the United States, maintain influence in Lebanon, and indirectly support radical Islamic forces in the Palestinian authority.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Lebanese History and the Creation of Hezbollah

The intent of this chapter is to highlight the significant events that shaped the country and created the political and social conditions that acted as a catalyst for Hezbollah's creation and its ability to leverage its Social Service Section. The origins and importance of this Hezbollah section can be traced back to the creation of Lebanon, the fault lines created by occupying powers, the creation of the state of Israel, repeated oppression of the Lebanese Shi'a population, and the nature of Lebanon's geography.

### Lebanon's Complicated Geography

Lebanon is a rugged country that is framed by the parallel north-south Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges and the Eleutherus River in the north.<sup>17</sup> The Lebanon mountain range is close to Mediterranean coastal cities, which leaves little room for large-scale agricultural development in the west. The most suitable land for farming is in the Bekaa Valley, which lies between the two mountain ranges, and in the larger areas in Lebanon's northwest. The majority of the nonlittoral population is relegated to subsistence farming. This factor is important because the Shi'a populations have historically occupied or have been forced onto the poorer, less productive areas of the country while the Druze, Maronite Christians, and Sunnis occupy the more productive coastal and northern lands.<sup>18</sup> Historically, the Shi'a population has been geographically disadvantaged.<sup>19</sup> The complicated terrain and the historical ties to Syria contribute to an emerging complex social dynamic that in turn contributes to the sectarian tensions, the social inequalities, and the ultimate creation of an organization that combats these inequalities.<sup>20</sup>

### The Ottoman Influence on Lebanon: Intersectarian Cooperation

Lebanon by nature is an intersectarian state where people understand the need for cooperation between the competing sects; however, intersectarianism can also lead to intense competition between the groups. There are 19 tribes and five major religious sects represented by six major groups: Maronite Christians, Greek Orthodox Christian, Greek Catholic, Shi'a Muslim, Sunni Muslim, and Druze.<sup>21</sup> The complex nature of sectarian differences and tribal culture prevented unification. In 1516, the Ottoman Empire captured Mount Lebanon, the land west of the Litani River to the coast, from the Egyptians.

Many historians regard this event as the emergence of the intersectarian traditions that are presently found in Lebanon.<sup>22</sup> The Ottomans ruled Mount Lebanon for 300 years before being driven out by the Egyptians. During those 300 years of relative peace, the concept of intersectarian competition and the acceptance of Shi'a oppression were engrained into Lebanese culture.<sup>23</sup> In the mid-1800s, the sectarian divisions were further deepened by the intervention of the British and the French who leveraged the divisions between the Muslims, Maronites, and the Druze for their countries interests against the Ottoman Empire.<sup>24</sup> After a bloody sectarian war supported by the British and French, the competing groups were relegated to designated enclaves where they enjoyed a period of relative peace and enlightenment. Beirut developed into a major center for maritime commerce for European colonial powers. The beginning of World War I would prove to fundamentally change Lebanon and create the conditions that would result in the development of Lebanese Hezbollah.

### **European Influence: Imbalance of Power**

In 1916, the division of Greater Lebanon—which includes the territory of modern day Syria—was done through the Sykes-Picot Agreement.<sup>25</sup> Lebanese land holdings were expanded by the French during the 1920 Conference of San Remo. This agreement created the borders of what is now modern Syria and extended Lebanese boundaries west past the Anti-Lebanese mountains.<sup>26</sup> The agreement added four new areas: coastal cities, the Akkar Plain, the Bekaa Valley, and the Jebel Amil.<sup>27</sup> The significance of the border change is that it radically changed the demographics by introducing two large populations of Shi and Sunni Muslims that were unaccustomed to intersectarian rule by a Maronite- and Druze-dominated government.<sup>28</sup>

In 1926, the Lebanese constitution was written with the understanding that relationships between the various sects had to be maintained if the country were to survive.<sup>29</sup> The constitution described the criticality of unity and equality but did not give specific proportional representation ratios.<sup>30</sup> Although the methods and results of the census were highly suspect, the results favored the Maronites.<sup>31</sup> The lack of proportional representation lies at the heart of every internal Lebanese conflict from 1926 to the present and facilitates Hezbollah's efforts to gain influence over the Lebanese government.

Lebanon declared independence from the French in 1943 and created the National Pact, an unwritten agreement between the Maronites and Sunnis

designed to maintain the current form of Lebanese government and stem the rise of sectarianism.<sup>32</sup> The terms in the agreement focused on three key issues: a) proclamation of an independent, neutral Lebanon that is not tied to France or Syria, b) Muslims must accept the Christian character and Christians must accept the Arab face in commerce and government, and c) the government division will be divided in a six-to-five ratio in favor of the Christians, and the cabinet will be divided evenly.<sup>33</sup> The constitution was amended so that the president would always be a Christian, the Sunnis were given the premiership, and Shiites were given the least powerful position of the speakership of the parliament.<sup>34</sup> Parliamentary representation was then set at a six-to-five Christian-to-Muslim ratio, leaving the Christians with a permanent majority.<sup>35</sup> The changes in sectarian division of power violated the constitution and increased the already powerful executive branch. With a guaranteed majority in parliament and the President's ability to veto any parliamentary decision, the Christians have the ability to maintain power and influence within the government for the foreseeable future.<sup>36</sup> The National Pact—built on centuries of exclusion, marginalization, and under representation—created a deep resentment of the Lebanese ruling sects and developed a perceived identity crisis within the Shi'a community.<sup>37</sup>

### **Catalyst for Conflict: The Creation of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)**

After a long diplomatic and military struggle, the state of Israel was established on 14 May 1948, marking the birth of arguably one of the more disputed countries on earth.<sup>38</sup> This event is important in that the actions of the state of Israel acted as a catalyst for the creation of Hezbollah and as an enduring antagonist for the organization and its supporters. The day Israel's Declaration of Independence was signed, the Egyptians celebrated the historic event by bombing Tel Aviv.<sup>39</sup> Large numbers of displaced Palestinians occupied Gaza, the West Bank, and southern Lebanon. This created additional pressure on existing populations, especially in the poor rural areas of southern Lebanon. There appeared to be minimal conflict between Lebanon and Israel before or immediately following Israel's independence. In 1955, Egyptian President Abdel Nasser initiated the pan-Arab movement in an attempt to foster unity among Arab states to destroy Israel. Egyptian rhetoric inspired several radical guerrilla organizations to develop out of the Palestinian refugee camps to support the pan-Arab cause. The PLO was created in Cairo in 1967

by President Nasser to serve as an umbrella for the myriad of Palestinian liberation groups in order to consolidate command and control, logistics, training, and materiel support. The PLO provided the supporting Arab states a proxy to fight against Israeli and United States interests. The PLO gained instant support from the Communist states and most Arab states.<sup>40</sup> This event is significant in that PLO actions caused the Israeli invasion in 1978 and the subsequent occupation of southern Lebanon in 1982. These actions can be considered a catalyst for the creation of Hezbollah as the defender of Lebanon and as provider to the Shi'a.<sup>41</sup>

### **Musa al-Sadr and the Lebanese Shi'a Social Awakening**

By 1959, the living conditions and infrastructure in the Shi'a areas were centuries behind the rest of Lebanon. Basic services like schools, hospitals, and utilities were in disrepair or nonexistent. The lack of concern by the Maronite-dominated government prevented any serious representation in government, and corruption within the Shi'a leadership crippled efforts to improve infrastructure in the communities.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the Shi'a political and religious voice was fractured and disjointed, making improvements to the infrastructure or quality of life difficult. Sayyid Hussein Husseini, a Shi'a member of the Lebanese Parliament in 1959, describes it as politics of polarity and feudalism on one side and extremism on the other.<sup>43</sup> The Lebanese Shi'a religious leadership was not much better; they were stagnant and unable to break away from centuries of tradition, which prevented them from understanding the current needs of the population and limited their influence in all areas of life.<sup>44</sup> The year 1959 would mark the beginning of a Shi'a religious revival with the arrival of three influential religious leaders—Musa al-Sadr, Ayatollah Muhammad Mahdi Shamseddine, and Ayatollah al-Sayyed Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah.

Musa al-Sadr is the most notable of the three Shi'a clerics. Sadr, who can be credited with creating the Hezbollah Social Service Section, arrived in Lebanon in 1959 from Iran with the intent of organizing the Shi'a into a unified body, achieving political equality within the Lebanese government, and reforming the role of clerics in the community.<sup>45</sup> He received his religious training in Qum, Iran, then Najaf, Iraq—both highly respected centers of religious learning.<sup>46</sup> Sadr did not subscribe to the traditional fundamentalist approach to Islam but instead adopted an approach that combined traditional values with modern concepts.<sup>47</sup> Through family ties and relationships

developed during his formative years, he was able to gain and maintain the support and guidance of both President Assad of Syria and the Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran. Musa al-Sadr's leadership abilities, educational pedigree, Lebanese heritage, and political connections gave him instant credibility within the Lebanese Shi'a communities. Sadr understood the importance of gaining popular support before any political goals could be achieved. His understanding is articulated in a message to his followers, "Whenever the poor involve themselves in social revolution it is a confirmation that injustice is not predestined."<sup>48</sup>

By all appearances Sadr's motivations were religious in nature. Muslims are duty bound by the third pillar of Islam, zakat or charity, to donate or provide services to those in need.<sup>49</sup> The nature of zakat is further described in Surah 98:6

And they have been commanded no more than this: to worship Allah, offering him sincere devotion, being true in faith; to establish regular prayer and practice regular charity; and that is the religion right and straight.<sup>50</sup>

His initial focus was on community outreach and social projects that addressed the most crucial shortcomings, employment, and basic services. His first project, in 1960, was a vocational school built in southern Lebanon at a cost of \$165,000.<sup>51</sup> The school was an instant success and is currently operating. His second successful organization was the Charity and Philanthropy Association, which was intended to provide basic needs to the Shi'a areas.<sup>52</sup> In 1967, he created the independent lobbying group, called the Islamic Shi'ite Higher Council.<sup>53</sup> The organization sought to equally represent Shi'a interests to the government to support Sadr's seven-point political program to organize the Shi'a community. The program was designed to

... improve socio-economic conditions, implement a holistic vision of Islam, promote totality among Muslims, promote cooperation with all Lebanese sects, fulfill patriotic and national duties; protect Lebanese independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; combat ignorance, poverty, social injustice, and moral degeneration; and support the Palestinian resistance and to effectively take part in the liberation of Palestine along with other Arab countries.<sup>54</sup>

The party was officially recognized by the Lebanese government in May of 1970 and received \$10 million in aid for southern Lebanon.<sup>55</sup> Sadr continued to lobby for additional funding from the government for social aid, expansion of the Litani irrigation project, and more hospitals and schools in Shi'a areas.<sup>56</sup> In 1974, Sadr formed the Movement of the Deprived or Disinherited to force the Lebanese government to reform the current system—that is, allow equal rights for all deprived persons of all sects.<sup>57</sup> At the beginning of the civil war a militia, called Amal, was created to support the movement during the conflict. Amal was trained by Fatah and had a controversial pro-Syrian stance. They played a minor role in the fighting but would rise in popularity during the Israeli invasion of Operation Litani and after the Iranian revolution.<sup>58</sup>

Musa al-Sadr was the most influential leader in the Shi'a community and is largely responsible for building the support base through social works and political influence that would evolve into Hezbollah. Sadr managed to keep the PLO and the Palestinian struggle separate from his efforts to support the Shi'a. Sadr would openly show support for the Palestinian cause but adamantly opposed them as a state operating within a state because it was contrary to the Movement of the Deprived goal of establishing unity and equality within Lebanon.

