AN ANALYSIS OF HEZBOLLAH'S USE OF IRREGULAR WARFARE

STEPHEN KEITH MULHERN

Intelligence and National Security Studies Program

APPROVED:

Larry A. Valero, Ph.D., Chair

Charles R. Boehmer, Ph.D.

William T. Dean, III, Ph.D.

Benjamin C. Flores, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

Dedication

To Mom and Dad,

Thank you.

AN ANALYSIS OF HEZBOLLAH'S USE OF IRREGULAR WARFARE

by

STEPHEN KEITH MULHERN, B.A. Political Science

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at El Paso

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Intelligence and National Security Studies Program

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

December 2012

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank:

Drs. Larry Valero, Charles Boehmer, and William Dean for taking the time to be part of this

thesis.

Lisa Tomaka, Nicholas Komorowski, and Dr. Dennis Soden for giving me a productive and

supportive workplace.

And my parents, Michael and Linda Mulhern, for giving me the parental support to finish this

work.

Abstract

Low-intensity conflicts and insurgencies have been on the rise since the end of World War II. A particularly strong example of these conflicts is the ongoing conflict between the Lebanese Hezbollah and the state of Israel. In the course of the conflict, Hezbollah was able to accomplish what other, more powerful Arab states could not; Hezbollah forced Israel to unilaterally end a conflict. How did Hezbollah accomplish this? This thesis will provide a qualitative analysis of Hezbollah's use of the instruments of power in their irregular warfare strategy against Israel during the occupation of southern Lebanon.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Illustrations

Section 1: Introduction

The end of the Second World War gave rise to a new phase in the history of the world and in the international system—decolonization and the Cold War. These two phenomena created an international situation that produced both ideological conflicts and the widespread use of violence for political objectives. These new conflicts would not be high-intensity, conventional conflicts utilizing massive amounts of infantry, armor, and support, both artillery and air, conducted on miles of battlefield, these conflicts would instead be low-intensity, asymmetric conflicts, where a significantly weaker side would fight a significantly stronger force through the use of irregular warfare. These low-intensity conflicts would also not be between multiple states, they would be between a state and the disgruntled population of that state.

These conflicts, known under the umbrella term "small wars," are not unique to the post-World War II and post-Cold War international system, but they are beginning to have a greater impact on international and national security for states that are not directly involved in the conflict. At one time these conflicts would not have had a major impact on other states, but in the information and globalization age, these conflicts are no longer regional or domestic conflicts. Persistent low-intensity conflicts now have the ability to impact both the surrounding states and distant states—arms are generally acquired from international sources, safe havens are provided in neighboring states, and as seen on September 11th and the 2008 Mumbai attacks, operations can be devised, orchestrated, and launched from either neighboring states or states on the other side of the planet. In addition, small wars can lead to substantial spill-over violence into other states; increase tension between neighboring states as in the case of Colombia and Venezuela; and can ultimately lead to state failure, which can lead to perpetual civil war and violence.

Small wars do not have a steadfast definition nor a single term. C.E. Calwell in *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice* gives small wars a practical definition—"all campaigns other than those where both the opposing sides consist of regular troops."[1] Calwell even went so far as to point out that small wars have nothing to do with the size of the campaign and that it simply denotes operations of a regular army against irregular forces. *The U.S. Marine Corp. Small Wars Manual* defines small wars as:

> …a vague name for any one of a great variety of military operations…small wars are operations undertaken under executive authority, wherein military force is combined with diplomatic pressure in the internal or external affairs of another state whose government is unstable, inadequate, or unsatisfactory for the preservation of life and of such interests as are determined by the foreign policy of our Nation.[2]

Roger Beaumont in his contribution to The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science's volume on Small Wars titled *Small Wars: Definitions and Dimensions* lists all the names small wars have been called: "brushfire wars," "dirty wars," "guerilla wars," "insurgency-counterinsurgency," "internal wars," "interventions," "expeditions," "limited wars," "little wars," "low-intensity operations/conflicts," "political warfare," "revolutionary warfare," "urban guerilla warfare," "proxy wars," and "surrogate wars."[3]

These small wars are generally conducted through irregular warfare (IW). Irregular warfare is defined in the Army Manual FM 3-05.130 as "a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant population(s). Irregular warfare favors indirect and asymmetric approaches, though it may employ the full range of military and other

---

[1] C.E. Calwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles & Practice* 3rd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 21.

[2] The U.S Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual—United States Marine Corps, 1940* (Washington, DC, 1940), 1. Accessed Mar. 5, 2012. http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/swm/index.htm.

[3] Roger Beaumont, "Small Wars: Definitions and Dimensions," in *Small Wars*, ed. Wm. J. Olson, Vol. 541 of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, ed. Richard D. Lambert and Alan W. Heston (Thousand Oaks: Sage Periodicals Press, 1995), 23.

capacities, in order to erode an adversary's power, influence, and will."[4] The FM 3-05.130

continues by listing the activities that can be used in irregular warfare: Insurgency, COIN

(counterinsurgency), UW (unconventional warfare), terrorism, counterterrorism, FID (foreign

internal defense), Stability, security, transition, and reconstruction (SSTR) operations, strategic

communications, PSYOP (psychological operations), Civil-military operations (CMO),

information operations (OP), intelligence and counterintelligence (CI) activities, transnational

criminal activities, including narco-trafficking, illicit arms dealing, and illegal financial

transactions that support of sustain IW, law enforcement activities focused on countering

irregular adversaries.[5]

As seen in the previous examples, irregular warfare is at its core, a political endeavor,

supported through multiple avenues including military, diplomacy, information, and economics.

Military force can be used to demonstrate the impotence of the government or information

warfare campaign can be used to show the corruption and delegitimize a government. Economic

actions can influence target populations by either buying loyalty or provide a base to improve

their lives resulting in greater loyalty to the group that provided the support. It is a completion

for the "hearts and minds" of a population, which without the consent of the population, a

government is weakened and more susceptible to being overthrown—and "hearts and minds" can

be won through multiple means. The following illustration (Figure 1.1) from FM 3-05.130

compares conventional warfare to irregular warfare.

---

[4] The U.S. Army, *Field Manual (FM) 3-05.130*: *Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare* (Washington, DC, 2008), 1-4, 1-5. http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-05-130.pdf.

[5] FM 3-05.130, 1-5.
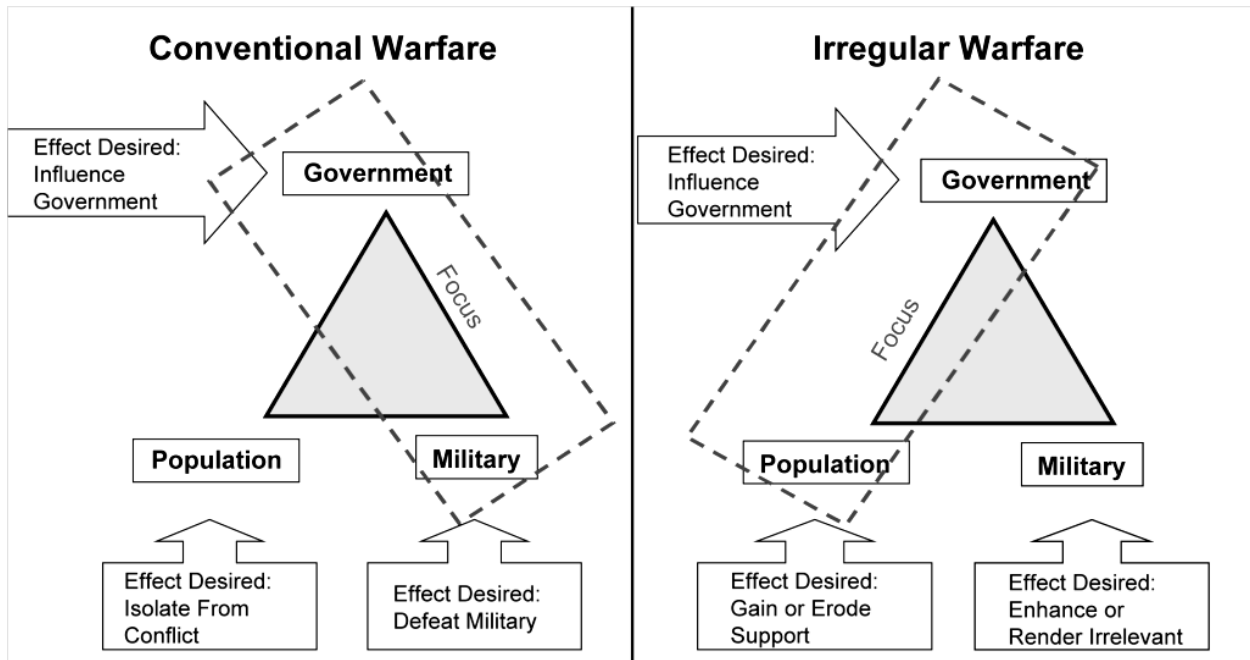
Figure 1.1: Contrasting conventional and irregular warfare[6]

Conventional warfare in order to achieve the desired effect—the influence of the government; the focus is on the defeat of the military, not the population compared to irregular warfare where the focus is on manipulating the support of the population, not the military. The key to victory in irregular warfare is to convince the population that your side is the better side to be on, not the enemies. In order to convey this message to the population, each side, whether state or non-state, use the instruments of power—Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economics—also known as the DIME.

These instruments of power are used either in concert with each or solo, but the ultimate goal is to create an atmosphere in the international system that is conducive to the policy goals of a state. These instruments are not solely under the purview of states, they can be utilized by non-state actors as well. While the instruments' use is more geared towards states, the ability to

---

[6] FM 3-05.130, 1-6.

project power through the DIME is universal. In the international and national systems, power is a universal goal.

This paper will demonstrate how Hezbollah has used the DIME to formulate an irregular warfare strategy against Israel. The theory behind this project is that Hezbollah is an example of the successful application of hybrid warfare against Israel. Their use of hybrid warfare is governed by the instruments of power, the DIME. An analysis of Hezbollah's use of the DIME in their war against Israel will produce insight into how the organization successfully uses the DIME and the strengths and weaknesses of Hezbollah. The theoretical foundation for this project is made up of multiple suppositions. These inferences are as follows:

1. Hezbollah is an irregular force, influenced by irregular warfare theory.

2. Hezbollah uses its fighting force to wage an irregular warfare campaign against Israel.

3. While Hezbollah is an irregular force, it has demonstrated the successful use and blending of both irregular and conventional warfare, in what is known as hybrid warfare.

4. Hezbollah utilizes the instruments of power, the DIME, in their formation of strategy against Israel.

5. Hezbollah use irregular warfare, governed by their DIME-based strategy, to weaken Israel, both militarily and politically, in accordance with Hezbollah's strategic objectives.

Non-state actors have the ability to conduct diplomacy to other states or even other non-state actors to acquire support either materially or geographic; the dispersion of information in favor of the non-state actor and detrimental to the adversary is a key part of irregular warfare; non-state actors projecting power military is also a key aspect of irregular warfare; and non-state use of economics, while not as powerful as a state, can erode the economic base of a state by supporting the delinquency of tax payments, flooding markets (material and financial) with counterfeit goods, supporting drug trafficking, and promoting organized crime. Essentially, no successful irregular war fighting organization or state could survive without a detailed plan for

the use of the aspects of the DIME. It is through the lens of the DIME, that this work will

analyze Hezbollah's use of irregular warfare against Israel.

Hezbollah, the Party of God, is a violent non-state actor. [7] Hezbollah is a Shi'a Muslim

organization that was formed with the support and is still supported by Syria, whose ruling al-

Assad family comes from the Alawi sect of Shi'a Islam and Iran, the world's only Shi'a Islamic

state. Hezbollah was formed as a response to the 1982 invasion of southern Lebanon by Israel.