Sadr would remain influential in Lebanese politics and in the Shi'a community until his mysterious disappearance in 1978. After his death, his legacy would be used by three primary stakeholders—Iran, the Iraqi Shi'a, and the Lebanese Shi'a.<sup>59</sup> All stakeholders could claim affiliation with Sadr through family, educational, religious, and social means and sought notoriety through their association with the imam. The leadership of the new Islamic Republic of Iran saw this as an opportunity to export the revolution through the legacy of Sadr and build on his influence.<sup>60</sup> The most enduring aspect of his legacy was his emphasis on social services and the importance of establishing popular support to achieve organizational goals.

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*... his legacy was his emphasis on social services and the importance of establishing popular support to achieve organizational goals.*

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The two other influential clerics, Ayatollah Muhammad Mahdi Shamseddine and Ayatollah al-Sayyed Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, focused their attention on Beirut and the surrounding areas. Although they did not have an impact on the political or military resistance movements, they excelled in

the social arena by opening and maintaining several hospitals and religious schools within Beirut.<sup>61</sup> One of the notable achievements is the Association of Philanthropic Organizations that brought together several educational, religious, and social institutions.<sup>62</sup>

### **The Lebanese Civil War, Social Services, and Syrian Interests**

The Lebanese Civil War erupted in 1975 as a sectarian war between the Christians (the Phlange Party backed by the Lebanese Front) and the Palestinians (Nationalist and Progressive Movements of the Lebanese National Movement).<sup>63</sup> After 2 years of fighting the war ended with no real change to the government structure and left Syria with a firm foothold in Lebanon. Syrian involvement in the civil war and subsequent occupation was a well-calculated event that advanced Syrian interests. Prior to 1975 the deterrents to Syria's involvement on Lebanon were the unstable political situation in Syria, the resilience of the Lebanese regime, the strong western influence within the Lebanese government, and the possibility of an Israeli response on Syrian soil.<sup>64</sup> The Lebanese Civil War in 1975 either removed or weakened all the deterrents that facilitated Syrian interests. Syrian intervention in the civil war enabled the regime to establish a permanent, internationally recognized presence in Lebanon, which brought relative stability to Lebanon but more importantly gave Syria direct influence over Lebanon.

The PLO and its large displaced Palestinian population placed an additional burden on Lebanon's sparse resources and dilapidated infrastructure. More importantly, the cross-border raids into Israel were causing retaliatory strikes against PLO positions and population centers, not always Palestinian. The Shi'a attitude towards Israel was not openly violent. Through Sadr's guidance, they were focused on solving Shi'a-related issues with the Lebanese government. The focus of the Shi'a efforts are important in that over the period of 1970 to 1983, the actions of the PLO and the Israelis inadvertently weakened the Lebanese government, created Hezbollah, and increased the need for social services.

### **The Effects of Operations Litani and Peace for Galilee**

Between 1970 and 1978, the Lebanese-based PLO consistently conducted cross-border raids on predominantly Israeli civilian targets.<sup>65</sup> The Israeli policy allowed for immediate retaliation using the requisite amount of force to destroy the threat or source of the threat.<sup>66</sup> In 1978, the conservative

Israeli government initiated Operation Litani to create a buffer zone between the northern Israeli border and the Litani River. The attack was successful in creating a buffer zone, though the PLO's military capability was not damaged. The Shias welcomed the Israeli attack on the PLO with the hope of driving the Palestinians out of the south; however, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) caused an estimated 1,000 Shi'a civilian deaths resulting in a loss of support.<sup>67</sup> The United Nations created the United Nations Interim Force for Lebanon (UNIFIL) to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli forces and to restore peace and to aid the Lebanese government in restoring control of the area.<sup>68</sup> The PLO did not accept the UN mandate and began attacking UNIFIL soldiers, resulting in UNIFIL's submission to the PLO. As a result, the PLO was allowed to operate south of the Litani River, completely unhindered by UNIFIL. Over the next 2 years, the PLO began a military buildup that added armored vehicles, anti-aircraft guns and missiles, artillery, and mortars to their inventory in the south.<sup>69</sup>

The Iranian Revolution in 1979 can be considered another catalyst for Hezbollah's creation—that is, the radical Islamists demonstrated that an Islamic state could exist and be governed by Sharia law. The ties between the new Iranian leadership and the Lebanese Shi'a had been forged decades before, making southern Lebanon the perfect candidate for exportation of the revolution. The timing could not have been better insofar as the pre-revolutionary ties between the Lebanese and Iranian clergy would provide inspiration, training, and state financial backing that would jump-start the Hezbollah organization and add Lebanon to what some supporters consider the *umma*.<sup>70</sup> This spiritual tie to Hezbollah would often conflict with the strategic tie that Syria shares with Lebanon. As discussed in the introduction, Syrian interests and Iranian interests are close but not completely compatible.

In 1982, the Israeli ambassador to London was shot by Palestinian terrorists, which prompted an Israeli attack of PLO positions throughout Lebanon.<sup>71</sup> Yassar Arafat, head of the PLO, retaliated with an artillery attack on three Israeli settlements. The Israeli leadership met after the attack and developed the plan for Operation Peace for Galilee. On 6 June 1982, the Israelis invaded southern Lebanon.<sup>72</sup> The operation was aimed at mitigating or removing Syrian influence in Lebanon and driving the PLO out of Lebanon. The operation resulted in an estimated 18,000 civilian deaths and over 30,000 wounded.<sup>73</sup> After the invasion, the Shi'a populations in the south were thankful that the PLO had been removed, and hopes were high that a peaceful

and economically profitable relationship would develop.<sup>74</sup> The Lebanese Shi'a and the Israelis had shared interests. Both wanted an end to the PLO's cross-border excursions, the presence of the PLO in the south, and a secure southern border. Initially, the Israelis were seen as liberators but as time passed, the Shi'a became suspect of the Israeli intentions.<sup>75</sup> Israel attempted to install a West Bank-inspired plan, the Organization for a Unified South, which set up a system of self-governance that was secured by internally recruited militias.<sup>76</sup> The plan seemed sound, but the villages that rejected the terms were coerced by the Israelis to join.<sup>77</sup> It can be argued that at this point the status of the Israelis shifted from liberators to occupiers. The Shi'a were further angered when the Israelis interrupted the sacred Shi'a Ashura Festival that celebrates the martyrdom of imam Hussein.<sup>78</sup> Imam Hussein is considered to be the Prince of Martyrs. The importance of Hussein's legacy and the combination of disrupting this particular festival while occupying Shi'a territory portrayed the Israelis as the contemporary oppressors that the imam is famous for defying.<sup>79</sup> These actions enabled the Lebanese Shi'a leadership to eliminate internal conflict and unify the community through the common hatred of the Israelis.<sup>80</sup> The result was the issuance of the first *fatwa* (Islamic edict) that ordered nonviolent resistance towards the Israelis. These events mark the beginning of Shi'a resistance to the Israeli occupation.

### **The Beginning of Hezbollah**

The events following the Israeli invasion in 1982 marked the formal beginning of Hezbollah, but the organization was not consolidated within Lebanon until 1985.<sup>81</sup> Hezbollah's goals, intent, and loyalty to the Wali al-Faqih, Ayatollah Khomeini, were expressed in their manifesto, entitled the Open Letter.<sup>82</sup> It expressed Hezbollah's desire to establish the Islamic state of Lebanon—that it would be governed by the Quran, the Sunna, and the Wali al-Faqih.<sup>83</sup> Hezbollah enjoyed the support of Iran and Syria but still faced internal resistance from Amal. Fortunately for Hezbollah, Amal shared many of the same interests as Israel. They wanted a secure southern border, no PLO presence, and the end of hostilities.<sup>84</sup> This position gave the perception that Amal was supportive of Israel, which turned much of the Shi'a support towards Hezbollah. Intermittent fighting between Amal and Hezbollah proceeded until 1989 when Hezbollah defeated Amal by destroying their military strongholds and consolidating the majority of Shi'a under Hezbollah.<sup>85</sup> Amal's military responsibilities were taken over by Hezbollah.

In 1992, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah left Amal to join Hezbollah.<sup>86</sup> He has since become the most influential leader within the Shi'a community of southern Lebanon since Musa al-Sadr. The final cease-fire was negotiated by Iran and Syria with Syria providing peace-keeping troops.

In an attempt to resolve grievances between the sects, the Lebanese government drafted the Ta'if Agreement or the Document for National Reconciliation. The Ta'if Agreement was designed to bring an end to the civil war, equalize the ratio of Muslim to Christian parliamentary seats, and transfer the presidential executive power to the council of ministers.<sup>87</sup> Syria's enduring issue with Lebanon was determining which party or individual to support. The document allowed Syria the power to exert control over the volatile situation and establish some predictability over the country by outlining Syria's "special interest" in Lebanon. Syria would be responsible for providing security, disarming the militias, and assisting the central government until the security conditions were suitable to the Syrians.<sup>88</sup> To further establish control of Lebanon, Syria negotiated the Treaty of Brotherhood, Cooperation, and Coordination with Lebanon.<sup>89</sup> This treaty is critical to Hezbollah because it gave the organization the necessary support, time to reorganize, and resources to refit the militia and consolidate power. At this point, Hezbollah was primarily a militia with little ambition to participate in governance but saw the changes occurring within the country. Syria's involvement made the Hezbollah leadership realize that participating in the political process was the only way the organization would be able to survive.