Hezbollah is a not only a major violent actor within Lebanon and the Middle East, it has also

achieved legitimacy within Lebanon by being an active participant in elections, in which

Hezbollah has won seats in the Lebanese Parliament. The potency of Hezbollah has only

increased through their creation in 1982 with the aid of Iran and Syria. Hezbollah claimed credit

for causing the 2000 Israeli pullout of southern Lebanon and was part of the 33-day June 2006

war with Israel—an event that showed Hezbollah had not only grown politically, but it had

grown militarily from simple guerilla tactics to waging near-conventional warfare. Hezbollah

has become a pseudo-state situated in southern Lebanon and more ominously has become the

very model of a "resistance organization" with a global support system.

1.1 Literature Review

As there are multiple concepts that make up the theoretical background of this thesis, the

literature review will be broken up into multiple sections covering relevant literature on

Hezbollah, the DIME, Hybrid Warfare, and Irregular Warfare Theory. The section on Hezbollah

literature will also contain pertinent information on the organization's ideology, structure, and

goals.

---

[7] Transliterated from Arabic, the Party of God can be written multiple ways including Hizbullah, Hizbollah, Hizb'llah, and Hezbollah. The author will use Hezbollah unless citing material that utilizes a different spelling.

1.1.1 Hezbollah

Hezbollah defines itself as an Islamic *jihadi* (struggle) organization.[8] In their 1985

document Hizbullah's *Open Letter Addressed to the Oppressed in Lebanon and the World,*

Hezbollah declared their loyalty to the *walih al-fiqah* and the three central beliefs of the

organization—allegiance to the *walih al-fiqah*, belief in Islam, and *jihad*:

> We, the sons of Hizbullah's *umma*, whose vanguard God has given victory in Iran and
> which has established the nucleus of the world's central Islamic state, abide by the orders
> of a single, wise and just command represented by the guardianship of the jurisprudent
> (waliyy al-faqih), currently embodied in the supreme Ayatullah Ruhallah al-Musawi al-
> Khumayni…we in Lebanon are neither a closed organizational party nor a narrow
> political framework. Rather, we are an *umma* tied to the Muslims in every part of the
> world by a strong ideological-doctrinal and political bond, namely, *Islam*…No one can
> estimate our military capabilities since our military apparatus is part and parcel of our
> society of resistance. Thus, each and every one of us is a combatant when the call of
> *jihad* demands it, and each of us undertakes his task in the battle in accordance with the
> "legitimate and religious responsibility of the Wilayat al-Faqih.[9]

1.1.1.2 Islam

Hezbollah's founding pillar is the belief in Islam. This is not simply the belief that

Mohammed was the final prophet and that the Quran is the final world of God, but in Islam as a

way of life and an ultimate, divinely ordained system of government. Naim Qassem provides

examples of Islam's comprehensiveness—the belief in God, worship, self-discipline, concern for

politics, Jihad (struggle) in the name of God, economics, social responsibility, the use of reason

and refusal of subordination, communication, justice, and piety.[10] Qassem states the following:

---

[8] Joseph Alagha, *Hizbullah's Documents: From the 1985 Open Letter to the 2009 Manifesto* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 61.

[9] Alagha, 40.

[10] Naim Qassem, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, trans. by Dalia Khalil (Beirut: Saqi, 2010), 68-75.

Islam is both worship and a policy applicable for both life and the afterlife, relevant to the individual and society, the mosque and the ruling authority, calling for mercy and firmness, *jihad* and peace…in everything he does, man is concerned with looking after God's orders and forbiddances, for there is no circle to which God has not entered and which is solely left for the individual to shape. Even that space which was left by the Creator to man is also within the realm of the organized circle of life, and is governed by the fixed general rules of the sacred Shari'a.[11]

This belief in Islam as the perfect system of government, dictated to and implemented, in the world through the Prophet Mohammed, is a key to Hezbollah relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran and their model of government based on the Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini's theory of the guardianship of the jurist, the *Walih al-Faqih*.

1.1.1.3 Wali al-Faqih[12]

Hezbollah's ideology is founded in the ideology of the Iranian Revolution and the Ayatollah Ruhallah ("the spirit of Allah") Khomeini. The Ayatollah Khomeini's major theological doctrine was the establishment of *al-wali al-fiqah*, the guardianship of the jurist. *Wali* translates to guardian or custodian and *fiqah* is a jurist or religious scholar.

In Shi'a Islam, specifically the Twelver sect of Shi'a Islam, when the Prophet Mohammed died, Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, should have been the rightful successor in leading the newly formed Muslim community, the *Umma*. Ali would eventually lead but as the last of the Four Rightly-Guided Caliphs, the previous three—Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman, were either chosen by *ijma* (consensus) or appointed as successor. Twelver Muslims believe that Ali and his descendants, the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the people of the house) should have been the rightful leaders of the *Umma* after the Prophet's death, this is the cause of the split

---

[11] Qassem, 75-76.

[12] wali al-faqih is also written al-wali al-fiqah, walih al-faqih or valayat-e Faqih in Farsi. In Farsi, the Arabic letter waa is pronounced vaa.

between Sunni, those who follow the path, the *Sunnah*, of the Prophet, and the Shi'a, a short version of the phrase "shi'atu Ali,"—followers of Ali.

Believing Ali was the rightful successor, the Shi'a gave him the title of *Imam*. The Shi'a use of *Imam* is conceptually and theologically different from the Sunni use of *Imam*. In Sunni Islam, the *Imam* is the prayer leader while in Shi'a Islam, there exist a certain number of *Imams* (different sects have different numbers, including Fivers and Seveners) who "as the Prophet's legitimate successors, bear the responsibility of guarding and preserving Muhammad's divine message. Unlike the Caliph, who is a political leader designated, at least theoretically, by the consensus of the Muslim community, the *Imam* represents the spiritual authority of the Prophet Muhammad and is designated by God through the fact of his birth…the Shi'ite Imam…is endowed with the living spirit of the Prophet and, as such, is thought to possess a spiritual authority that sets him above any earthly ruler."[13] In Twlever Islam, there have been twelve Imams, the first eleven were killed and particular prominence is given to Husayn, the Prophet's grandson, who opposed Caliph Yazid I's legitimacy, and was killed (martyred) at the Battle of Karbala in 680 A.D. The twelfth and final Imam, Muhammad ibn al-Hassan, also known as the "Mahdi" or Guided One, was removed by God and placed into seclusion, known as the Great Occultation, where he will wait until it is time for him to usher in the Day of Judgment along with Jesus.

Khomeini's theory was based on his belief that an Islamic republic was needed.[14] This Islamic state, governed by Shari'a, could only be led by someone who is a qualified, expert on Shari'a, thus an expert on Islamic jurisprudence—the *faqih*. Khomeini believed that the depth of

---

[13] Reza Aslan, *No god but God: the origins, evolution, and future of Islam* (New York: Random House, 2005), 181.

[14] Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion* (Sterling: Pluto Press, 2002), 59.

knowledge required to be a qualified jurist enabled these jurist to act with both the religious and political authority of the Prophet Mohammed and the Imams during the Great Occultation. Khomeini believed that the jurists (*fuqaha*, the plural of *faqih*) should "concern themselves with the 'political, economic and legal problems of Islam' rather than to focus exclusively on 'ritual matters', as had been the case in the past." At the head of the *fuqaha,* would be the *Faqih* as the leader of the Islamic state and the most qualified jurist. The *faqih* is not infallible and does not have spiritual power as opposed to the Pope of the Catholic Church. Infallibility rests only with the Prophet Mohammed and the Imams. The *faqih* has religious and temporal power but not spiritual power. The *Faqih* is supposed to be the legitimate successor of Mohammed and the Prophets on Earth.

Hezbollah's allegiance is to the position and concept of the *wali al-fiqah*, while Khomeini holds a special significance within Hezbollah, upon his death the organization acknowledged and accepted the promotion of Ali Khamenei as the new *Faqih*. This allegiance is not to the *wali al-faqih* as a political position within the Islamic Republic "…the party's commitment to the *Wilayat* does not represent a 'political' commitment to a national head of state. It is an 'intellectual' commitment to a sacred Islamic figure and his successors whose commands are considered 'fixed truths.'" Hezbollah's deputy secretary-general Naim Qassem states that the *Faqih*'s authority is "confined to strategic issues such as *jihad*, political rule and the classification of 'friends and enemies.'" As a result, the *Faqih* dictates who Hezbollah can consider friends and who are enemies; Hezbollah required the *Faqih*'s allowance to participate in the 1992 elections; and the *Faqih* permitted the use of suicide attacks. Thus, the Supreme Leader

of Iran's influence on Hezbollah is mainly limited to major strategic guidance, where day-to-day functional decisions are left to the leadership of Hezbollah.[15]

1.1.1.4 Jihad

The last and final pillar of Hezbollah's belief system is *jihad*. *Jihad* is the much discussed and overly-simplified concept of holy struggle in the name of God. Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh in his work, *In the Path of Hizbullah,* explains Hezbollah's *jihad* ideology. For Hezbollah, *jihad* is a broad term encompassing multiple forms, as Hamzeh cites Hezbollah leadership "*jihad* is demonstrated labor and energy in confronting or standing up to the enemy, for the purpose of defeating him and achieving the goals set by God."[16] Hamzeh considers this broad definition of *jihad* to permit the use of two major modes of *jihad* and two sub modes of *jihad*.

1.1.1.4.1 Greater Jihad

Greater jihad is the least discussed aspect of *jihad* in Western media. Greater jihad is the inner, personal struggle a person has within himself, as Hamzeh cites Shaykh Naim Qassem, Hezbollah's deputy secretary-general, discussing greater jihad as "placing one's powers and faculties under the yoke of Allah's commands and purging the domain of one's body of satanic elements and their forces."[17] Greater jihad is supposed to be a continuous struggle that a person cannot ever truly win. As Qassem explains in *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, "Islam considers *jihad* to be a basic behavior in a Muslim's life, be that a *jihad* with one's soul or a struggle against the enemy…*Jihad* with the soul is the larger of the two challenges, as it is a

---

[15] The above is found in Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion* , 59-67.

[16] Ahmed Nizar Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 36.

[17] Hamzeh, 37.

daily and permanent struggle, present in any conflict between virtue and vice, between obedience

to God and to the soul's impulses.[18] Figure 1.2 demonstrates *jihad*'s nature.

1.1.1.4.2 Lesser Jihad

Lesser jihad is broken into two sub modes: elementary jihad and defensive jihad.

Elementary jihad is the widely acknowledged meaning of jihad—holy war. This is the form of

jihad espoused by Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda. Elementary jihad is the spread of Islam

across the world by force. However, Hezbollah believes that only Mohammed or the infallible

imam can authorize the use of elementary jihad, as the former is deceased and the latter is in a

state of occultation, Hezbollah cannot be authorized to wage elementary jihad. In elementary

jihad's place, Hezbollah wages the second sub mode of jihad—defensive jihad.