### **Syria and the Implications of Hariri's Assassination**

Syria's influence in Lebanon's government went unopposed until the 2000 national elections when Rafiq al-Hariri was elected as the Prime Minister, thereby overcoming Syrian attempts to install a pro-Syrian candidate.<sup>90</sup> Hariri maintained ties with Syria before Bashar Assad became the Syrian proponent to Lebanon. In 2004, Assad pushed the Lebanese government to extend the pro-Syrian Lebanese President, Emile Lahoud, to a third term.<sup>91</sup> This action violated the Ta'if Agreement and the Lebanese constitution. Hariri was openly against the Syrian interference and was warned by Assad to accept the outcome or be branded as anti-Syrian. From the Hezbollah perspective, Lahoud is an ally who ensures the organization's survival. After the extension was granted, the United Nations passed UN Resolution 1559, which called for the immediate withdrawal of Syrian troops and the

disarmament of Hezbollah. It is rumored that Hariri, through his connections with French President Jacques Chirac, requested UN involvement.<sup>92</sup> Resistance to the extension grew within the other sects until there was open defiance to Syria. Hariri was seen as a serious threat to Syria and Syrian interests in the region. Hariri's assassination in February 2005 marked the end of direct Syrian involvement in Lebanon. The million-person protest, dubbed the Cedar Revolution, demanded the removal of Syrian troops and the truth behind Hariri's death.<sup>93</sup> After Syrian troops withdrew in April 2005, Syria would rely on Lebanon's pro-Syrian President, Emile Lahoud, and Hezbollah as the strategic arm of Syria. The removal of direct Syrian involvement and the influence of al-Hariri were helpful to Hezbollah in that it streamlined their external command and control structure. Syrian interests did not change; however, their ability to directly affect the conduct of the Lebanese government was greatly diminished. Syria was now reliant on Hezbollah and Iran to pursue their interests in Lebanon. For Hezbollah, the new balance of power allowed for an increased political presence and ensured the longevity of the organization through Syrian indirect support.<sup>94</sup>

### **The Effects of Hezbollah's Victory in the 2006 War**

The 2006 war was a defining moment for Hezbollah, Syria, and Iran. The decades of work, millions of dollars of funding, and political risk had paid off in a nonvictory for Israel. The war proved that Hezbollah was capable of defeating a professional military by using a balanced unconventional lethal-nonlethal strategy. The source of the conflict is linked to two acts of aggression, one by the Palestinian Hamas and one by Hezbollah. The coordination between the two groups and the timing of the attacks are debatable. On 25 June 2006, the Hamas military wing (Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades) attacked Israeli forces outside the Gaza strip, killing two and capturing one Israeli soldier, causing Israel to launch attacks into Gaza.<sup>95</sup> On 12 July, Hezbollah crossed the border and attacked an Israeli vehicle, killing three Israeli soldiers and capturing two.<sup>96</sup> The Israeli Prime Minister called the raids an act of war and began preparations for swift military action if negotiations to return the captured soldiers failed. The violence quickly escalated with Hezbollah launching Katyusha rockets and mortars south, targeting civilian populations to terrorize the populace and antagonize the IDF. Israel immediately began conducting air strikes against Lebanon's International Airport and key Hezbollah targets, like the offices of Sheikh

Hassan Nasrallah.<sup>97</sup> Hezbollah had strategically embedded key organizational infrastructure within the Shiite communities and neighborhoods. This strategy is effective because it hides key infrastructure and provides ample media exploitation opportunities after the buildings have been destroyed.<sup>98</sup> After the airstrikes began, Sheikh Nasrallah declared open war on Israel. Both sides escalated combat operations, resulting in increased civilian and military casualties and damaged infrastructure. The UN negotiated a cease-fire on 14 August under the provisions that Hezbollah return the captured soldiers and disarm, allowing the legitimate Lebanese government to maintain order.<sup>99</sup> Hezbollah declared victory and began an aggressive, efficient reconstruction campaign that would harden the resolve of supporters and win over many neutrals and nonsupporters.

The historical references discussed in the previous chapters outline specific events and identify reoccurring trends that influenced the formation and organizational structure of Lebanese Hezbollah. Through each era, the Lebanese Shi'a have been oppressed, neglected, and marginalized by a combination of domination from a sect and failure to internally organize. Another trend is the lack of social services. The ruling power habitually focused social services in the urban areas that supported their sect. The Social Service Section in Hezbollah has been centuries in the making and occupies a less visible but critical role in the organizational structure. Without the section, the organization would not have the immense popular support base it currently enjoys and would not be as effective against Israel or influencing the Lebanese government.

### 3. The Hezbollah Model

Hezbollah's overwhelming success can be attributed to its use of social services. The importance of the Hezbollah Social Service Section is often overshadowed by the actions and results of the Lebanese-based military wing and the globally oriented Islamic Jihad Organization (IJO).<sup>100</sup> However, the recruits to fill the ranks of army, the political base needed to get Hezbollah officials elected to the Lebanese Parliament, and the support of external supporters could not have been possible without the Social Service Section. This chapter discusses the influences and evolution of Hezbollah's organizational model as well as the decision-making process and describes the goals, focus, and effectiveness of the Social Service Section. It also compares Hezbollah's use of social services and the U.S. military's use of civil-military operations. Although Hezbollah's organizational structure appears to be Muslim by nature, it is far from uniquely Muslim. Hezbollah has developed a hybrid organizational structure or model that includes influences from several revolutionary theorists, making the model both efficient and exportable.

#### The Evolution and Influences of the Hezbollah Model

Hezbollah was not created with a preplanned model; instead it inherited a structure that evolved from the historical conditions and the initial efforts of Musa al-Sadr. As noted throughout chapter 2, organizations within the Lebanese Shi'a evolved as the hierarchy of needs changed. From the Ottoman occupation in 1516 to the arrival of Musa al-Sadr in 1959, the lack of infrastructure in the under-developed Shi'a areas was the primary grievance. Sadr, with the help of Iran, made significant infrastructure improvements by organizing the Shi'a groups, resulting in the eventual creation of the social services branch.<sup>101</sup> Sadr lobbied within the Lebanese government for funding for social projects, which led to greater political involvement and the need for a political section within the Shi'a community. The Israeli invasion and occupation in 1982 created the need for a military or resistance wing to the now formal organization of Hezbollah.<sup>102</sup> As a result, the Hezbollah model is composed of a higher headquarters supported by three primary branches; political, military, and social. This construct could be coincidence or a result of an undefined universal law of insurgency that oppressed, neglected, and economically disadvantaged people will revolt and be susceptible to influence

from any agent of change that addresses those shortcomings. Che Guevara describes the guerrilla as “a crusader for the people’s freedom who, after exhaustive peaceful means, resorts to armed rebellion. He aims directly at destroying an unjust social order and indirectly replacing it with something new.”<sup>103</sup> Although the conditions in southern Lebanon were unique to the Shi’a, the Hezbollah organizational model is not. Except for minor changes that adjust for Hezbollah’s operating environment, the model appears to be heavily influenced by Mao Zedong’s and Che Guevara’s insurgency models.

Mao’s three phases of guerrilla warfare are reflected in the three branches of the Hezbollah model. The first phase of the model, and the most critical, is the building and maintaining of popular, ideological support base or in the Hezbollah model, the Social Service Section.<sup>104</sup> The second phase is the engagement in guerrilla warfare to resist the oppressor and increase the size and experience level of the army in preparation for the final phase. Hezbollah’s military wing to include the IJO fills this role. The third phase is the execution of a conventional military and political campaign to complete the conquest. Hezbollah accomplishes this phase with its political wing.

This process is not linear; it allows for a simultaneous execution of all three phases and the ability to retreat to a previous phase if needed, emphasizing the need for a solid social support base. The main difference is that the political wing was active before the military wing. Another similarity is the conduct of the fighters. Mao believed that a unity of spirit must exist between the fighters and the populace by applying three rules: a) all actions are subject to command, b) do not steal from the people, and c) be neither selfish nor unjust.<sup>105</sup> Hezbollah followed a similar methodology when dealing with the people. Although no standing orders—except Quranic guidance on charity—are published, Hezbollah has a reputation for having discipline and integrity and for providing social assistance.<sup>106</sup>

Mao and Hezbollah’s ideologies are quite similar. Hezbollah’s foundation period was characterized by the establishment of an adequate support base and the buildup of the military to resist Israeli occupation.<sup>107</sup> Establishing support bases or a social service-like structure is critical to the longevity of a guerrilla organization. Mao describes the importance of support bases in his *Selected Military Writings*:

Without such strategic bases, there would be nothing to depend on in the carrying out of our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the

war. It is a characteristic of guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines that it is fought without a rear, for the guerrilla forces are separated from the countries' general rear. But guerrilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas.<sup>108</sup>

The focus shifted to organizing the political section by uniting the different factions and clarifying the organizations goals and theological stance to Hezbollah supporters.<sup>109</sup>

There are two explanations for the similarities between the Marxist-inspired Mao and Che approaches to revolutionary or protracted war. The first are the changes that occurred within the Lebanese clerical education system. *Hawzas* (religious educational schools) emerged in Lebanon; they taught a classical curriculum similar to that used in the schools in Qum and Najaf except that the Lebanese Hezbollah model embraced some of the legacy Marxist ideology, resulting in a mix of religious and economic and political studies.<sup>110</sup> The second explanation is the residual influence left by the Lebanese Communist Party and other socialist-inspired parties that attracted Shi'a members before the creation of Amal and Hezbollah.<sup>111</sup> The result is a hybrid Mao-Islamic organizational structure, which uses proven guerrilla warfare principles that focus on the populace to achieve its goals.

## The Organizational Structure and Decision-Making

What follows is an outline of Hezbollah's basic organizational structure with emphasis on the purpose, goals, and effectiveness of the social services branch. Hezbollah's organizational structure is divided into three primary branches with an *executive* branch that reports directly to the Shura Council: the *military and security* section, *political* section, and *social service* section. All branches receive directives from the Shura, then transmit the guidance down to the regional commanders or representatives in the Bekaa Valley, Beirut, and south Lebanon for execution.<sup>112</sup>

The Hezbollah Shura Council is composed of seven elected members and one Iranian advisor, who is believed to be a member of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).<sup>114</sup> The council, like its Iranian model, is the decision-making body for the three branches and ultimately the Lebanese Shi'a community.<sup>115</sup> Hezbollah receives guidance and directives developed by the Wali al-Faqih or Supreme Leader either directly through the Secretary General, Sayyed Nassrallah, or IRGC representative.<sup>116</sup> Iranian decisions

concerning Hezbollah are made by multifaceted interactions between various individuals and institutions that have an interest in the decision within the Iranian regime.<sup>117</sup> This decision cycle ensures a consensus within the regime, prevents rivalries from developing, and ensures pursuit of Iranian interests. There are three primary considerations that have an impact on decisions: a) Israeli reactions to the decision, b) Syrian reactions to the decision, and c) Lebanese reactions to the decision in regards to overreaching internal tensions.<sup>118</sup>

The Hezbollah Shura Council is supported by an executive branch that is responsible for administration of the daily duties of the other three branches:

- a. The external affairs branch is responsible for working with Lebanese government agencies, political parties, and nongovernmental organizations.<sup>119</sup>
- b. The finance branch is responsible for collecting, accounting, auditing, and spending Hezbollah funds with the approval of the Shura and/or the Executive Council.<sup>120</sup> (The sources and methods of collection, fund management, and allocation of funds will be covered in chapter 4.)
- c. The syndicate branch was designed to provide guidance to Hezbollah's representatives in various organizations and professional associations (medical, legal, and political) with the goal of penetrating all aspects of civil society.<sup>121</sup>

The military and security section, or Jihad Council, is charged with conducting all military and security operations within Lebanon and globally in support of the resistance. The branch is divided into two sub-branches:

- a. The military and terrorism branch (Islamic Resistance) conducts operations in support of Hezbollah's regional and strategic goals through the domestically oriented military and the globally focused IJO. The military is composed of recruiting, training, and operational sections that indoctrinate, train, and field soldiers to the regional units.<sup>122</sup>
- b. The security branch or intelligence unit is a covert organization that is divided into two subsections. The first, party security, is focused internally by watching and reporting on the actions of party members and the Lebanese populace for subversive activities.<sup>123</sup> The second, external security, performs a counterintelligence role and is charged with preventing penetrations from outside threats to the organization.

The political section is composed of the Political Council that oversees the parliament bloc and the Information Council.<sup>124</sup> The Political Council performs an advisory function for the Secretary General and the Shura Council, administers daily political activities and prepares the party for campaigns, and develops political strategy and alliances within the competing groups.<sup>125</sup> The parliamentary bloc was created after the 2000 elections to ensure the elected officials speak with one voice that support the guidance from the Secretary General.<sup>126</sup> In terms of social services, this section serves to inform the political body of the desires of the populace and to integrate projects and programs into strategy and political messages.

The Information Council is the second most important section within the political section. Through the multiple media outlets of the section, they are able to broadcast the Hezbollah message to millions of people worldwide.<sup>127</sup> The Al Manar (Beacon) television station is the most popular medium used by Hezbollah. The station is used for traditional programming but has proven to be an effective tool in Hezbollah's information operations campaign. Hezbollah leveraged Al Manar broadcasts against the Israelis in the 2006 war by broadcasting messages to Israel and the Arab world aimed at demoralizing the Israeli populations and rallying the Arabs with scenes of Hezbollah fighters on the front line, carnage from air strikes, destroyed Israeli vehicles, and battle-damaged civilian buildings.

## **The Social Service Section**

The organization within the section suggests a long-term commitment to the struggle and evidence of the understanding and willingness to conduct a protracted war. The most important branch of the Hezbollah organization is the Social Service Section, which can be demonstrated by the allocation of an estimated 50 percent of Hezbollah's 2007 budget to the social service effort.<sup>128</sup> It is through the work of the Social Service Section that all party activities are possible. Hezbollah's Social Service Section was designed to influence all aspect of Lebanese Shi'a society. The original intent of providing needed services to an oppressed people appears to have been manipulated by Hezbollah as a vehicle to bolster its ranks, provide a humanitarian shield to the organization, increase influence within the Lebanese government, and combat its Shi'a rival—Amal.<sup>129</sup> The Social Service Section serves as an equal arm within the organization and is used as much as the military and political wing in terms of leverage. Hezbollah's Deputy Secretary General,

Naim Qassem, describes the purpose and intent of the Social Service Section in the following passage:

Hezbollah paid particular attention to social work. Not one aspect of aiding the poor was neglected as the party worked towards achieving joint social responsibility, answering the urgent needs, and introducing beneficial programs. Such work was simply considered Party duty, and concentrated efforts towards raising funds and making available social service resources served towards achieving these goals. The Party worked to the best of its capabilities, cooperating with official institutions to respond to societal needs.<sup>130</sup>

An argument can be made that social services are an inherent part of Islam that supports the zakat pillar of Islam. In Qassem's passage he does not mention Islam as the guiding principle for performing charitable works or providing social services. Instead he uses the words "party duty" to provide services to achieve party goals. The transformation between the intent of social services from Musa al-Sadr and Sayyed Nasrallah is striking. Hezbollah seems to have correctly identified the importance of the human terrain and has aggressively employed their Social Service Section to win this critical battle against Amal, the Lebanese government, and other competing interests.<sup>131</sup>

The strength of the Social Service Section lies in its comprehensive nature. The section attempts to support every deficiency and grievance within the three Shi'a areas. The section is composed of six subgroups that support specialized functions within the community: The Jihad al-Binaa Development Group (JBDG), Islamic Health Organization, the Martyrs Foundation, the Women's Association, the Imam al-Mahdi Scouts, and the education division.<sup>132</sup> Most of the organizations are surrogate or branches of preexisting Iranian organizations.<sup>133</sup>

The reconstruction group is responsible for addressing critical deficiencies in Shi'a areas, repairing war damage, and employing Lebanese Shi'a's for all projects. The reconstruction group has been a part of Hezbollah's organization since 1985 and has acted as a surrogate to the State of Lebanon's efforts to assist the Shi'a in the Bekaa and southern Lebanon. The construction group is primarily focused on the Shi'a areas but openly assists populations from others sects and religions.<sup>134</sup> This approach helps Hezbollah's public

image and increases partisan support. JBDG—mother’s helping hand or reconstruction campaign, source dependant—is a nongovernmental organization (NGO).<sup>135</sup> JBDG was created in Iran after the Iranian Revolution to assist with reconstruction, then exported the concept to Lebanon in the early 1980s to assist with reconstruction in the neglected Shi’a areas in Beirut, southern Lebanon, and the Bekaa.<sup>136</sup> The purpose of the organization is to support Hezbollah’s strategic goals through infrastructure development and distribution of compensation funds. The organization consists of over a thousand civil engineers, architects, demographic experts, electricians, plumbers, and other specialists.<sup>137</sup> The high numbers of available professionals is a consequence of citizens receiving degrees abroad and returning to a depressed job market. This condition has allowed the organization to swell its ranks with highly trained professionals, which increases the quality of assistance and ultimately deflects attention away from the terrorist activities of the IJO, Iranian influence, and military activity on the Israeli border.

The organization caught the world’s attention immediately following the 2006 war when Hezbollah initiated a reconstruction plan that was developed and executed without the assistance of the Lebanese government.

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*... following the 2006 war when Hezbollah initiated a reconstruction plan that was developed and executed without the assistance of the Lebanese government.*

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By taking advantage of the lack of organization, slow reaction time, and lack of transparency of the government’s efforts, Hezbollah provided immediate assistance to the populace regardless of religion or political affiliation. As Abu Mahdi, an engineer from JBDG, said, “Waiting for the state to come has proved futile.”<sup>138</sup>

The effectiveness of the organization is evident in the testimony of residents of the areas damaged by the 2006 war. After a resident of a severely damaged section of southern Lebanon, Rana Moussawi, received \$10,500 for rent she said, “... if it was not for Jihad al-Binaa, my family and I would be sleeping in the street.”<sup>139</sup> Many articles published during the conflict convey similar stories and describe signs of increased support for the organization through the immediate response of the organization.<sup>140</sup> The JBDG has drawn the attention of the U.S. Government and is recognized as an active supporter of a terrorist organization. On 1 January 2007, it was placed on the U.S. Department of Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control Specially

Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons list, which is designed to assist the public in complying with the various sanction programs that have been administered.<sup>141</sup>

The Islamic Health Organization (IHO) was created in Iran after the Islamic Revolution in 1984. Like Jihad al-Binaa, the concept of the IHO was exported to Lebanon to assist the Lebanese Shi'a. The organization is responsible for providing health and medical services, including clinics, medications, evacuation of casualties, and food distribution.<sup>142</sup> This task is difficult given the population size and the costs of health care; however, through Iranian funding, they maintain a large and well-trained staff. The staff owes its livelihood to Hezbollah, which translates to political loyalty.<sup>143</sup>

There are three primary organizations that focus on welfare for the people that were wounded, killed, or martyred while fighting against Israel; see Table 1. Organizations like these accomplish two objectives: they meet Islamic requirements for charity and social service and provide peace of mind to current and prospective soldiers by knowing that they and their families will be cared for in the event of death or injury.

**Table 1. Hezbollah Social Service Organizations**

Organization	Description
Martyrs Foundation	Created in the image of the Iranian Martyrs Foundation, the purpose is to provide support to the families of martyrs, detainees, and resistance fighters. <sup>144</sup>
Foundation for the Wounded	Helps fighters and civilians that were wounded in Israeli attacks. The Khomeini Support Committee was established to provide support to poor families that have been affected by the Israeli occupation or attacks. <sup>145</sup>
Women's Association	Composed of Hezbollah's female members, the purpose is to provide assistance with social welfare projects and champion women's rights. <sup>146</sup> The association leveraged Hezbollah's influence to change the cultural norms governing the treatment of widows. The wives of martyrs fell under the purview of the father in law and were often mistreated. Wives of martyrs are financially covered by the Martyrs Foundation, and they enjoy a special status within the community. <sup>147</sup> This aspect is important to Hezbollah's recruiting effort. Had they not acted, recruits would be less likely to join the organization knowing the potential fate of their families.

The formation of the Imam Al-Mahdi Scouts in 1985 is a testament to Hezbollah's vision of a protracted war. The Scouts are a youth movement

intended to indoctrinate the younger generations into radical Shiite Islam centered on Hezbollah's principles and those of the Wali al-Faqih. Ultimately, the program provides a steady stream of recruits and increases their support base.<sup>148</sup> The scouts range in age from 8 to 16 and are transferred to the military wing at the age of 17.<sup>149</sup> They participate in traditional scouting activities like camping trips, play sports and assist charities; Hezbollah indoctrination is included in every activity.

The education branch is a critical component of Hezbollah's organization. The importance of education is reflected in the \$14 million spent on scholarships and financial aid during the years of 1996 to 2001.<sup>150</sup> The program has been successful in educating thousands of poor Shi'a throughout Lebanon and has successfully marginalized the Lebanese Department of Education.<sup>151</sup> With the help of the IRGC, Hezbollah has developed a curriculum and supporting materials that ranges from kindergarten through college level and indoctrinates the next generation of fighters.<sup>152</sup> The tuition costs are either reduced or covered by Hezbollah's education branch.<sup>153</sup> This branch coordinates school construction and administers education from the preschool to vocational level, which includes staffing the schools, developing and implementing a Shura-approved curriculum, and covering publishing costs.<sup>154</sup>

The effectiveness of the social services is difficult to measure. There are two aspects that must be considered when evaluating the effectiveness of the social service effort: the level of relief or benefit to the target population and the political gain from the service. Hezbollah and Amal both claim to be nonpartisan and nonsectarian when allocating social service resources, but there is a clear political or strategic reason for targeting areas and populations.<sup>155</sup> For example, Jihad al-Binaa developed an agriculture project in the Bekaa, which emphasized farming as a religious duty that met the needs of the Muslim people.<sup>156</sup> To influence future generations and build communal attachments, schools are built in predominantly Shi'a areas and only teach Hezbollah-approved curricula.<sup>157</sup> The political advantages of having social services are reflected in the success Hezbollah has experienced in the parliamentary elections. The majority of Hezbollah's campaign platform for the parliamentary and municipal elections centered on social services like health care, youth services, infrastructure improvement, and education.<sup>158</sup> Foreign policy was not a platform emphasis for the candidates.<sup>159</sup> The focus of the campaign proves that Hezbollah's social service-focused approach is

working; the success of the Social Service Section shores up the campaign promises, and the people reciprocate through political support. Hezbollah now holds nine parliamentary seats and expects that number to increase every election until they achieve a majority. Hezbollah's approach to social service and political influence are defined in the Quran: "Those who, if we establish them firmly in the land, will perform the prayer, give the alms, command the good, and prohibit evil. To Allah belongs the outcome of all affairs."<sup>160</sup>