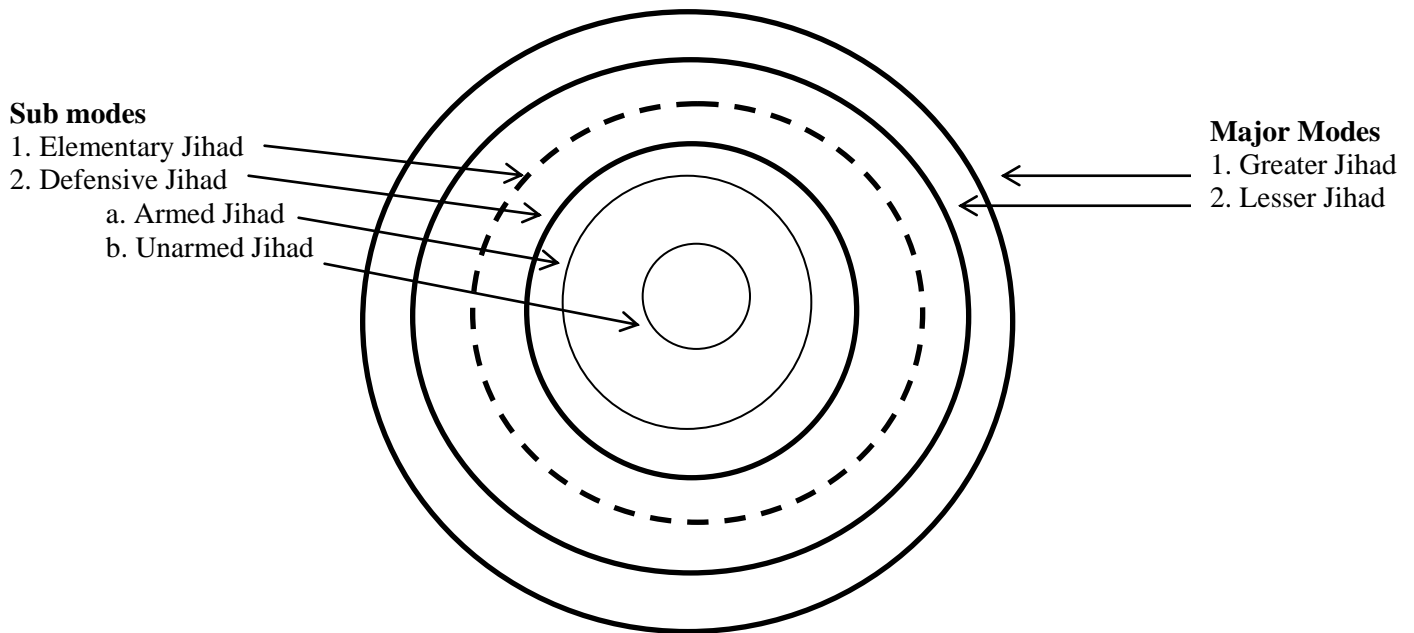**Sub modes**
1. Elementary Jihad
2. Defensive Jihad
    a. Armed Jihad
    b. Unarmed Jihad

Major Modes
1. Greater Jihad
2. Lesser Jihad

Figure 1.2: Hizbullah's Circles of Jihad[19]

---

[18] Qassem, 90.

[19] Recreation found in Hamzeh, 36.

Defensive jihad is jihad waged in defense of one's life, country, and more importantly, in defense of the *umma*, the Islamic community. Hamzeh points out that defensive jihad does not the authorization of Mohammed of the Hidden Imam but the wali al-fiqah is permitted to authorize use of defensive jihad. Hezbollah, using Qur'anic justification, believe that defensive jihad can use both armed and unarmed means, as Nasrallah stated in a 1998 lecture "the defensive jihad constitutes armed and unarmed struggle. An armed struggle means fighting the enemy with blood and involves martyrdom. An unarmed struggle involves political, economic, and cultural means. Our defensive jihad in Lebanon involves both forms."[20]

Hezbollah began in 1982 as a response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, though not officially announcing their creation until 1985. From its inception, the organization was to be a "resistance movement" against Israeli aggression and to a lesser degree a protector of Lebanon's Shi'a. Since 1982, Hezbollah has grown considerably and expanded their operations from purely military to include become a political party, a source of information through the television station, al-Manar, and through al-Nour radio, and a social service organization. Martin Rudner's *Hizbollah: An Organizational and Operational Profile* provides a heavily-sourced overview of Hezbollah's entire organization including funding sources, military operations, social programs, and an organizational chart of the organization.[21]

In her article, *Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party*, Krista E. Wiegand illustrates Hezbollah's foundation as a political party after the Lebanese Civil War ended in the early 1990s. Hezbollah agreed to enter into politics but did not

---

[20] Hamzeh, 38.

[21] Martin Rudner, "Hizbullah: An Organizational and Operational Profile," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 23, no. 2 (2010): 226-246. Also, James B. Love, *Hezbollah: Social Services as a Source of Power* (Hurlburt Field: The JSOU Press, 2010) provides an overview of Hezbollah's foundations, modeling, and an analysis of its operational branches with particular focus on Hezbollah's social services.

disband or disarm like the other militias who entered into politics. This has given them an overall advantage in the political process. In May 2008, Hezbollah gunmen took control of the capital for six days after nonviolent political protests did not manifest in Hezbollah's desires. Wiegand states that "The decision to use even some degree of political violence was a major move by Hezbollah… The government has little choice about Hezbollah's continued armament. Hezbollah is stronger, more effective, and has more resolve than the Lebanese army, and the government knows this."[22]

In his 2002 article, *A Clash of Wills: Hizbollah's Psychological Campaign against Israel in South Lebanon,* Frederic M. Wehrey illustrates that Hezbollah's success in forcing the 2000 Israeli withdrawal was from Hezbollah's ability to mobilize the Shi'as using "Iranian revolutionary doctrine, the propagation of a martyrdom ethos, and the provision of social services."[23] In addition to discussions of mobilizing the Shi'a, Wehrey demonstrates Hezbollah's actions to enter into Lebanese politics and further illustrates Hezbollah's actions to force out Israel through psychological operations.

Natasha Lander in *Hezbollah: Organizational Analysis of an Insurgency* points to three main areas that have helped Hezbollah continued existence and make it difficult for counterinsurgency against Hezbollah. She claims that first and foremost, Hezbollah has been so successful due to the amount of support from Iran and Syria. Second, due to Hezbollah's political and social programs the vastness of support from Shi'a, within Lebanon and across the world, has empowered Hezbollah and the massive support is difficult to take away by the counterinsurgents. Third, by providing public services in Lebanon, Hezbollah has engendered

---

[22] Krista E. Wiegand, "Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32, no. 8 (2009): 677.

[23] Frederic M. Wehley, "A Clash of Wills: Hizballah's Psychological Campaign against Israel in South Lebanon," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 13, no. 3 (2002): 54.

themselves with the local population that cannot be easily removed by counterinsurgents.[24]

These conclusions illustrate the military and operational hurdles Israel would have to overcome

in order to begin successfully combating Hezbollah.

Frank G. Hoffman in *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars* notes that

Hezbollah is actually a prototype for hybrid warfare, which will be discussed later in the next

section. Hoffman considers Hezbollah to be a prototype worthy of further study and, more

disturbingly, emulation by other organizations like HAMAS for how to fight against a militarily

superior state like Israel. Hoffman states:

> The amorphous Hezbollah is representative of the rising hybrid threat… Mixing an
> organized political movement with decentralized cells employing adaptive tactics in
> ungoverned zones, Hezbollah showed that it could inflict as well as take punishment. Its
> highly disciplined, well trained, distributed cells contested ground and wills against a
> modern conventional force using an admixture of guerilla tactics and technology in
> densely packed urban centers.[25]

Hezbollah's military capability is more sophisticated and goes beyond simple armed resistance

or groups that try to bled an enemy like the Afghan Taliban, the Mujahedeen, or the Iraqi

insurgency.

Martin Rudner, in *Hizbullah Terror Finance: Fund-Raising and Money-Laundering*,

points to three main sources of revenue for the organization: military assistance from Syria and

Iran; tax-like levies on businesses in Hezbollah dominated areas; and revenue generated from

diaspora populations across the world.[26] These sources of income are used to finance the various

parts of Hezbollah's administrative apparatus. The Anti-Defamation League in *Hezbollah's*

---

[24] Natasha Lander, "Hezbollah: Organizational Analysis of an Insurgency," *The Michigan Journal of Public Affairs* 7 (Spring 2010): 2.

[25] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflicts in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid War* (Arlington: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007), 36. Accessed March 25, 2012. http://www.projectwhitehorse.com/pdfs/HybridWar_0108.pdf.

[26] Martin Rudner, "Hizbullah Terror Finance: Fund-Raising and Money-Laundering," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 33* (2010): 700-701.

International Reach cites Western intelligence reports that, as of 2004, Hezbollah needs between $200 and $500 million to operate and only $100 million comes from Iran.[27] This then requires Hezbollah to make at least $100 million a year independently—a substantial amount for a non-state actor to acquire. Logical reasoning concludes that Hezbollah has been successful in bridging the gap in funds and has probably become more successful as Hezbollah's operation can only have increased in size and monetary need.

1.2 Hybrid Warfare

In the aftermath of both globalization and the information age, a new theory of warfare was generated—the theory of hybrid war. In essence, hybrid warfare is the utilization of both conventional weapons and tactics and irregular weapons and tactics. The idea of hybrid warfare is a relatively new academic topic. However, the practical use of hybrid warfare is not. Hybrid warfare has been used in multiple conflicts throughout history. The British used regular troops against Napoleon, while Spanish guerillas harassed the French forces and Washington's regular troops fought in battles, while Francis "The Swamp Fox" Marion's irregular troops harassed British forces during the American Revolution.

Hybrid warfare does not have a steadfast definition. Frank Hoffman defines hybrid warfare as warfare that incorporates "a range of different modes of warfare including conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, terrorist acts including indiscriminate violence and coercion, and criminal disorder."[28] The Government Accountability Office (GAO) was asked to investigate if the DOD has defined hybrid warfare and how hybrid warfare differs from other types of warfare and what is the extent to which the DOD is considered the

---

[27] Anti-Defamation League, "Hezbollah's International Reach," accessed March 25, 2012, http://www.adl.org/terror/hezbollah_print.asp.

[28] Hoffman, 36.

implications of hybrid warfare in its overarching strategic planning documents. The GAO

created the following diagram (Figure 1.3) to illustrate what actions could be used in hybrid

warfare
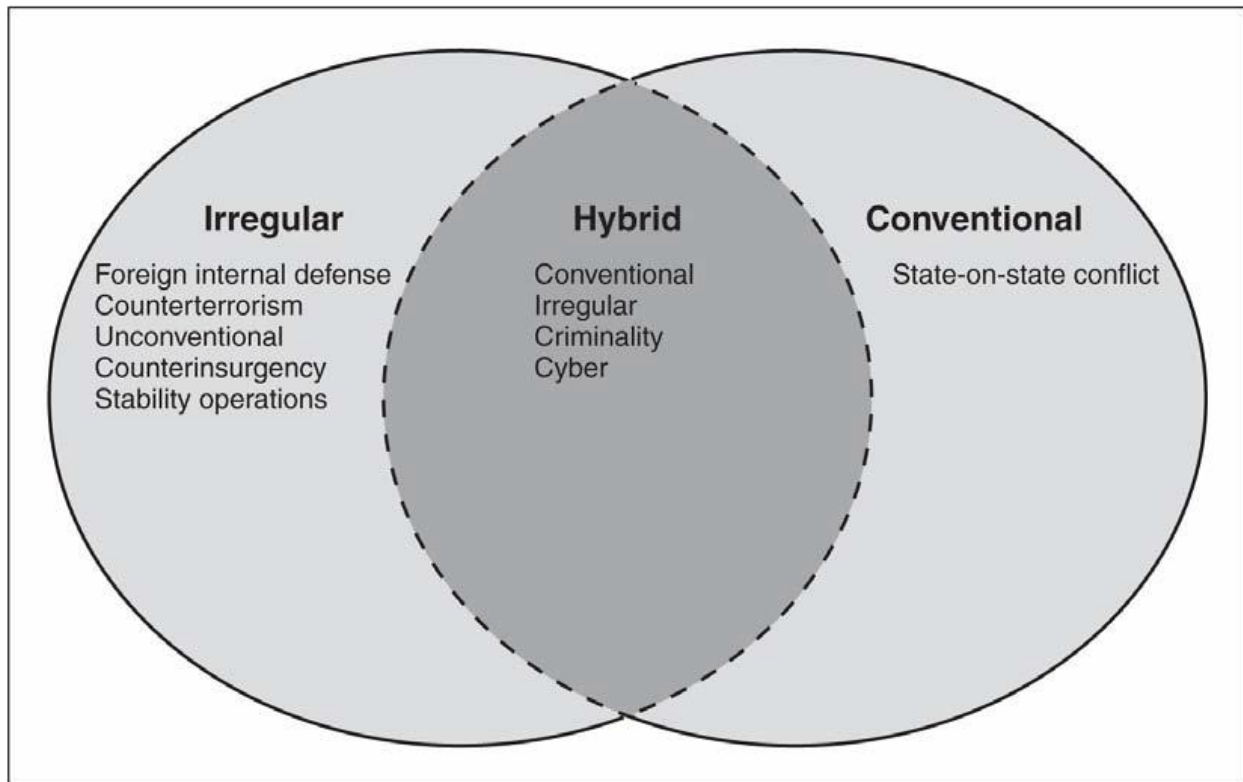
Figure 1.3: The Hybrid Warfare Concept[29]

In addition, the GAO report compiled various definitions including Frank Hoffman's definition

of hybrid warfare (which had been omitted by the author):

Hybrid Warfare—Conflict executed by either state and/or non-state threats that employs multiple
modes of warfare to include conventional capabilities, irregular tactics, and criminal disorder.

> (U.S. Joint Forces Command, Joint Center
> for Operational Analysis briefing on "Joint
> Adaptation to Hybrid War")

---

[29] Government Accountability Office. *GAO-10-1036R Hybrid Warfare*. Sept. 10, 2010. 16

Hybrid Threat—an adversary that simultaneously and adaptively employs some fused combination of (1) political, military, economic, social and information means and (2) conventional, irregular, terrorism and disruptive/criminal conflict methods. It may include a combination of state and non-state actors.

> (Working definition derived by U.S. Joint Forces Command, Joint Irregular Warfare Center, 2008-2009)

Hybrid Threat—A threat that simultaneously employs regular and irregular forces, including terrorist and criminal elements to achieve their objectives using an ever-changing variety of conventional and unconventional tactics to create multiple dilemmas.

> (U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command's Operational Environment, 2009-2025)[30]

Lt. Col. Daniel T. Lasica in his monograph *Strategic Implications of Hybrid War: A Theory of Victory* defined hybrid war as "the merging of different methods and theories of war at different levels of war, in different realms and domains, especially the cognitive and moral domains, by a blend of actors, arranged in time and space to achieve objectives at all levels of war."[31] Lasica, building in J.F.C. Fuller's three domains framework for the study of war, considers the cognitive domain to be where intellectual rigor is expended, ideas develop and decisions made to defeat the enemy and the moral domain includes fear, courage, and the morale of all parties involved in the conflict.[32]

Col. John J. McCuen states that hybrid warfare is "although conventional in form, the decisive battles in today's hybrid wars are fought not on conventional battlegrounds, but on asymmetric battlegrounds within the conflict zone population, the home front population, and the

---

[30] *GAO-10-1036R Hybrid Warfare,* 18.

[31] Lt. Col. Daniel T. Lasica, *Strategic Implications of Hybrid War: A Theory of Victory* (Ft. Leavenworth: United States Army Command and General Staff College, 2009), 3.

[32] Lasica, 1. See footnote 31.

international community population."[33] McCuen further states that in order to win hybrid wars,

we (the United States) "have to succeed on three decisive battlegrounds: (1) the conventional

battleground; (2) the conflict zone's indigenous population battleground; (3) and the home front

and international community battleground."[34] In hybrid wars "the enemy strives to protract war

by conducting it within the population while simultaneously attempting to erode confidence at

home and abroad as a precursor to military victory."[35]

1.3 Instruments of Power[36]

The instruments of power are used to exert strength and influence in order to elicit

responses that are beneficial to the goals of a nation. *The Department of Defense Dictionary of*

Military and Associated Terms (JP 1-02) defines instruments of national power as "all of the

means available to the government in pursuit of national objectives. They are expressed as

diplomatic, economic, informational, and military."[37] The *U.S. Army Special Operations Force*

Unconventional Warfare (FM 3-05.130) notes that since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which

introduced the modern concept of nation-states, competition among nation-states has involved

the instruments of state power: diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME).[38]

These instruments were generally used during peacetime with the military taking a role for static

defense or for posturing.

---

[33] Col. John J. McCuen, "Hybrid Wars," *Military Review* (March-April 2008), 107.

[34] McCuen, 107.

[35] McCuen, 110.

[36] The following descriptions of the DIME have been taken from U.S.-centric sources. References to the US will be removed in order to give a more overall concept of each aspect of the DIME as the author's and purpose of this thesis, is to examine the universal use of the DIME by international actors, state or not.

[37] The Department of Defense, *The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (JP 1-02), 163. Accessed Feb. 26, 2012. http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf.

[38]The U.S. Army. *Field Manual (FM 3-05.130) Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare,* 1-1. Accessed Feb. 26, 2012. http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-05-130.pdf.

The DIME is broken into two parts: soft power and hard power. Soft power is seen in the diplomatic and informational aspects of the DIME, sources of power that have an affect but do not destroy or cause casualties. Soft power does not have immediate consequences. As Joseph Nye, Jr. says "soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others."[39] The hard power comes from the military and economic aspects. This is "the capacity to coerce including both the threat of and resort to armed force, economic pressure including fiscal and commercial sanctions, subversive techniques, and various forms of intimidation."[40]

Diplomacy is the means in which one state officially relates to another. Diplomacy is rarely used alone. It is more often used in conjunction with the other aspects of the DIME, Reed J. Fendrick in *Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power* comments "diplomacy never functions in isolation from the other instruments of power but may at times be emphasized as the situation warrants."[41] He also notes that diplomacy "fundamentally consists of a constant assessment of other countries' power potential, perceived vital interests, and relationship with other states, in an attempt to maximize one's own country's freedom of action with the ultimate purpose of assuring the achievement of the nation's vital interests, the core of which is survival."[42]

Diplomacy does not have to be solely used by states. Non-state actors use diplomacy as well. Businesses meet to arrive at favorable conditions for coexistence and terrorist

---

[39] Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 5.

[40] Craig R. Nation, "National Power," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., ed. J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr. (Carlisle: Security Studies Institute, June 2008), 163.

[41] Reed J. Fendrick, "Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 189.

[42] Fendrick, 190.

organizations and insurgencies also use diplomacy to attain favorable conditions for the

establishment of bases of power. Osama bin Laden used diplomacy to arrive at a mutually

beneficial relationship with multiple counties including the Sudan and Afghanistan. Yasser

Arafat was able to get permission for the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) to establish

bases in Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. Arafat was even able to attain recognition for the PLO by

multiple non-Arab, non-Muslim states through speeches at the United Nations and diplomatic

meeting with leaders of states. Through diplomacy, insurgencies are able to attain levels of

legitimacy and can even use diplomacy as a means to apply pressure to the government or state

in which the group is competing.

Dennis M. Murphy in *Strategic Communications: Wielding the Information Element of

Power* cites Daniel T. Kuehl and Robert E. Nelson to define the information aspect of the DIME

as the "use of information content and technology as strategic instruments to shape fundamental

political, economic, military and cultural forces on a long-term basis to affect the global behavior

of governments, supra-governmental organizations, and societies to support national security."[43]

This aspect could also be described as propaganda. Murphy discusses propaganda and

specifically mentions that propaganda is the weapon of insurgencies. Murphy states,

"Propaganda is the weapon of the insurgent franchised cell. In a broad sense, terrorist

organizations have learned the lessons of propaganda well."[44] The JP 1-02 defines propaganda

as "any form of adversary communication, especially of a biased or misleading nature, designed

to influence the opinions, emotions, attitudes, or behavior of any group in order to benefit the

---

[43] Dennis M. Murphy, "Strategic Communication: Wielding the Information Element of Power," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., 175.

[44] Murphy, 178.

sponsor, either directly or indirectly."[45] As Murphy concludes, propaganda and information are

major aspects of insurgent movements.

Military power is, potentially, the most powerful aspect of the DIME. Through the use of

military force, nation-states and non-state actors can attempt to acquire their immediate

objectives. Realist theory of international relations states that in the anarchic global system, it is

the military that is the prime instrument of power. John F. Troxell in *Military Power and the*

Use of Force comments that "the other elements of power are certainly important and can

contribute to the furtherance of national interests; however, as long as states continue to exist in a

condition of anarchy, military power will continue to play a crucial role in international

politics."[46] Nation-states, however, are not the sole users of military force. Insurgencies are

based off of armed conflict between a state and a group attempting to overthrow that state's

government. However, correct usage of the military counts for both sides. For the state fighting

the insurgency, overuse of the military can lead to increased recruitment for the insurgents

through the deaths of civilians and can lead to tarnished public images. Both Israel and the

United States have continually had to deal with the use of military force and maintaining a

friendly public image. Insurgencies must carefully use military force if they hope to stay in

existence. As will be discussed later, the Arab Revolt targeted very specific targets in order to

prevent the needless loss of insurgent forces.

Economics is the last aspect of the DIME and an increasingly powerful aspect. Through

economic power, states can attain the same results as military force—the ability to deter, compel,

---

[45] JP 1-02, 275.

[46] John F. Troxell, "Military Power and the Use of Force," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., 209.

fight, and even rebuild a defeated opponent to the victor's needs.[47] Clayton K.S. Chun in

Economics: A Key Element of National Power states: "without the capacity to produce, finance,

or support key national security activities, a nation would have a limited ability to protect its

domestic and international interests."[48] He continues stating: "nations use economic tools to

pursue objectives, seek economic resources as national goals, or are affected by economic events

that influence their national security. Both state and non-state actors use economic power to

wage war and to influence events regionally or globally."[49] While states have the majority of

economic power, non-state actors have the ability to affect economies of their adversaries. The

introduction of counterfeit products weakens businesses, dealing illegal substances or drugs

undermine the authority of the government.

1.4 Irregular Warfare Theory[50]

T.E. Lawrence's main thesis in the *Science of Guerrilla Warfare* states, "granted

mobility, security (in the form of denying targets to the enemy), time, and doctrine (the idea to

convert every subject to friendliness), victory will rest with the insurgents ..."[51] His thesis sets

the framework for successful insurgencies—mobility, security, and indoctrination. Mobility

allows for the insurgent force to hit where the enemy is weakest allowing for maximum damage

---

[47]Clayton K.S. Chun, "Economics: A Key Element of National Power," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., 250.

[48] Chun, 250.

[49] Chun, 249.

[50] This section of the literature review will not be exhaustive, there simply is too much written by multiple authors including Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Fidel Castro, Vo Nguyen Giap, Regis Debray, and Carlos Marighella. The following authors were chosen due to their status as primary theorists and practitioners and the impact of their writings on contemporary use and defense in irregular warfare. For an in-depth history and analysis of revolutionary warfare see John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, "Revolutionary War," in *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 815-862.

[51] T.E. Lawrence. *Science of Guerilla Warfare*. (1929), 9. Accessed Feb. 27, 2012. http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~eshaw/lawrence.htm.

and minimal losses. Lawrence's plan was to whittle down the Turkish army not through

casualties but through loss of materials, as Lawrence writes in *Science of Guerilla Warfare*:

> In the Turkish Army materials were scarce and precious, men more plentiful than
> equipment. Consequently the cue should be to destroy not the army but the materials.
> The death of a Turkish bridge or rail, machine or gun, or high explosive was more
> profitable than the death of a Turk.[52]

Regarding security of the insurgent forces, the Arabs fought a war of detachment. A war fought

completely through the element of surprise (i.e.—hit and runs, and the threat of attack—"to

contain the enemy by the silent threat of a vast unknown desert, not disclosing themselves till the

moment of attack").[53] This threat of attack was also not directed at enemy personnel, but against

their more precious materials, in particular, they would target parts of the railway far from any

Turkish protection almost eliminating the threat of combat and maximizing tactical success.