The effect infrastructure development and other social services have on the target population is difficult to quantify. The increased political influence within the Lebanese government and the performance of the military in terms of training, equipment, and size of the force during the 2006 war are the only events that can be attributed to the contribution of the social programs. The populace understands that Hezbollah is politically motivated; one Lebanese Christian woman said: "Everyone knows the work is politically motivated, but it also shows what faith can do."<sup>161</sup>

The measures of performance are easier to assess.<sup>162</sup> Exact numbers of projects, dollars spent, and effects the projects have had on the target areas have proven difficult to obtain. The benchmark, however, is fairly easy to assess. The Lebanese government has done little to improve the infrastructure in the three Shi'a areas since the formation of the Lebanese government in the early 1900s.<sup>163</sup> Any improvement made by Musa al-Sadr and later the Social Service Section of Hezbollah is a marked increase from past attempts. Despite the lack of exact figures, the large scope of the programs and the significant investment Hezbollah and Iran have placed in the programs speaks volumes about the importance and effectiveness of social services. Between 1988 and 2002, the Jihad al-Binaa built or renovated 35 schools, 9,000 homes, 800 shops, 5 hospitals, 8 clinics, 100 mosques, 8 cultural centers, and 7 agricultural center cooperatives.<sup>164</sup> The education unit dispersed over \$14 million in scholarships between 1996 and 2001.<sup>165</sup> The health care unit provides care to roughly half a million people annually for free or reduced rates.<sup>166</sup> Although the measures of performance are dated, they are impressive and provide insight into the level of commitment from Iran and Hezbollah.

## 4. Funding the Social Service Section

Hezbollah's enormous social service effort has consistently outperformed the Lebanese government's social programs. While effective, maintaining the Social Service Section is very expensive. It is estimated that social services account for 50 percent of Hezbollah's annual budget. Although Iran openly funds the majority of Hezbollah's military, political, and social activities, Hezbollah's chief benefactor does not provide enough funding to maintain the expensive social system and provide weapons and training to the military section. Iran is believed to contribute hundreds of millions of dollars annually to support Hezbollah's Social Service Section.<sup>167</sup> Hezbollah receives funding from a variety of internal and external sources to supplement Iran's funding and to have contingency funding sources in place in the event that Iran decides not to fund or is unable to fund Hezbollah at the current levels. This chapter examines Hezbollah's funding sources, methods for transferring money, and how the funds are distributed within the organization.

### Funding Sources

Funding a comprehensive social service program is an expensive and never-ending endeavor. The danger for Hezbollah is that the bar has been raised so high; if they fail to provide a consistent level of service, they risk losing popular support. Without funding, Hezbollah would be an ideology and not a threat. Historically, terrorist organizations are forced to use illicit or covert channels to raise and transfer funds, making the process both complicated and risky. However, Hezbollah has been able to make money by developing and exploiting any profitable endeavor, internal to Lebanon or globally. Hezbollah is able to make enough money to match Iranian and Syrian funding.

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Hezbollah's ability to make money is a characteristic that is tied to Lebanese culture and religion. Culturally, Lebanese are descendants of the Phoenicians who were successful maritime traders that lived along the Lebanese coast.<sup>168</sup> Hezbollah has an extensive network of legitimate businesses in Lebanon and internationally.<sup>169</sup> There is no evidence that suggests

legality was an issue in regards to how the profits were earned. Drugs, human trafficking, smuggling, mafia-style shakedowns, and other illegal activities were accepted or justified in the name of profit. Hezbollah relies on four primary sources of funding: Iran, the expatriate population, illegal activity, and charity organizations.

The Lebanese expatriate population has proven to be Hezbollah's biggest funding source outside of Iran.<sup>170</sup> For example, a plane leaving Cotonou, Benin en route to Beirut crashed, killing a representative of the African branch of Lebanese Hezbollah who was carrying an estimated \$2 million, which was considered to be a regular contribution from expatriates living in western Africa.<sup>171</sup> The expatriate population is estimated to outnumber the population in Lebanon, which logically leads to increased earning potential.<sup>172</sup> The largest expatriate communities are in West Africa, the South American tri-border area (Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina), Europe, and the United States.<sup>173</sup> At first look, the amount of money being transferred into Lebanon seems quite large, but in reality it is impossible to determine how much money goes to Hezbollah versus to Lebanese expat families.

Criminal activity comprises another major source of income for Hezbollah. Although the primary illegal activities include drug trafficking, copyright infringement and global smuggling syndicates, Hezbollah will engage in any endeavor that turns a profit: everything from interstate cigarette smuggling to stealing and reselling baby formula.<sup>174</sup>

South America has proven to be a lucrative region for Hezbollah. The tri-border area (TBA) presents a unique business opportunity for Hezbollah in that the region is densely populated, is a designated free-trade area, has access to ports (Puerto Iguazu, Argentina) and hidden airstrips, and has a minimal law enforcement presence.<sup>175</sup> Ciudad del Este, Paraguay is a state-created black market, free-trade area that is a center of criminal activity for the TBA.<sup>176</sup> The Lebanese population has a distinct advantage over the competition in the area in that they are religiously and culturally the same, which creates a natural network and makes them ultra-efficient in passing information and moving commodities.<sup>177</sup> In 2001 the Palestinian-Lebanese population in the TBA was estimated at 23,000 people.<sup>178</sup> Hezbollah's activities are not limited to the TBA. They reportedly have opened shell companies in the free-trade areas throughout South America.<sup>179</sup> Hezbollah supporters have been connected with drug trafficking in Venezuela, Columbia, and Uruguay earning an estimated \$200 million to \$500 million annually.<sup>180</sup>

West Africa is similar to the TBA in that it has large tracks of ungovernable land, political instability, high level of corruption, and minimal law enforcement. Supported by the large expatriate population in the region, Hezbollah is believed to have raised millions of dollars through the sale and export of illicit or conflict diamonds with their activities centered in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Congo.

Zakat generates large sums of money from the internal and expatriate populations. Hezbollah supporters are predominately Shi'a and are duty bound to donate 2.5 percent of their net worth to charity in support of the zakat pillar of Islam. As defined in the Quran, those eligible to receive zakat must fall into one of eight categories:

Alms are for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to the truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom.<sup>181</sup>

The zakat guidance is quite broad; alms can be given to whomever or whatever organization the donor sees as worthy. A fatwa was issued by the late Ayatollah Khomeini; it legitimized the use of zakat funds to finance the resistance movement against Israel.<sup>182</sup> Khomeini's fatwa was embraced by the Sunnis as well. The radical Saudi cleric, Salman bin Fahd al-Oadah, took zakat guidance a step further and declared the existence of the financial or economic jihad, which permits spending or donating money for the fighters of the jihad. He supports this declaration within Surah 9:41, "Fight your enemies, the infidels, with your possessions and your souls in the way of Allah."<sup>183</sup>

Charity organizations have distributed millions of dollars to Hezbollah and provided a level of legitimacy and concealment to their activities. Many of the organizations were created with the intent of supporting Hezbollah, but others have been hijacked and deceive donors as to the true intention of the charity organizations.<sup>184</sup> The advantages of using a charity organization are they can mirror any cause that influences donors and be quickly dissolved if detected.

There are several organizations that are internationally known to provide support to Hezbollah. For example, in the United States, funds are raised through the Islamic Resistance Support Organization, the Alavi Foundation,

the Educational Support Organization, the Goodwill Charitable Organization, and the al-Shahid Association (Martyr's Association).<sup>185</sup> Hezbollah raises funds in Europe through the Lebanese Welfare Committee, the HELP Foundation, and the Jamaya al-Abrar.<sup>186</sup> Hezbollah receives support from organizations like the People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) and the Karballah Foundation for Liberation.<sup>187</sup> Donations to Hezbollah's social services may seem a noble effort but in reality the donor is increasing the lethality of the organization.

## Moving Money

Moving money safely and undetected from the source to Hezbollah accounts is critical. There are three primary methods Hezbollah uses to transfer funds: Islamic banking, *hawala* (informal value transfer system), and money laundering. The popularity of Islamic banking works in Hezbollah's favor.<sup>188</sup> Islamic banking is unique in that it offers terrorist organizations a relatively safe method for raising and moving money.<sup>189</sup> The main difference between Islamic and western banks is the *riba* (prohibition of interest) and the *gharar* (prohibition of trading in risk or speculation).<sup>190</sup> Instead of banks making money from interest charges to customers, they enter into a partnership and share profits as opposed to exploiting the misfortunes of others.<sup>191</sup> Islamic money must be backed up by physical assets like real estate, leasing, and commodity trading.<sup>192</sup> In addition, Islamic banks automatically deduct the zakat from account holders. All zakat transactions, by Sharia banking law, are not recorded and therefore untraceable; the records are destroyed after the transaction.<sup>193</sup> The Islamic banking zakat process makes moving money to terrorist organizations legal and untraceable.<sup>194</sup> There is no assurance that zakat funds are being used for a legitimate charity. Some of the larger Islamic banks are located in Switzerland, which makes transparency more difficult.<sup>195</sup>

The informal value transfer system (IVTS)—*hawala*—originated in southern Asia in the 11th century as a way to transfer debt to facilitate long distance trade.<sup>196</sup> The practice is still used globally as a quick, secure, and anonymous way to move money.<sup>197</sup> Today the process is conducted by e-mail or cell phone with a hawaladar contacting another hawaladar and exchanging information about the transfer (amount and recipient).<sup>198</sup> There are no formal transfer limits, but the *hawala* system is usually used for smaller transactions.<sup>199</sup> The amount of money that is passed by *hawala* is estimated to be in the hundreds of billions annually.<sup>200</sup>

Laundering money gives Hezbollah a way to move large amounts undetected and a way to make money by providing the same service to other criminal organizations. Hezbollah supporters often create shell companies with multiple global accounts and leverage or create NGOs or other charitable organizations to move and launder money. To elude detection, these entities can come together for a single purpose, can be renamed, or dissolved. There are reports that Hezbollah supporters have opened legitimate Western Union offices in Lebanon and in the Far East that are used to launder and transfer funds for the organization.<sup>201</sup>

After the events of September 11, 2001, the United States and allies in the global war on terrorism began to scrutinize banking institutions and sources of terror funding. To avoid scrutiny and avoid the risk of having the organization's assets frozen, money is channeled through Iran's Saderat Bank in Tehran.<sup>202</sup> This relationship is safe and convenient for Hezbollah and Iran in that both parties can maintain secrecy, and money can be deposited and withdrawn without interference.