Another major aspect of the war of detachment was never providing a target to the opposing

forces, i.e. the Arabs would never get close enough to the Turks to provide a target "this chimed

with the numerical plea of never giving the enemy's soldiers a target." Successful application of

this concept can be seen in the success of Viet Cong fighters against American soldiers during

the Vietnam War as well as in Afghanistan and the Iraqi Insurgency. By attacking when the

insurgent deemed it suitable, the American soldiers were put at the disadvantage inflicting

minimal damage to the insurgent, while suffering high levels of damage from the insurgent.

Indoctrination provides an insurgency with mobility, security, and support.

Indoctrination is having parts of the population on the side of the insurgency. By having the

support of the population, insurgent forces can move about more quickly and easily (mobility)

and can exist within enemy held territory or have safe haven (security). Lawrence states: "the

---

[52] Lawrence, 5.

[53] Lawrence, 5.

printing press is the greatest weapon in the armoury (sic) of the modern commander…"

However, the concept of spread information does not only apply to friendly populations, it also

should affect "the minds of the enemy, so far as it could reach them: and thirdly, the mind of the

nation supporting it behind the firing-line, and the mind of the hostile nation waiting the verdict,

and the neutrals looking on." Lawrence explains further in his closing, "it must have a friendly

population, not actively friendly, but sympathetic to the point of not betraying rebel movements

to the enemy. Rebellions can be made by 2% active striking force, and 98% passively

sympathetic."[54] As will be discuss with Mao Tse-Tung, the sympathies of the population are of

paramount importance to insurgencies. If enough of the population is unsympathetic, the

insurgency will fail.

Mao states that guerilla warfare is "a weapon that a nation inferior in arms and military

equipment may employ against a more powerful aggressor nation." He notes that guerilla

warfare is by its nature inherently political and must maintain a political element: "without a

political goal, guerilla warfare must fail, as it must if its political objectives do not coincide with

the aspirations of the people and their sympathy, cooperation, and assistance cannot be gained."

This political nature is what actually keeps the guerilla effort alive. Mao agrees with Lawrence

about the need for some kind of sympathy from the population "guerilla 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."[55] .

The sympathy and cooperation of the population provides new forces: "a primary feature

of guerilla operations is their dependence upon the people themselves to organize battalions and

---

[54] Lawrence, 5-9.

[55] Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2005), 42-44.

other units" and these new battalions must "depend for their sustenance primarily upon what the

locality affords."[56] Mao laid out a three phase system to what he called revolutionary warfare, in

which guerilla warfare is an aspect. Phase I is small. It is "devoted to organization,

consolidation, and preservation of regional base areas situated in isolated and difficult terrain."

This phase is marked by small, two-to-three man units receiving training, both military and

political, who then go out to secure the good will and sympathy of area populations. Phase II is

the slow expansion in both operations and the area of operations. The expansion in operations

includes an increase in attacks, sabotage, and the removal of dissidents. Through these actions

the emerging force is acquire supplies—ammunition, arms, medical supplies and radios. This

allows the guerillas to increase capability with minimal financial need. This phase also has an

increase in the political indoctrination of the areas that are targeted for absorption into the

guerilla territory.[57] The third and final phase is the actual creation of a conventional military

force capable of fighting conventional battles resulting in either forcing a decision or destroying

the enemy.

French counterinsurgency expert and theorist, David Galula, in *Counterinsurgency*

Warfare: Theory and Practice, sets down the prerequisites for a successful insurgency. First and

foremost a cause is required "the first basic need for an insurgent who aims at more than simply

making trouble is an attractive cause…with a cause, the insurgent has a formidable, if intangible,

asset that he can progressively transform into concrete strength."[58] He continues pointing out

that the cause has strategic criteria as well. The cause must be able to attract the most supporters

---

[56] Tse-Tung, 51.

[57] Tse-Tung, 20-21.

[58] David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006), 12.

while alienating the least amount of the population, the more people alienated the greater the

number of potential enemies for the insurgency. Also, the insurgent must be able to wholly

identify with the cause or wholly identify with "the entire majority of the population theoretically

attracted to it."[59] Finally, the cause must be a lasting one. The life-span of a cause is the

difference between a strategic cause and a short-term tactical cause like food scarcity. In

discussion of the nature of the cause, Galula points out that the every country has problems so

there are always potential causes for the insurgent to take up be they political, social, economic,

racial, or even artificial causes. The artificial causes require propaganda which can make an

artificial cause into a perceived real cause.

 In regards to the tactical aspects of a cause, Galula states "the insurgent has to appeal to

the whole, and a cause is necessary for that. Since it is easier to unite 'against' than 'for'… the

general cause will most probably be a negative one…"[60] Finally, the cause is malleable; the

insurgent can hold to the original cause or alter it according to the needs of the movement.

Hoffer also comments on the need of a cause and its malleability: "It is perhaps true that the

insight and shrewdness of the men who know how to set a mass movement in motion, or how to

keep one going, manifest themselves as much in knowing how to pick a worthy enemy as in

knowing what doctrine to embrace and what program to adopt."[61] Kitson also agrees with

Galula about the importance of a cause:

> the selection of a good cause often poses severe problems to the organizers of subversion
> because the real reasons for the campaign may not be such as to attract the population at
> all...Yet, if no cause exists it will have to be invented. If a genuine one exists but is not a
> capable of attracting sufficient support, it must be amended until it does.[62]

[59] Galula, 13.

[60] Galula, 15.

[61] Hoffer, 95-96.

[62] Kitson, 29.

In addition to the need of a cause, Galula provides an in-depth analysis of the situational needs for a successful insurgency: the insurgency needs to be facing a regime with internal problems.[63] Galula gives five areas in which a regime can be strong or weak: (1) an absence of problems; (2) a national consensus; resoluteness of the counterinsurgent leadership; counterinsurgent leaders' knowledge of counterinsurgency warfare; (3) the machine for the control of the population, which is further broken down into the political structure, the administrative bureaucracy, the police, and the armed forces; and geographic conditions. These are self-explanatory. If a regime has no problems, then there is ground for an insurgent cause. If there is a national consensus on the regime or an expected way of life, the regime will be stronger and more resistant to insurgencies than if there is no consensus on the regime. Resoluteness of the counterinsurgent leadership and the leadership's knowledge of counterinsurgency warfare go hand-in-hand. If the leadership does not have the wherewithal to fight a long fight against an insurgency, the insurgency will likely win. This is exacerbated if the leadership has little or limited knowledge of how to actually combat the insurgency.

The means of control for the population differ. The first, the political structure, will either nourish or strangle an insurgency. Galula uses Communist China as his example where political opposition is not tolerated and the population lives until mutual distrust and suspicion prevents any kind of insurgency from developing, in contrast, an open society allows for multiple problems to be voiced and aired and the free gatherings of like-minded individuals that could lead to an insurgency. In discussing the administrative bureaucracy, Galula uses the French administrations of Algeria, a large state with the majority of the population not being of French descent. The French divided and sub-divided the country into portions that required more people than the French had, allowing the FLN to operate freely. The police being the main and first line

---

[63] See Galula, 17-22.

of defense during an insurgency require numerical strength, competent members, loyalty, and the support of the other branches of the respective government, especially the judicial branch, "If insurgents, though identified and arrested by the police, take advantage of the many normal safeguards built into the judicial system and are released, the police can do little."[64]

The armed forces are broken down into four sections. Essentially, the military needs numerical superiority in relation to the size and population of the country; a preferred ration is ten or twenty counterinsurgents for every one insurgent. The armed forces actually need to be less sophisticated compared to the insurgent. The insurgent will not fight fancy, the counterinsurgent should not either. The armed forces need soldiers who are loyal to the regime and not the insurgency. Galula points out that due to personnel demands, some counterinsurgent forces are forced to institute a draft. A draft while increasing numbers could plague the counterinsurgent with forces that are not loyal to the regime but to the insurgents.

Finally, the counterinsurgent forces should not be delayed in being deployed. The goal of revolutionary insurgent warfare is a gradual increase in hostilities. Galula argues that the counterinsurgent should not wait until war breaks out to deploy forces. However, that is the purview of the politicians, not the military. Galula's final regime weakness and a separate section is that of the border stating that "the border areas are a permanent source of weakness for the counterinsurgent whatever his administrative structures, and this advantage is usually exploited by the insurgent, especially in the initial violent stages of the insurgency. The final prerequisite is outside support. Outside support can come in many forms—moral support, political support, technical support, financial support, and military support.[65]

---

[64] Galula, 20.

[65] The following was found in Galula, 20-26.

1.5 Research Design/Strategy

The research question for this project is "to what extent has Hezbollah successfully waged irregular warfare against Israel?" For the purpose of this study **success** will be viewed as the ability for Hezbollah to accomplish its goals against Israel as first seen in the 1985 *Open Letter* and in subsequent official Hezbollah documents:

1. the expulsion of Israel from Lebanese territory,
2. the guarding and preservation of Lebanon from Israeli aggression,
3. the liberation of Jerusalem, and
4. the total destruction of the state of Israel, known to Hezbollah as the "Zionist entity"

This study will focus on the first two objectives of Hezbollah: the expulsion of Israeli forces from Lebanon and guarding Lebanon from Israeli aggression. These are the most realistic objectives of Hezbollah and these objectives have actually been accomplished, first on May 24, 2000 when Israeli forces withdrew from Lebanon and second, the 2006 34-Day War in which Hezbollah successfully fended off Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon. The liberation of Jerusalem and the destruction of Israel are more tools to keep the movement relevant and popular among the population. The likelihood of a "liberation" of Jerusalem and the complete removal of the state of Israel is very slim of occurring without a major regional power shift or conflict.

Primary data sources utilized are oral histories and testimonies. Many of these sources are from Israel and releases from Hezbollah. U.N. and NGO reports are also used. U.S. Congressional testimonies are used as a source for both governmental awareness and as a source for opinions from subject experts. Secondary sources come from the multitude of academic, published work available on Hezbollah and the different aspects of the DIME. In addition to academic works, various magazine and newspapers have been utilized.

As Hezbollah's success in irregular warfare is a complex topic, the research design and strategy of this work attempts to simplify the data gathering and analysis. A table of indicators

has been created that are related to each aspect of the DIME. From these indicators, this study

will qualitatively analyze the extent and success of Hezbollah in each aspect.

Table 1.3 Indicators of Success

Diplomacy	Information	Military	Economics
I1: International pressure on Israel	I4: al-Manar	I7: Military armament	I10: income sources (legal/illegal)
I2: Status as non-state actor	I5: Large recruitment pool	I8: Tactics and operations	I11: State-sponsorship
I3: Lack of pressure on Hezbollah from other states	I6: Providing social services	I9: Safe Haven	I12: Diaspora donations

Diplomacy

This section will analyze Hezbollah's use of diplomacy to alter the perception and

support of other states to help Hezbollah in achieving its goals. Official diplomatic channels are

likely not to be used by the organization. Instead, Hezbollah will most likely use violent "gun-

barrel" diplomacy rather than peaceful dialogue-based diplomacy.

I1: International pressure on Israel: This indicator will look at and analyze what

Hezbollah has done to increase international pressure on Israel to either concede Israeli goals,

halt military actions, etc…

I2: Status as a non-state actor: Hezbollah's status as a non-state actor allows them to exist

in a grey area within international law regimes. This indicator will look to evidence that

Hezbollah makes a conscience effort to portray themselves, internationally, as an entity that does

not bow to international pressure because that pressure does not apply to Hezbollah due to their

status as a non-state actor.

I3: Lack of pressure on Hezbollah from other states: The international community has not

come to a unified agreement about whether Hezbollah is a terrorist organization. Many states

31

only condemn and consider the military wing of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization, but not the rest of the organization. This translates into a significant amount of leeway for Hezbollah's operations and the inability for the organization to be pressured internationally.