### **Distribution of Funds**

Hezbollah's funding is distributed throughout the organization by the finance unit with strict guidance from the Shura Council. The finance unit does not have complete control of the collection and budgetary allocation of funds.<sup>203</sup> The Shura Council maintains control of the entire process. Hezbollah's social services resembles a business-like structure in that funds are requested from the bottom up and are reviewed by an approving authority. For instance, Jihad al-Binaa will submit a budget request that includes costs of current projects and a list of proposed projects. The requests are consolidated and submitted to the finance unit for approval and allocation. Important projects are given instant approval through the Shura or will fall out of the purview of the finance unit and be directed by the Shura.



## 5. Hezbollah Social Services and Civil-Military Operations (CMO)

Hezbollah's use of its social services bears a resemblance to the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) CMO concept. By comparing the two concepts, properties will emerge that can be useful in understanding the successes and challenges of both systems. The DoD uses the term CMO to define similar activities that involve interaction between the military and civilian populace. CMO is loosely used to describe any interaction with the populace and the military. A more accurate definition can be found in the *Joint Publication 3-57, Joint Civil-Military Operations*:

The activities of a commander that establish, maintain, influence, or exploit relations between military forces, governmental and nongovernmental civilian organizations and authorities, and the civilian populace. Civil-military operations (CMO) can occur in friendly, neutral, or hostile operational areas to facilitate military operations and achieve U.S. objectives. CMO may include performance by military forces of activities and functions that are normally the responsibility of local, regional, or national government. These activities may occur prior to, during, or subsequent to other military actions. They may also occur, if directed, in the absence of other military operations. CMO may be performed by designated civil affairs (CA), by other military forces, or by a combination of CA and other forces.<sup>204</sup>

Within existing United States military doctrine, the joint definition provides the most comprehensive description of what CMO encompasses and how the commanders should utilize these assets. The concept of CMO is not as clearly defined in Hezbollah's doctrine or by other Islamic scholars.<sup>205</sup>

While the two approaches are similar, there are three striking differences that prevent them from being used in the same manner:

- a. First, it can be argued that the idea of social service or charity is a binding act or duty within the zakat pillar of Islam, which requires Muslims to give 2.5 percent of their net worth to charity annually.<sup>206</sup> CMO is not a spiritual mandate and cannot require participants to contribute to the effort physically or financially. CMO efforts are mandated by national interests only.

- b. Second, Hezbollah is in a unique position in that it acts as a Social Service Section within a legitimate governmental structure but operates as an equal branch within a quasi-terrorist organization that has a direct chain of command. Their position gives them complete operational freedom, allowing them to provide immediate assistance and disperse funds, often in cash, without delay. CMO is embedded within a self-checking bureaucratic organization that by nature is divided to prevent any one body from becoming too powerful.<sup>207</sup> This process can translate to slow response times during crisis, which prevents DoD CA teams and field teams from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) from providing immediate relief. In the time of crisis the “first with the most” is often the winner of the hearts and minds.<sup>208</sup>
- c. Lastly, Hezbollah’s Social Service Section is integrated into Lebanese society. The Lebanese Shi’a view Hezbollah’s services as an essential part of everyday life. Hezbollah has gained and continues to maintain contact with the population. Through consistent action and time, Hezbollah has earned the trust and loyalty of the Lebanese Shi’a. CMO are traditionally conducted in response to a crisis and during a conflict and are short term in nature. CMO operators are usually foreign to the target areas and do not have the cultural depth needed to gain the acceptance that Hezbollah enjoys. CMO missions are either short-term engagements that are not conducive to establishing rapport or long-term missions with high personnel turnover, which often prevents CA operators from establishing lasting working relationships with the populace and other agencies. Both approaches ultimately reduce the effectiveness of any CMO effort.

## 6. Recommendations

Replicating Hezbollah's successful social service system would be futile given the unique conditions in which they operate, but some aspects of the operation can be replicated to improve the effectiveness of the DoD CMO effort.

Civil-military efforts need to be examined with a cross-cultural lens and with the same rigor as combat operations. The importance of CMO concepts and winning the support of the populace is understood throughout the DoD but is seldom examined through a cultural lens.<sup>209</sup> There is a tendency among commanders and planners to place the cultural facts in a western construct to make the information more palatable or understandable. Framing the problem may make the information metaphorically understandable, but the context is often lost. For example, the terms *zakat* and social service are similar but not equal due to context. Commanders and planners must develop a systemic cultural understanding of the situation before taking action or developing courses of action. In a counterinsurgency (COIN) environment, denying the insurgents popular support is the main effort. Considerable attention is paid to combat operations and planning reactive or short-term CMO programs, but little attention is given to analyzing other CMO or *zakat* efforts that may run counter to DoD strategies. Analyzing the motivations, funding, and the sources of power will give decision-makers insight into mitigating the enemy's CMO efforts and/or improving existing strategies.

Hezbollah appears to have the ability to codify military and civil information into a common operating picture. It is critical that both enemy and friendly information are combined and analyzed with the same vigor. Civil information is often compartmentalized and seldom integrated with enemy information. By excluding civil information and analysis, the commander is limited to a partial understanding of the area of operations. The fusion of lethal and nonlethal information can provide cultural insights to the planning process, provide targeting information (for both lethal and nonlethal), and assist the commander in determining what assets should be used to engage an area.

The current CMO construct cannot compete with Hezbollah in terms of providing immediate impact, ready access, and flexible resources and area expertise. However, two aspects of Hezbollah's organization can be emulated to improve DoD CMO efforts. First, DoD's ability to respond to

humanitarian disasters can be improved through a streamlined funding process at all levels. The ability to provide immediate impact relief is critical during a disaster or COIN operations. Currently, funding resources for CMO, crisis response, and humanitarian assistance are divided into a myriad of different funds that require specific criteria, different accountability procedures, and commitment regulations that govern the use of the funds. This disjointed and overly complicated system of funding slows the process and prevents the DoD from competing with organizations, like Hezbollah, that are not shackled by complex funding regulations. Checks and balances for funding will always be a planning factor, but they can be mitigated through a streamlined preapproval and distribution process that enables commanders to have quick access to funds and still maintain accountability. The Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) fund was developed in Afghanistan and later implemented in Iraq for this purpose and has proven to be an asset. The program allows commanders to initiate immediate impact projects, reparations, or condolence payments without undergoing an approval process. Currently, the program is limited to the OEF and OIF theaters and has not gained global usage. A CERP-like fund should be developed to support global operations. Another option is to ensure that funding is preplanned prior to deployment or as a contingency for any operation.

Hezbollah maintains a consistent strategic message and uses the Social Service Section to reinforce that message with action. Commanders must emulate this technique. In order to achieve unity of effort and maintain a consistent message, CMO must be included in the planning process at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels. Harmonized CMO requires a unified strategic vision that is understandable, realistic, has adequate resource allocation, and a consistent presence that facilitates rapport building.

## 7. Conclusion

Hezbollah's overwhelming success as a global terrorist or Shi'a defense organization and subsequent political power in the Lebanese political system is attributed to its use of social services. Hezbollah's social service-heavy model has proven to be successful in advancing the party's political-military goals and Iran's strategic objectives. Hezbollah established a solid popular support base by leveraging the needs, injustices, and religious affiliation of the Lebanese Shi'a. The popular support base enabled the organization to transform from its social service-dominated roots to an influential political party supported by a professional guerrilla army. Hezbollah's popular support is increasing and the Lebanese government continues to fail to meet the needs of the numerically superior Shi'a population. Hezbollah will continue to gain influence through the political process and eventually dominate Lebanese politics. Hezbollah was created in the image of the Iranian Islamic revolution and has inculcated Iranian Islamist ideology that calls for the destruction of Israel and exporting the revolution globally.<sup>210</sup> Iran's strategic goal of establishing the Islamic state of Lebanon appears to be achievable through an expensive but effective use of social services.

Hezbollah's success has not gone unnoticed by the global jihadist-insurgent community. Hezbollah has proven to be adaptive and flexible in their strategy but has maintained a consistent strategic view. Although Hezbollah is apparently not attempting to export the Islamic revolution, the organization has inspired Islamic-minded groups like Turkish Hezbollah, who have adopted the name but have no affiliation with Lebanese Hezbollah.<sup>211</sup> Turkish Hezbollah is predominantly Kurdish and is fighting to establish an Islamic government within Turkey.<sup>212</sup>

Fledgling Hezbollah cells use the same methods used in Lebanon: subtle infiltration techniques to gain access to an area without drawing attention, and they gain the trust of the populace by conducting charitable fundraising activities. Establishing trust enables them to recruit within the local populace, then allows the cell to begin operations.<sup>213</sup> Cells would not be able to operate without building a popular support base.

The Lebanese expatriate population exceeds the actual number living in Lebanon. The mass exodus of Lebanese was attributed to the volatile years of the civil wars and unemployment with most expats moving to Africa,

Latin America, Europe, and the United States. Most expats are believed to be focused on fund-raising for the organization, increasing personal wealth, or supporting families in Lebanon; however, others, like the cell in Argentina that attacked the Israeli embassy, are designed to conduct terrorist attacks against U.S. and Israeli interests abroad.<sup>214</sup>

It can be argued that the Hezbollah model cannot be exported due to the unique circumstances that created the organization and which cannot be replicated. However, the basic tenants of the model are universal and are reflected in modern insurgency theorists like Mao Tse-Tung, Che Guevara, and David Galula. They all follow a similar pattern that weighs the support of the populace—the highest, followed by guerrilla warfare and ending in political revolution. The Hezbollah model is Islamic, proven, and exportable. ↑

## Endnotes

1. Abdullah Yusuf Ali and Riasat Idarat al-Buhuth al-Ilmiyah wa-al-Ifta wa-al-Dawah wa-al-Irshad (Saudi Arabia), *The Holy Quran: English Translation of the Meanings, and Commentary* (Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah: King Fahd Holy Quran Print, Complex, 1989-1990), 2082, Taubah 60 (verse).
2. Naim Qasim and Dalia Khalil, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within* (London: Saqi, 2005), 284.
3. *Ibid.*, 19.
4. *Ibid.*, 19.
5. Joseph Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 81, 357.
6. Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion* (London: Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2002), 60, 254.
7. Catherine Williams, interview with National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC) Levant analyst, 2008.
8. Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies, "Hezbollah as a strategic arm of Iran," 8 September 2006; available from [www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/iran\\_hezbollah\\_e1.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/iran_hezbollah_e1.pdf) (accessed May 2010).
9. H. E. Chehabi, Rula Jurdi Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years* (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I. B. Tauris & Co., 2006), 3, 322.
10. *Hezbollah as a Strategic Arm of Iran*, 11.
11. R. Avi-Ran, *The Syrian Involvement in Lebanon since 1975* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 6.
12. *Ibid.*, 7.
13. Fawwaz Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto, 2007), 106-107, 306.
14. Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies (CSS), "Syria as a strategic prop for Hezbollah and Hamas," 3 August 2006, 4; available from [www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/html/syria\\_strategy\\_e.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/syria_strategy_e.htm).
15. *Ibid.*, 3.
16. Augustus R. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 35, 187.
17. Kamal S. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (New York: Praeger, 1965), xi.
18. Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 1st ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 13, 196.

19. Tabitha Petran, *The Struggle Over Lebanon* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987), 23, 431.
20. Robert M. Axelrod and Michael D. Cohen, *Harnessing Complexity: Organizational Implications of a Scientific Frontier* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 15, 184.
21. Rafat Seyyed Ahmad, "The Psychology of Victory in Light of Two Instances of Victory: Hezbollah's Victory on Lebanon and the Al-Aqsa Victory in Palestine," *Scientific-Professional Quarterly on Psychological Operations* 3, no. 11 (Winter 2006): 89, 21. There are 19 religious sects, but the 5 mentioned in the text are the most influential.
22. Helena Cobban, *The Making of Modern Lebanon* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), 35, 248.
23. *Ibid.*, 35.
24. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, 153.
25. Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 75-76, 306. This agreement divided the Arab regions of the Ottoman empire into two broadly defined British and French zones that allowed both powers to exercise control of the seas and the mainland.
26. Cobban, *The Making of Modern Lebanon*, 62-63, 248.
27. *Ibid.*, 62-63. The coastal cities and the Akkar Plain are predominantly Sunni; the Bekaa Valley and the Jebel Amil are Shi'a.
28. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, 169. Sunnis and Shi'a saw this incorporation into a Christian-dominated government as a permanent separation from the Arab world.
29. *Ibid.*, 167. One major aspect of the constitution was the inclusion of a French mandate that allowed a French governor to play a role in Lebanese politics and exert French influence. The mandate was terminated in 1943, which marked the end of official Sunni protestation to the constitution.
30. *Ibid.*, 167.
31. Petran, *The Struggle Over Lebanon*, 31, 431. The census was conducted at the request of presidential candidate Muhammad al-Jisr (Muslim). He believed that the Muslims outnumbered the other sects and was therefore entitled to the position. The results were not in his favor and resulted in the permanent assignment of positions mentioned above. The census results showed the population to be approximately half Christian and half Muslim. The slight majority of Christians was attributed to rule; that allowed them to account for Christian expatriates and newly arrived immigrants who were hastily given citizenship. Muslim refugees seldom received citizenship.
32. Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 33-37, 306.
33. *Ibid.*, 33-34.
34. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 12, 196.
35. Petran, *The Struggle Over Lebanon*, 34, 431.
36. *Ibid.*, 35.

37. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 7, 196.
38. Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History* (London: Black Swan, 1999), 186.
39. *Ibid.*, 187.
40. Yonah Alexander and Joshua Sinai, *Terrorism: The PLO Connection* (New York and Bristol, PA: C. Russak, 1989), 121-136, 259.
41. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 15, 196. Ahmad Hamzeh has identified four catalysts for the creation of Hezbollah: a) Shi'a identity crisis brought on by decades of oppression, b) under representation within the government, c) Israeli invasion and occupation, and d) demonstration effect of Iran's successful Islamic revolution.
42. Hala Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 10-11, 240.
43. Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa Al Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 73, 228.
44. *Ibid.*, 75-76. The traditions that they espoused had no bearing on modern life, and they saw every innovation as *bida* (heresy). "Oh believers, obey God and obey the messenger and those authority among you" Quran 4:59. The traditional Shi'a cleric training is largely responsible for these actions. Cleric selections are made during childhood. The children are separated from their families, then subjected to intense study, starvation, and environmental stresses until they graduate. During training, there is little contact with the outside world. The students do not understand how to apply their teachings or relate them to life situations.
45. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 40, 196.
46. Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion*, 13, 254. In Najaf, Iraq, Musa al-Sadr studied under Ayatollah Khomeini and Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr.
47. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 20, 196.
48. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 18, 187.
49. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins, *Alms for Jihad: Charity and Terrorism in the Islamic World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11, 348.
50. *Ibid.*, 11.
51. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 18, 187.
52. Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, 14, 284.
53. Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program*, 26-27, 357.
54. *Ibid.*, 27.
55. Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 178, 306.
56. *Ibid.*, 179. The Litani Irrigation Project would bring water from the Litani River in the south to southern Lebanon.

57. Judith P. Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 22, 241. The Movement of the Deprived or Disinherited would later become the first Shiite political party. Although the Shi'a dominated the membership, there was minor representation from the other sects.
58. *Ibid.*, 49.
59. Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa Al Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon*, 190, 228.
60. *Ibid.*, 196.
61. Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, 14-16, 284.
62. *Ibid.*, 16.
63. Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 187, 306. The war can be traced to an accidental killing by the Lebanese Army of a protesting fisherman in the city of Sidon. The government did not conduct an investigation and failed to adequately discipline those responsible and chose not to compensate the fisherman.
64. Avi-Ran, *The Syrian Involvement in Lebanon since 1975*, 11-12.
65. Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee: The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 54, 241.
66. *Ibid.*, 54.
67. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 16, 196.
68. Gilbert, *Israel: A History*, 490.
69. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee: The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon*, 58, 241. The PLO added 20 tanks (T-54 and T-55), 40 heavy Katusha rocket launchers, 90 antitank canons, one hundred 20-mm and 160-mm mortars, 14.5-mm antitank guns, and SA-7 Strella anti-aircraft missiles.
70. Anthony H. Cordesman, "Preliminary 'Lessons' of the Israeli-Hezbollah War," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 17 August 2006, 60; available from [http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/060817\\_isr\\_hez\\_lessons.pdf](http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/060817_isr_hez_lessons.pdf) (accessed May 2010).
71. Gilbert, *Israel: A History*, 503. The gunman was a member of Abu Nidal, a group that opposed Arafat's leadership. President Begin withheld that information from the cabinet when the decision to invade was made. In Israel's 34-year history, this war is the first to not achieve national consensus; some saw it as a war of aggression, not defense.
72. Shai Feldman and Heda Rechnitz Kijner, *Deception, Consensus and War: Israel and Lebanon* (Tel Aviv University: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1984), 15.
73. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 18, 196.
74. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 14, 187.
75. Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 35, 241.
76. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 15, 240.
77. *Ibid.*, 15.

78. Ibid., 86. Imam Hussein's death is commemorated every year with a celebration that includes reenactments of the events at Karbala and recitations of his death. He is considered to be the Prince of Martyrs.
79. Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion*, 12, 254.
80. Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 92, 176.
81. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 34, 187.
82. Magnus Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon: The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 41-42, 257.
83. Augustus R. Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (University of Texas Press, July 1987), 104-105, 238.
84. Ibid., 122.
85. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 102, 196.
86. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 20, 240.
87. Ibid., 71
88. Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 45, 241.
89. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 72, 240.
90. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 124, 187.
91. Ibid., 125.
92. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 194, 240.
93. Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program*, 293, 357.
94. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 125-126, 196.
95. Jeremy M. Sharp et al., "Israel-Hamas-Hezbollah: The Current Conflict," Congressional Research Service (21 July 2006), 2; available from [www.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/crsreports/crsdocuments/RL33566\\_07212006.pdf](http://www.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/crsreports/crsdocuments/RL33566_07212006.pdf) (accessed May 2010).
96. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 135, 187.
97. Sharp, *Israel-Hamas-Hezbollah: The Current Conflict*, 5.
98. Reuven Erlick (Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the CSS), "Hezbollah's use of Lebanese civilians as human shields: the extensive military infrastructure positioned and hidden in populated areas" (November 2006), 6.
99. Jackson G. Allers, "Hezbollah Ahead of Lebanese Government Reconstruction," *Inter Press Service*, 13 September 2006.
100. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 113, 240. The Islamic Jihad Organization is believed to be a part of the Hezbollah organization but is under direct control of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. Imad Mughniyeh was the most notable member of the organization.
101. Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program*, 27, 357.

102. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 47, 240.
103. Ernesto Guevara, Brian Loveman, and Thomas M. Davies, *Guerrilla Warfare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 30, 440.
104. Mao Tse-Tung, Zedong Mao, Samuel B. Griffith II, *On Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Praeger, 1961), 44. "Because guerrilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and cooperation."
105. *Ibid.*, 92.
106. Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 277, 322.
107. Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, 79, 284.
108. Zedong Mao, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*, 2nd ed. (Peking, China: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 165-166, 410.
109. Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, 80-81, 284.
110. Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 244, 322. A *hawza* differs from a *madrasa* in that it teaches a standard curriculum and is institutionalized and bureaucratic. Traditional madrasas were founded by a newly graduate cleric and closed after his death. A *hawza* is a permanent structure and is governed by a board of trustees. The rejection of secularism and socialism was becoming less popular, which drove students to the Lebanese *hawzas*.
111. Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 103, 306; also Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 263, 322.
112. Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon: The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis*, 45, 257.
113. The organizational chart is a composite developed by the author based on readings and interviews. The top of the chart indicates the flow of information that originates from Allah who transferred it to Muhammad then to the imam, to the Wali al-Faqih, then to Hezbollah.
114. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 45, 196. The Shura is elected through the Majlis al-Shura or Consultative Council, which is made up of about 200 Hezbollah founders, for 3-year terms. The majority of the elected members are clergy.
115. Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon: The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis*, 41, 257.
116. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 48, 196.
117. Melissa Dalton, interview with Department of Defense Levant analyst, 2008.
118. Williams, interview with National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) Levant analyst.
119. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 62, 196.
120. *Ibid.*, 62-63. The finance unit collects funds from four primary sources:

The Islamic state of Iran provides the majority of the funding to the social and military branches.

Khums (one fifth of personal income) are paid to the Wali al-Faqih, then distributed at his discretion and are separate from the Iranian budget.

Individual donations are from the enormous expatriate population.

Sympathizers and legitimate business investments are the fourth source; they take advantage of Lebanon's free market economy.