Information

This aspect of the DIME will look at Hezbollah's use of information dissemination and other recruiting tools. The strength of irregular warfare and subversion comes from the ability to recruit, mobilize, and, most importantly, keep the loyalty of the masses of people; therefore, the strength of an organization's information dispersion is key to success.

I4: al-Manar: This indicator will analyze Hezbollah's use of their TV station al-Manar. This indicator will look at the various programs that are presented on al-Manar and analyze which programs and how much time is devoted to certain topics.

I5: Large recruitment pool: Through the use of information dissemination through Hezbollah controlled sources, Hezbollah has been able to maintain a large recruitment pool that grows with every success Hezbollah can create, either naturally or artificially.

I6: Providing social services: This indicator will look at the various social services provided by Hezbollah. Hezbollah's ability to provide social services engenders the organization with the population that benefits from their services in turn this produces a population that approves and aides Hezbollah in various ways.

Military

This aspect of the DIME will look at the military capabilities of Hezbollah. While irregular warfare has a major political aspect, it also has a major military component that must be able to work in concert with the political goals of a movement.

I7: Military armament: This indicator will elaborate on Hezbollah's military armament. It will look at the types of armament Hezbollah has acquired and its damage potential.

I8: Tactics and operations: Hezbollah has advanced since their inception in the early 1980s. Their advancement has not only been manifested in the changing of domestic tactics, but also in their military tactics. This indicator will look at Hezbollah's early tactics compared with tactics used during the 2006 33-Day War.

I9: Safe Haven: The ability for Hezbollah to operate within safe havens is an important military aspect. Since Hezbollah operates within Lebanon and in other countries, Hezbollah has safety from military strikes and kinetic-based efforts to harm the organization.

Economic

The final aspect of the DIME, economics, will look at Hezbollah's financial activities and sources. Movements cannot survive without funding and support from somewhere, whether the native population or from a state. This aspect will analyze where Hezbollah finds its financial support.

I10: Income sources (legal/illegal): As any organization needs financial backing, Hezbollah has turned to both legal and illegal means to acquire financial security. This indicator will look at the various sources of Hezbollah's income both legal and illegal.

I11: State-sponsorship: Hezbollah was founded with the help of Iran and today functions with support from both Iran and Syria. This indicator will look at the degree of funding Hezbollah receives from Iran and Syria.

I12: Diaspora donations: Hezbollah is a Shiite organization and claims to represent the Shi'a of Lebanon. These populations support Hezbollah financially by either making donations to the organization or to the various businesses and charities that Hezbollah runs.

Section 2: Diplomacy

This section will analyze the diplomatic indicators of success: (1) international pressure on Israel; (2) Hezbollah's status as a non-state actor; and (3) lack of unified international pressure on Hezbollah.

2.1 Indicator 1: International pressure on Israel

From the evidence, Hezbollah does not have an actual diplomatic mission specifically designed to increase international pressure against Israel, however, Hezbollah seems to be able to provoke Israel into actions that result in Israel damaging its reputation in the international community. Through Hezbollah's provocation of Israel and Israel's military and political blunders, Hezbollah has indirectly been able to increase international pressure on Israel. The international pressure on Israel comes from the same sources it always came from—the forces opposed to Israel, i.e. Hezbollah, the Lebanese government, the United Nations (Israel was in violation of UNSCR 435) and UNIFIL, and various human rights organization particularly Human Rights Watch, who released publications about Accountability and Grapes of Wrath. However, much like what will be discussed in Indicator 3, Israel had the near unwavering support of the United States, which at the time was at the height of its international power as the sole remaining superpower.

Operation Grapes of Wrath came to a halt after the Fijian UNIFIL detachment's base at Qana was mortared resulting in the deaths of over one hundred civilian refugees. Israel claimed they had no knowledge that it was a UNIFIL compound and that Hezbollah fighters launched rockets from a cemetery nearby then fled into the compound for safety. However, in *Warriors of God*, Nicholas Blanford claims that the findings of the UN investigation into the Qana Massacre showed that for Israel to know where the Hezbollah fighters were and where they fled, would have seen the big, black UN painted on the side of a white wall. Blanford claims that

Secretary of State Madeline Albright exercised undue influence resulting in the findings not leading to major international repercussions.[66] Thus, much like Hezbollah, because Israel had the backing of a powerful state, the consequences of international pressure were mitigated. The real pressure came from the Israeli civilian population as will be discussed later.

Hezbollah did not have to act or lobby states or the United Nations for increased international pressure on Israel. Hezbollah allowed Israel to increase the international pressure on themselves. Israel's political situation would have already generated international pressure on Israel. Violations of UNSCR 435 and the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip compounded by the occupation of Lebanese territory and Israel's reactions to Hezbollah attacks embodied in Operations Accountability and Grapes of Wrath, did not aid Israel's political situation. However, international political pressure on Israel was and has been negated due to the United States' unwavering financial, political, and military support provided to Israel. No matter what Hezbollah did to get a reaction from Israel, any international political repercussions from Israel's actions were negated by U.S. support.

2.2 Indicator 2: Hezbollah's status as a non-state actor

Hezbollah's status as a non-state actor is a point of extensive debate. On the one hand, Hezbollah is not a state; therefore, by definition it is a non-state actor. On the other hand, Hezbollah is an official political party that is part of the Lebanese government. This aspect will be discussed below. If Hezbollah is considered a non-state actor, then Hezbollah falls into gray area in international law. Depending on how Hezbollah is officially designated alters what *jus in bello* Hezbollah is covered.[67] While military uniforms are worn, no consistent evidence has been

---

[66] Blanford, Warriors of God, 171-174.

[67] *Jus in bello* literally means laws of war. See Eric A. Heinze, "Nonstate Actors in the International Legal Order: The Israeli-Hezbollah Conflict and the Law of Self-Defense," *Global Governance* 15 (2009): 87-105.

found describing details of what their uniforms contain or if they display insignia. In fact,

Catherine Bloom in *The Classification of Hezbollah in Both International and Non-International*

Armed Conflicts discusses the veracity of labeling Hezbollah a non-state actor in the aftermath of

the 2006 War. The labeling of Hezbollah as either a state actor or a non-state actor affects how

the Geneva Convention laws would apply.   If Hezbollah is considered a state actor, then as

acting on behalf of Lebanon, Hezbollah would have to adhere to and be regulated by Article

Four of the Geneva Convention on the classification and treatment of prisoners of war.

However, even if considered a non-state actor, they have been part of two cease-fire

negotiations, at the end of 1993s Operation Accountability and 1996s Operation Grapes of

Wrath. These state-based negotiations place them on the same level with nation-states. They

describe themselves as a "resistance movement" against Israeli aggression and as a political

party. The Ta'if Agreement included a section on the removal of Israeli forces from Lebanese

territory. In labeling themselves a "resistance movement" against Israel, Hezbollah was able to

not be forced to disarm.[68]

Hezbollah's ability to escape the label as a state actor until the 2006 War provided

considerable leeway in their operations. As a non-state actor, Hezbollah escapes the

ramifications and punishments reserved for states conducting aggressive actions. However,

while Hezbollah is considered a non-state actor, it has been a valid party in the conflict with

Israel being a part of two cease-fire negotiations and an absence of United Nations actions

against the organization outside of criminal activity.

---

[68] Joseph Elie Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program (*Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 41.

2.3 Indicator 3: Lack of unified international pressure on Hezbollah

International pressure on Hezbollah is not unified or comprehensive, if pressure on Hezbollah actually exists. From the evidence, it seems that in order to pressure Hezbollah, the United States and Israel would have to rely on putting pressure on Iran, Syria, and Lebanon. Hezbollah is only designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, Israel, Bahrain, Egypt, Canada, and the Netherlands. The military wing—the Islamic Resistance and the External Security Apparatus, are designated as terrorist by the United Kingdom and Australia. The majority of the Arab world considers Hezbollah to be a legitimate resistance organization against Israel. Additionally, states like Venezuela and Brazil, who have relations with Iran and lean toward counterbalancing United States interests, either provide Hezbollah operational theaters or turn a blind eye toward Hezbollah's activities as seen with the two Argentinean bombings and Hezbollah's activities in the Tri-Border area where the Brazilian, Paraguayan, and Argentinean borders meet.

Much like United Nations sanctions, as long as one state does not participate or shows token acknowledgment, pressuring Hezbollah will not work. As Hezbollah is sponsored by Syria and Iran, two major states in close proximity to Lebanon which will only happen if the incentives for each country to halt sponsorship are met, if these incentives exist. Additionally, international support or international apathy for Hezbollah follows the coattails of Iranian diplomacy for instance Iranian-Venezuelan relations have opened up Venezuelan territory for Hezbollah's use like Margarita Island.

Margarita Island is reportedly utilized by the Nassereddine Network, a network established by Venezuela's Ghazi Nassereddine, a native-born Lebanese who naturalized in Venezuela, is now Venezuela's second-ranking diplomat in Syria. His brother Abdullah, a

former member of the Venezuelan legislature, uses his position as the former vice president of the Federation of Arab and American Entities in Latin America and the president of its local section in Venezuela, has established money-laundering operations and is reported to be in charge of Hezbollah's business dealings in Latin America. Ghazi's other brother, Oday, has established paramilitary training camps on the island and then sending recruits to Iran for further training.[69] Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez has also aided in securing a relationship between Iran and Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Ecuador.[70]

Legally, there have been two different internationally created cease-fires—one in 1993 and one in 1996—that have acknowledge the right for Lebanon to resist the Israeli occupation as long as civilians are not specifically targeted by both sides.[71] This exact military nature of this will be discussed in the military section. However, the lack of international pressure of Hezbollah is evident in the fact, what are essentially rules were established for the conduct of both sides.

Assessment

The lack of international pressure on Hezbollah may be the most important of the Diplomatic indicators. Hezbollah has benefitted from the international political situation and which states do or do not have a vested interest in the situation in the Middle East. This lack of pressure leads to a lack of prohibitions and enforcement of those prohibitions against Hezbollah.

---

[69] Roger F. Noriega and José R. Cárdenas, "The Mounting Hezbollah Threat in Latin America," American Enterprise Institute (Oct. 2011): 3.

[70] Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, *Iran increases its political and economic presence in Latin America, defying the United States and attempting to undermine American hegemony. It also foments radical Shi'ite Islamization and exports Iran's revolutionary ideology, using Hezbollah to establish intelligence, terrorism and crime networks, liable to be exploited against the United States and Israel.* April 19, 2009.

[71] Bahman Bakatari and Augustus Richard Norton, "Lebanon End-Game," *Middle East Insight* (March-April 2000): 23.

The increase in countries with a friendly or neutral attitude to Hezbollah increase the potential for Hezbollah to find safe haven or areas to conduct operations, either military or financial, far away from the threat of either Israeli or U.S. intervention. Placing state apathy aside, the only actions that can be conducted against Hezbollah are only against their blatantly criminal activities, which will be discussed in Section 5. Additionally, much like the situation with Israel, Hezbollah benefits from the state support of both Syria and Iran. Thus Hezbollah can find succor and support even if intense international pressure was placed upon the group. Imagine if al-Qaeda had received consistent support from states with large economies much like Hezbollah receives, not just a safe haven in Afghanistan. The dismantling of al-Qaeda would have been much more time consuming and had fewer results. This is the case with Hezbollah, for any international pressure to be significant; the organization would have to have all states unified against the group.

Section 3: Information

Hezbollah's information operations are truly dedicated to "hearts and minds" operations that are key to the life and survivability of insurgencies. There appear to be two objectives of Hezbollah's information instrument—conduct psychological warfare against the state of Israel, the Israeli Defense Force, and the people of Israel and to promote and sustain a "resistance culture." In Hezbollah's 13 Principles of War, principles 11 and 12 dictate "the media has innumerable guns, whose hits are like bullets. Use them in the battle!" and "the population is a treasure - nurture it!"[72] Hezbollah was so successful in their use of information that Hezbollah's mode of fighting was labeled "guerilla warfare psychologically waged."[73]

In Hezbollah's ideology, "resistance" is the fighting of the "oppressed" or "occupied" against the "oppressor" or "occupier."[74] This dichotomy is not limited to Arabs or Muslims but includes all peoples in the world who are socially, economically, politically, or culturally oppressed.[75] While the oppressed/oppressor dichotomy seems like a universally rallying call for revolution for Hezbollah, oppressor/oppressed is really based off of a groups opinion of Zionism (Israel) and the United States—if you are in favor of U.S. policies or Israel, you are one of the oppressors or a tool of the oppressors; if you reject U.S. policies and Israel, you are welcomed into the fold of the oppressed.[76]

---

[72] Ehud Ya'ari, "Hizballah: 13 Principles of Warfare," *The Jerusalem Report*, March 21, 1996.

[73] Ron Schleifer, "Psychological Operations: A New Variation on an Age Old Art: Hezbollah versus Israel," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 1 (2006): 5.

[74] Avi Jorisch, *Beacon of Hatred: Inside Hizballah's Al-Manar Television (*The Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Washington, D.C., 2004), 15.

[75] Jorisch, Beacon of Hatred, 15.

[76] Jorisch, Beacon of Hatred, 15.

This section will analyze the informational indicators of success: propaganda, a large

recruitment pool, and provision of social services. The idea behind these indicators is that of

equal if not greater importance to guerilla movements is acquiring and maintaining the loyalty of

the indigenous population. As a result, the propaganda indicator will look at Hezbollah's

information outlets and how these outlets are used to spread Hezbollah's message. In addition,

Hezbollah's use of information warfare will be analyzed. The large recruitment pool indicator

will look at how Hezbollah uses its information outlets to add to and maintain a viable

recruitment pool. The provision of social services indicator will look at what kind of social

services Hezbollah provides and how these services are used to spread the message of Hezbollah.

3.1 Indicator 4: Propaganda

> *It is very silly and ironic for anyone to think that because our fight is based on religion and ideology that we will attack an Israeli tank with a sword and a shield. We have to use the most advanced means, whether in war or in peace and it is well known that the most advanced weapon is psychological warfare and we use the media as part of this warfare. We use real pictures; we don't act out the campaign or the victories. We show you scenes of Israelis weeping and screaming like children. Scenes of our fighters taking the most difficult of the enemy's military bases, scenes of martyrdom operations, we show you the last testimonial of the brother ready to leave this world. We film all these realities and offer them to the nation.*[77]

Hezbollah expertly used information warfare against Israel. Hezbollah was adroitly able to

consistently control the message and the spin of almost all actions taken against Israel in the

security zone. In their control of the message against Israel, they were able to both provide

information to the population and discredit the official information released by the IDF and

Israeli government. As Timur Goksul, former spokesman and advisor to UNIFIL (United

Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) stated, "Hizballah knows they're not going to win the war on

---

[77] Transcribed from the English translation of an interview with Hassan Nasrallah in *The Living Martyr: Inside the Hezbollah,* 2000, found at minute 19:50-20:56.

the battlefield, so they're not taking on Israel's military might on the ground. They're taking the Israelis on psychologically."[78]

The key to Hezbollah's information and psychological warfare was their use of "propaganda of the deed." Propaganda of the deed (POTD) is defined as "a term depicting an act of violence whose signal and/or extreme nature is intended to create an ideological impact disproportionate to the act itself."[79] POTD provided Hezbollah with instances in time, through military action, that provided greater impact than the commission and direct result of the deed. As on Hezbollah official said: "On the field, we hit one Israeli soldier…but a tape of him crying for help affects thousands of Israelis…we realized the impact of our amateur work on the morale of the Israelis."[80] The image and impact of one Israeli soldier being shot being shown on the news had a greater impact on the civilian image of the occupation, than if that soldier had been simply reported as wounded in a summary.

Hezbollah established a War Information Unit. The War Information Unit's role was to "be responsible, moreover, for waging a war of information against Israel and for recording the testaments of all combatants and future martyrs before their departure for the front."[81] Through the establishment and use of the War Information Unit, all operations were recorded and after the operation, the recording was sent to Beirut to be edited and then aired on Hezbollah's television station, al-Manar. Additionally, by having their own reporters involved in operations, Hezbollah

---

[78] Ed Blanche, "A Bizarre Yet Bloody Conflict Drags On in South Lebanon: Part One," *Jane's Intelligence Review* (September 1997): 415.

[79] Neville Bolt, David Betz and Jez Azari, *Propaganda of the Deed 2008: Understanding the Phenomenon, Whitehall Report 3-08* in *Whitehall Report Series*, ed. Dr. Terrence McNamee (London: The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, 1998), 2.

[80] Frederic M. Wehrey, "A Clash of Wills: Hizballah's Psychological Campaign Against Israel in South Lebanon," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 13, no. 3 (2002): 65.

[81] Olfa Lamloum, "Hezbollah's Media: Political History in Outline," *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 3 (2009): 357.

was able to attain video and footage that could be used to their advantage and Israel could not

deny or discredit the film. The only copies were controlled by Hezbollah. As a result, whatever

Hezbollah produced Israel and the IDF were hard-pressed in any attempt to discredit it, for

example:

> in one instance, following IDF accusations that Hizballah had killed an innocent civilian
> instead of a top SLA security man, Hizballah released videotape showing the man leaving
> his house dressed in combat gear, carrying any automatic rifle, and escorted by
> bodyguards. He is shown getting into a van that Hizballah later destroys with a roadside
> bomb.[82]

The one-sided nature of Hezbollah's combat footage also allowed Hezbollah to show

snippets of the actual action. In 1994, Hezbollah was able to infiltrate the Israeli military

compound of *Dla'at*. During this infiltration, Hezbollah was able to successfully raise their flag

on the flag post. This action was then used to symbolize Hezbollah's success against Israel and

that the Resistance would, in the end, prevail against the superior IDF. What is not included in

the use of this action is that unit was eventually driven out of *Dla'at*, thus making the notion of

Hezbollah's taking of the compound moot.[83] However, symbolically, this is a major instance of

Hezbollah being able to provide exclusive footage from actual operations that would be

broadcast repeatedly to the pleasure of supporters of the Resistance and to the displeasure of

Israeli officials attempting to sustain public support for the occupation.

In addition to the providing combat footage, Hezbollah in 2000 aired it's 'Who is Next?'

campaign. (Figure 3.1) This campaign was directly aimed at undermining military morale and

the morale of the families of members of the IDF. 'Who is Next?' showed photos of the latest

Israeli casualties, most likely provided by embedded report from the War Information

Department, and then in Hebrew, present a picture of a silhouette asking 'Who is Next?'

---

[82] Wehrey, *A Clash of Wills*, 66.

[83] Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 6.

Figure 3.1: Who's Next?[84]

The spreading of and maintenance of a message is of the utmost importance for a guerrilla movement. If the group lacks a message, it no longer has a purpose for the general population to become attached to and then which to identify. Hezbollah's message and propaganda machine is best represented by Hezbollah's television station, al-Manar. Al-Manar is crucial for the maintenance of Hezbollah's public relations campaign both domestically and internationally. Not only does this propaganda boost Hezbollah's appeal to both local and international populations, it aides in spreading the message of the evils of both Israel and the United States. After the 2000 withdrawal bumper stickers were distributed saying, "Without al-

---

[84] Image taken from *The Living Martyr: Inside the Hezbollah,* 2000, at minute 19:42. Accessed June 12, 2012. http://0-digital.films.com.lib.utep.edu/PortalViewVideo.aspx?xtid=29377#.

44

Manar, victory would have been elusive."[85] The substance of al-Manar is not agreed upon. Ron Schleifer in *Psychological Operations: A New Variation on an Age Old Art: Hezbollah versus Israel,* illustrates al-Manar as Hezbollah's PSYOP campaign,[86] Avi Jorisch in *Beacon of Hatred: Inside Hizballah's al-Manar Television*, states al-Manar's goal is to spread propaganda,[87] and Dr. Anne Marie Baylouny in *Al-Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies*, explains that programs, other than news, are quite neutral and are more akin to programs on PBS.[88]

Hezbollah became masters of the use of propaganda against Israel. Schleifer in describing Hezbollah's psychological operations against Israel points to Hezbollah as having three audiences in attacking Israel—the home audience, originally the Shi'a of southern Lebanon and would eventually include the Sunni and Christians, the enemy audience, both the Israeli civilian population and IDF, and neutrals, which included states, organizations, and individuals, essentially all those not directly involved in the conflict.[89]

Hezbollah's use of propaganda against Israel was extremely crucial for their success and is likely the most powerful Information indicator. In controlling the information sphere and how that information was displayed and projected, Hezbollah was able to use information to demoralize the Israeli population while emboldening the Arab population. Information is crucial for guerilla movements and insurgencies. If the movements can control the flow and perception

---

[85] Magda Abu Fadil, "Hezbollah TV Takes Credit for Ousting Israelis," *IPI Global Journalist 6,* no. 4 (Fourth Quarter, 2000) cited in Avi Jorisch, *Beacon of Hatred: Inside Hizballah's Al-Manar Television* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Washington, D.C., 2004), 20.

[86] Ron Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 1.

[87] Jorisch, Beacon of Hatred, 26. Jorisch also repeatedly cites al-Manar's website, stating al-Manar's primary goal is to "wage psychological warfare against the Zionist enemy."

[88] Anne Marie Baylouny, *Al-Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies,* George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Occasional Paper Series no. 2 (2006), 9.

[89] Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 7-9.

of information, then the adversaries must fight an uphill struggle to not only discredit the available information but also spin the information in a manner conducive to their goals while consistently managing criticism of the information produced. This is where Israel was substantially weak versus Hezbollah. Israel was militarily superior; however, Hezbollah was able to control the flow of information negating Israel's superiority.

3.2 Indicator 5: Maintenance of a large recruitment pool

Through the spread of information, Hezbollah has been able to maintain a large pool of potential recruits. These recruits are not all necessarily Shi'a but come from all groups within Lebanon. In 1991, Hezbollah launched a major domestic political campaign. This campaign's goal was to introduce a Hezbollah that, instead of being a fanatical, unbending, militant group aiming to establish an Islamic state in Lebanon, would be a willing participant in Lebanon post-Ta'if Agreement.[90] This process would be known as *Infitah*, Arabic for "opening up," or the more commonly known Lebanonization. In short, *Infitah* was Hezbollah's shedding of their much-feared civil war image of suicide-bombing and kidnapping fanatics into a nationalist-oriented political party that had an extensive military apparatus.

The goal of *Infitah* was to create dialogue amongst the different confessional groups in order to "rid Lebanon of its political and social problems, foster national unity, and build a stronger-united Lebanon on the common grounds of respecting human values."[91] Hezbollah dropped much of their Islamic state rhetoric found in the 1985 *Open Letter* and instead portrayed themselves as an Islamic political party that, while believing Islam to be the ultimate form of

---

[90] The Ta'if Agreement, formerly titled The Ta'if Charter of National Reconciliation, officially ended the Lebanese Civil War in 1989, however, the hostilities did not cease until 1991. As part of the Ta'if Agreement, all militias were to turn over their weapons to the Lebanese Army and destroy their training camps. Hezbollah was not required to relinquish their arms and would be officially sanctioned by the Lebanese government as a force of resistance against the Israelis.

[91] Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology*, 151.

government, adheres to the much cited "no compulsion in religion" tenet of Islam. Instead, they

would adhere and model Islam and when the entire population of Lebanon, both Muslim and

Christian, were ready for an Islamic state, then Hezbollah's dream of an Islamic Lebanon would

be fulfilled—

> We don't seek the application of Islam by force or violence but by peaceful political
> action, which gives the opportunity for the majority in any society to adopt or reject it. If
> Islam becomes the choice of the majority then we will apply it, if not, we will continue to
> coexist and discuss till we reach correct beliefs. We hereby affirm that our Islam rejects
> violence as a method to gain power, and this should be the formula for the non-Islamists
> as well.[92]

During this time is when Hezbollah gained political capital through their provision of

social services.