121. Ibid., 61. The syndicate branch has representation in the Lebanese Labor Federation, the Lebanese Trade Union, the Lebanese Farmers Union, the Lebanese University Faculty Association, the Engineers Syndicate Association, and the Lebanese University Student Association.
122. Ibid., 71. The regional units are organized into semiautonomous bands that have little to no contact with other units. Decentralized control makes defeating this type of organization difficult. The soldiers are civilians and operate in the same areas they live, which has proven to be effective against Israel.
123. Ibid., 72-74. The size of the force (military and security) is estimated to be approximately 8,000 soldiers and security personnel.
124. Jennifer Bane, interview with Special Operations Command Shi'a analyst, 2008. The political counsel is also called the Politburo section.
125. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 66-67, 196. The political counsel is composed of clerics and laypersons. The head of the council is a Shura member. The council has two subcommittees, the Cultural Committee and the Palestinian Affairs Committee. The Cultural Committee is focused on preventing normalization with Israel. The Palestinian Affairs Committee is focused on building and maintaining relations with Palestinian organizations like Hamas and the Islamic Resistance.
126. Ibid., 68. The elected Hezbollah officials cannot act as individuals; their views must reflect Hezbollah's views.
127. Ibid., 58. Hezbollah owns and operates one television station, four radio stations, and five newspapers and journals.
128. Bane, interview with Special Operations Command Shi'a analyst. Exact budgetary figures are not available. The annual budget for Hezbollah is within the range of \$500 million to \$1 billion annually. The figures in this chapter and in chapter 4 are approximations based off interviews and secondary sources.
129. Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 264, 322.
130. Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, 83, 284.
131. Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 285, 322.
132. Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Hezbollah: Profile of Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Reach Sponsored by Iran and Supported by Syria (Parts

- I and II),” 2003, 137. This list is not comprehensive. The organization chart lists the primary groups. In some cases several smaller groups were combined by like service.
133. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 111, 187.
  134. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 148, 240.
  135. Allers, *Hezbollah Ahead of Lebanese Government Reconstruction*.
  136. Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 272-273, 322.
  137. Omayma Abdel-Latif, “Rising from the Ashes,” *Al Haram Weekly*, 2006.
  138. United Nations Development Programme: Jihad Al Binaa Profile, 2008; available from <http://portal.undp.org.lb/ngo/NGOsearchAc.cfm?Acronym=JBDA> (accessed May 2010).
  139. Allers, *Hezbollah Ahead of Lebanese Government Reconstruction*.
  140. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, 111, 187.
  141. United States Department of Treasury, Office of Foreign Asset Control: List of Specifically Designated Nationals, 2007.
  142. IICC, “Hezbollah: Profile of Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Rach,” 137.
  143. Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 84, 241.
  144. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 52, 196.
  145. *Ibid.*, 52.
  146. Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*, 161, 240.
  147. *Ibid.*, 161.
  148. IICC, “Hezbollah’s Shiite Youth Movement, ‘the Imam Al-Mahdi Scouts,’” 2006. The name *Al-Mahdi Scouts* is based on the Shi’a tradition of the *hidden imam*, which is a unique belief in Shi’a Islam. The significance in naming a youth group *Mahdi* is in the definition: the one guided by Allah to take the straight path. They are officially recognized by the Lebanese scouting federation.
  149. *Ibid.*, 2. The scouts publish a calendar that is distributed throughout the country; it details their activities, special events, and espouses Hezbollah and Iranian revolutionary doctrine.
  150. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 55, 196.
  151. *Ibid.*, 57.
  152. IICC, “Hezbollah’s Shiite Youth Movement, ‘the Imam Al-Mahdi Scouts,’” 6.
  153. *Ibid.*, 7.
  154. IICC, “Hezbollah: Profile of Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Rach,” 137.
  155. Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 281-282, 322.

156. Ibid., 282.
157. Ibid., 282-283.
158. Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program*, 247-277, 357.
159. Ibid., 247-277. The campaign platform addresses foreign policy, but it was restricted to themes that affirmed Hezbollah's resolve to continue the resistance and fight all the enemies of Islam.
160. Ibid., 247. Quran verse 22:41.
161. Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 89, 241.
162. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-0, Joint Operations*, 2006, 238. Measures of performance are defined in JP-3-0 as a criterion to assess changes in system behavior, capability, or operational environment that is tied to measuring the attainment of an end state, achievement of an objective, or creation of an effect.
163. Chapter 2 reveals a constant trend of neglect and oppression in the Shi'a-dominated areas within Beirut, southern Lebanon, and the Bekaa Valley.
164. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 50-51, 196.
165. Ibid., 55.
166. Ibid., 54.
167. Ibid., 63. Hezbollah's funding will never be completely cut off. Hezbollah's funding from Iran does not require approval from the standing Iranian President or the Iranian government. The Ayatollah provides the majority of funds through the myriad of Islamic charities, funds raised by the IRGC, and Iran's intelligence services—all of which he controls. The funds are not part of the Iranian budget and are never seen by the Iranian finance unit.
168. The port cities of Lebanon were important trade/logistics hubs between Africa, the Middle East, and Europe.
169. Ibid., 64. Hezbollah takes full advantage of Lebanon's free market economy and has built a network of gas stations, super markets, department stores, construction companies, restaurants, and travel agencies.
170. Iran is the primary benefactor of Hezbollah. The level of financial support is still open for debate. Research has discovered figures that vary between \$300 million and \$1 billion annually.
171. Matthew A. Levitt, "Hizbullah's African Activities Remain Undisrupted," *RUSI, Jane's Homeland Security and Resilience Monitor* (2004), 2. The Arab Press reported that a foreign relations official of the African branch of the Lebanese Hezbollah party and two of his aides were killed in the crash.
172. The global exodus of the Lebanese population occurred during the Civil War, creating a massive expat population and reduced the skilled labor force.
173. Rachel Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil: How Terrorism is Financed—and How to Stop It*, expanded ed. (Chicago: Bonus Books, 2005), 133-134, 296.

174. Lindsey Shull, "Terrorist Finance for Bankers," Kansas City, MO U.S. Attorney's Office, 2008. (briefing provided by Shull).
175. Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 146, 365. The logistics structure provides for all forms of transportation. There are an estimated 100 hidden airstrips, the Pan-American Highway, and access to open water through the Argentine port city of Puerto Iguazu.
176. LaVerle Berrry et al., "A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups," a report prepared by the Federal Research Div., Library of Congress, May 2002, 16; available from [www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/NarcsFundedTerrs\\_Extrems.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/NarcsFundedTerrs_Extrems.pdf). (accessed May 2010). The city is located about 330 km from Paraguay's capital, Asuncion. The population ranges from 170,000 to 250,000.
177. John Arquilla et al., *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2001), 65, 375. Networks are the most common form of social organization and are usually embedded within a hierarchical structure.
178. Berry et al., "A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups, 14, 148.
179. Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, 146, 365.
180. *Ibid.*, 147.
181. Abdullah Yusuf Ali and Riasat Idarat al-Buhuth al-Ilmiyah wa-al-Ifta wa-al-Dawah wa-al-Irshad (Saudi Arabia), *The Holy Quran: English Translation of the Meanings, and Commentary*, 2082, Taubah 60.
182. Munif Al-Safouqi, "Islamic Charity and Terrorism," article translated from the Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Newspaper by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, Tel Aviv, Israel, 2005, 7.
183. *Ibid.*, 8.
184. *Ibid.*, 3.
185. Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil: How Terrorism is Financed—and How to Stop It*, 134-135, 296. This list is not all-inclusive; also, the Goodwill Charitable Organization is not affiliated with Goodwill Industries, said Christine Bragale, spokeswoman for Goodwill Industries International (see <http://doctorbulldog.wordpress.com/2007/07/24/federal-agents-raid-the-martyrs-foundation-in-dearborn-michigan/>).
186. *Ibid.*, 134.
187. *Ibid.*, 134.
188. Patrick Sookhdeo, "Islamic Finance," *Institute for the Study of Islam and Christianity* (2007), 1-2, 36. Islamic banking is part of the Islamist resurgence and critical part of Islamist's agenda. Islamic banking was the creation of the Islamist movements. Their goals are Islamic domination of the world through the gradual replacement of western systems with Islamic-based systems.

189. Ibid., 2.
190. Mahmoud A. El-Gamal, *Islamic Finance: Law, Economics, and Practice* (Cambridge U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 49, 59, and 221. Gharar incorporates uncertainty regarding future events and qualities of goods, which may be a result of incomplete information or deception.
191. Mohammed Akacem and Lynde Gilliam, “Principles of Islamic Banking: Debt Versus Equity Financing,” *Middle East Policy* 9, No. 1 (03 2002): 124, 125.
192. Moin A. Siddiqi, “Banking on Sharia Principles,” *Middle East*, No. 325 (2002): 34, 35. Investments cannot be made in activities related to alcohol, pork, tobacco, pornography, gambling, defense/armaments, conventional banking, and insurance.
193. Loretta Napoleoni, *Terror Incorporated: Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks*, 1st U.S. ed. (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005), 124, 324.
194. Ibid., 125. The 6,000 members of the Saudi family are worth \$600 billion, which results in an annual zakat of \$12 billion.
195. DCSINT-Emerging Threats Team, *Terrorism Funding: Sources and Methods* (Fort Monroe, VA: DCSINT, 2004), 5.
196. Roger Ballard, *A Background Report in the Operation of Informal Value Transfer System (Hawala)* (U.K., 2003), 7. The system was used to mitigate the risk of transoceanic trade by removing the shipment of gold. The system is based on trust and Islamic law.
197. Napoleoni, *Terror Incorporated: Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks*, 128, 324. There are several advantages to using hawala: operates 24/7, no delay in transfer of funds, no excess bank charges, no outside audits, evades currency control restrictions, evades taxes, no paperwork, and legal in most countries.
198. Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, 29, 365.
199. DCSINT-Emerging Threats Team, *Terrorism Funding: Sources and Methods*, 6.
200. Ballard, *A Background Report in the Operation of Informal Value Transfer System (Hawala)*, 8, 36.
201. Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, 148, 365.
202. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 65, 196.
203. Ibid., 63.
204. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-57, Joint Civil-Military Operations*, 2008, I-3, 187.
205. Ruth Katz, *The Hezbollah Doctrine* (Waltham: MA, 2006).
206. Burr and Collins, *Alms for Jihad: Charity and Terrorism in the Islamic World*, 348, 1. The guidance in the Quran that governs who receives the zakat are broad and based on individual perception of what is a worthy cause.
207. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Bantam, 1982), 261, 483. Federalist 51 essay addresses means by which

appropriate checks and balances can be created in government and advocates a separation of powers within the national government.

208. The phrase, *firstest with the mostest* was coined by the Civil War General Nathan Bedford Forrest.
209. William D. Wunderle, *Through the Lens of Cultural Awareness: A Primer for U.S. Armed Forces Deploying to Arab and Middle Eastern Countries* (Fort Leavenworth, KS and Washington, D.C.: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2006), 3, 136; available from [www.cgsc.edu/carl/download/csipubs/wunderle.pdf](http://www.cgsc.edu/carl/download/csipubs/wunderle.pdf) (accessed May 2010).
210. IICC, *Hezbollah as the Strategic Arm of Iran*, 11.
211. Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, "Turkish Hezbollah," 2008, 2. Many groups will adopt the name Hezbollah as an honorific title.
212. *Ibid.*, 2.
213. IICC, "Hezbollah: A Case Study in Global Reach," 2003, 4-5.
214. IICC, "Following an appeal from the Argentinean Attorney General, Interpol issued international extradition warrants for five senior Iranians and one senior Hezbollah operative," 28 March 2007, 2; available from [www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/html/argentina\\_e0307.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/argentina_e0307.htm) (accessed May 2010). Hezbollah has been banned in the U.S., Canada, Australia, and most recently in Europe.