Another major aspect of Lebanonization was Hezbollah's declaration to strive for the

abolition of Lebanon's confessional system described in their 1992 Electoral Program as they

key reason for Lebanon's misfortunes. In 1996 as "the center of the essential flaw in the formula

of the Lebanese political system and social structure … the most dangerous thing that confronts

the state and topples its logic is politicizing the administration and linking it to political loyalties

away from the criteria of qualification and equality."[93] Historically, political power in Lebanon

was divided between the Maronite Christian, Greek Orthodox, Sunnis, Shi'a, and the Druze.[94]

Positions of power were allotted based on religion for example, the Presidency would be

Maronite, the Prime Minister would be Sunni, and the President of the National Assembly would

be Shi'a and a constant 6:5 ratio between Christian and Muslim members of parliament.

Eventually, the Shi'a would come to be the majority sect within Lebanon but did not have a

---

[92]Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology*, 243.

[93] Alagha, 256.

[94] Maronism is branch of the Eastern Catholic Church.

proportional increase in political power. This sectarian system was blamed for the outbreak of the civil war in 1975.

As a major step to implementing *Infitah,* Hezbollah made peace with the Christian sects within Lebanon. The most significant event was Hezbollah's meeting with the Maronite Patriarch. In the 1985 *Open Letter*, Hezbollah's original manifesto, there is extensive condemnation of the leaders and the acts committed by the Phalangists, the Lebanese Front, and the Lebanese Forces. These are all varying names for political Maronism. The Kataeb party, also known as Lebanese Phalanges, was established in 1936 and played a major role in securing Lebanon's independence from the French mandate in 1943. Ideologically, the party saw Lebanon as a refuge "for the oppressed minorities of the Arab East and struggled for preserving Lebanon as a liberal outlet where Eastern Christianity can socially, politically, and economically flourish in peace with its surroundings."[95] As a result, the Phalanges were seen as the founders and sustainers of the confessional system that greatly favored the Maronite Christians over the Muslim populations. In addition to being the founders of Lebanon's confessional system, there also existed an underlying philosophy of what Lebanon should be:

> (1) The exclusive Maronite identity of Lebanon has been established for thousands of years.
> (2) Xenophobic nationalism: 'We are the Christian Lebanese nation, and the others do not belong.' Since Lebanon is the nation-state of the Maronites, the Muslims are considered foreigners and should be deported.
> (3) Maronite Christian supremacy: The Lebanese populace is Maronite and the word "Maronite" means Lebanese. Thus, the Lebanese are Maronites, and Lebanon and the Maronites is one and the same thing.
> (4) The Maronite history does not mention Islam as such, rather it refers to the "Arab conquest" stressing the need to liberate Lebanon from Muslim presence and transform it into a Maronite nation-state. Since the Arabic language is the language of the Muslim conquerors, the Maronites have called for its abolishment and its replacement with Latin script.

---

[95] The Kataeb Party. "History of the Lebanese Phalanges," The Lebanese Phalanges, accessed July 12, 2012, http://www.kataebonline.org/history.html.

(5) The coalescence among the Maronites, "crusaders", and "Zionists" as a means of empowerment by reliance on the West and its tutelage.[96]

Though Hezbollah included a specific section in their *Open Letter* titled "Words to the Christians in Lebanon," in which the organization explains that as long as Christians respect Muslims and vice versa there is no reason for not having a peaceful coexistence and Hezbollah does not aim to compel Christians to convert to Islam, it would not be considered irrational that after 32 years of political dominance and 15 years of civil war, anyone associated with Maronism would be skeptical about a peaceful coexistence with the only group that was allowed to keep their weapons. This is why Hezbollah meeting with the Maronite Patriarch was such a major step in reconciliation between the two groups. The Patriarch would eventually state that the Islamic Resistance has the right to liberate occupied Lebanese areas and he had great confidence in the Islamic Resistance and how the Resistance planned to secure the liberation.[97]

Furthermore, Hezbollah succeeded in securing the military support from all the confessions. On November 3, 1997, special combat units were created that were open to all Lebanese men, regardless of their religious affiliation. These units were labeled the Multi-confessional Lebanese Brigades or The Lebanese Brigade for Resisting Occupation. As Hezbollah's Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem explains: "the Party took an extraordinary step in accommodation of those young individuals who aspired to resisting occupation but who were not firm believers in the Party's ideological and cultural background, despite their belief in Hizbullah's qualifications to lead resistance activity." [98] An even bigger change was that the families of these fighters would be provided for should they be killed—a house, education,

---

[96] Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology*, 123.

[97] Alagha, The Shifts In Hizbullah's Ideology, 157.

[98] Qassem, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within,* 217-219 and Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology*, 169.

49

medical care, and a stipend of $350 or more. The same benefits received by regular, Shi'a members of the Islamic Resistance.

Infitah or Lebanonization was a crucial part of Hezbollah's greater political and informational operations in the aftermath of the civil war. In redefining themselves as a national movement, not just a Shi'a movement, and focusing on using information to build ties with the other confessional groups across Lebanon. In radically changing their public perception, Hezbollah opened themselves to the benefits of not only having general public support, but having the potential for a large recruitment pool. A large recruitment pool provides Hezbollah with legions of potential recruits or sources of support. Additionally, the large recruitment pool is not exclusively from the Lebanese Shi'a but from Christians and other confessions. This then provides a broader range of physical support and financial support from the other confessions.

3.3 Indicator 6: Provision of social services

As an active way of spreading the benefits and cause of Hezbollah, the group extensively provides social services to the population of south Lebanon. SWET (sewage, water, electricity, trash) were the main services originally provided by Hezbollah. In reference to waste disposal, Hezbollah, between 1988 and 1991, removed 65 tons a day from the southern Beirut suburbs - an area with a population of half a million. Water was provided, free of charge, for families within southern Beirut. Overall, the main focus of Hezbollah's social services were to provide "… vocational training, providing villages with water, electricity, and sewage utilities, working towards the creation of health centres and infirmaries, construction and restoration of educational institutions, cultural clubs, mosques and homes for needy families or martyrs' relations."[99] As the organization grew, it provided hospitals, schools, scholarships, construction, and financial

---

[99] Qassem, *Hizballah: The Story from Within*, 161-162.

support for the families of fallen fighters. By providing these services, which the state cannot,

Hezbollah engenders itself among the population. Therefore, not only does Hezbollah represent

an armed struggle for Lebanon's physical security, it also represents a diligent provider for the

well-being of all peoples seeking succor. Shawn Teresa Flanigan sums up Hezbollah's benefits

of providing social services:

> Given the high reliance on nonprofit service providers in the developing world, as well as
> the frequency of service provision by a single organization, insurgent organizations
> providing health and social services can have substantial influence on those receiving
> services. When a service recipient is dependent on one particular organization for aid, the
> recipient lacks the power and liberty to accept or decline services or question a service
> provider's demands.[100]

There are three main units and multiple sub-units in Hezbollah's service organization. The main

units are the Social Unit, the Islamic Health Unit, and the Education Unit.

The Social Unit is comprised of four sub-units: Jihad al-Binaa Association founded in

1988 provides construction services and access to utilities to populations located in south

Lebanon, the Bekaa Valley, and south Beirut. For example, in the aftermath of Grapes of Wrath

in 1996, Hezbollah was able, in two months, to rebuild 5,000 homes in 82 villages, repaired

roads and infrastructure, and paid compensation to 2,300 farmers.[101] The Martyr's Foundation

founded in 1982, provides for the families of martyrs, detainees, resistance fighters, and

civilians. The Martyr's Foundation provides housing, work opportunities, youth employment,

and support for widows. The Foundation for the Wounded founded in 1990, gives support to

those injured or disabled as the result of Israeli attack. Support comes in the form of monthly

payments, housing services, education, counseling, support groups, and runs two rehabilitation

---

[100] Shawn Teresa Flanigan, "Nonprofit Service Provision by Insurgent Organizations: The Cases of Hizballah and the Tamil Tigers," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31, no. 6 (2008): 502.

[101] Shawn Teresa Flanigan and Mounah Abdel-Samad, "Hezbollah's Social Jihad: Nonprofits as Resistance Organizations," *Middle East Policy* XVI, no.2 (Summer 2009): 127.

centers. The final sub-unit of the Social Unit is the Khomeini Support Committee created in 1982 after the Israeli invasion. The Khomeini Support Committee provides monthly payments, food coupons and rations, household necessities, clothes, health care, and education to the poor and needy families that were directly affected by the occupation or Israeli attack.[102]

The Islamic Health Unit does not have sub-units like the Social Unit. It provides various health care services. These services include hospitals, dispensaries, mobile dispensaries, dental clinics, and civil defense centers. As of the year 2000, over 400,000 people receive services from the Islamic Health Unit. The Education Unit also does not include sub-units. The Education Unit provides scholarships and financial aid to students. From 1996-2001, Hezbollah spent $14,215,000 on these financial aid and scholarship packages, between 2000-2001, $3,569,408 was spent and 23,000 students were sent to school as a result of that money.[103] Besides scholarships and financial aid, the Education Unit also runs various schools including primary and secondary schools, at lower cost than other private schools, as well as technical universities and religious institutes.[104] As a result of the Social Unit, Hezbollah provides the necessities of life, engendering them to Hezbollah, which translates into loyalty to Hezbollah. This loyalty comes in multiple forms including a large pool of recruits into the Islamic Resistance, political loyalty giving Hezbollah more power within the Lebanese government, or financial support.

Hezbollah provision of social services is a major aspect in Hezbollah's spread of information. In providing both their native population and any one from any group a range of

---

[102] Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizballah*, 51-52.

[103] Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizballah*, 54-56.

[104] Primary and secondary schools found in Flanigan and Abdel-Samad, "Hezbollah's Social Jihad," 126. Technical and religious institutes found in Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizballah*, 57.

services, Hezbollah has replaced the state as the main provider of services. As a replacement for

the state, Hezbollah then becomes the recipient of populations' loyalty not the state. As a result,

Hezbollah is thanked for keeping families alive or providing educations to family members of

fallen fighters—a service most states could not provide.

Section 4: Military

While Hezbollah is an official Lebanese political party, with seats in the Lebanese Parliament and major part of the opposition bloc, Hezbollah has and maintains a military wing, the Islamic Resistance (*al-muqawama al-islamiya*). The Islamic Resistance is responsible for all military actions conducted by Hezbollah—raids, bombings, rocket attacks, etc. As a mode of war, irregular warfare contains a heavy military element. However, the military aspect of irregular warfare is not and does not have to be kept to operations and engagements against enemy military forces. This section will analyze three military indicators of success: military armament, tactics, and safe havens. Military armament will discuss and present examples of Hezbollah's military armament. Tactics will explain Hezbollah's military tactics, operations, and overall strategy. Finally, safe haven will delve into Hezbollah's access to a crucial need of guerilla organizations, a safe haven.

4.1 Indicator 7: Military Armament

The military armaments of Hezbollah are a mixture of classic guerrilla/irregular arms and more advanced conventional arms. In the realm of classic irregular arms, Hezbollah extensively uses small arms and light weapons. However, due to aide from both Syria and Iran, Hezbollah has access to explosives ordinance in the form of bomb-making materials and rocket and mortar-based artillery. There exists strong evidence that Hezbollah's use of explosives and artillery play a major role in their fighting against Israel. These weapons did not take a physical toll on IDF forces. Although IDF casualties did occur, the threat of these weapons had the greater effect.

Bombs: Hezbollah made extensive use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Based on data taken from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), out of 366 incidents of Hezbollah terrorism, 246 incidents of violence directed against Israeli forces or civilians were conducted through the use of explosives. These IEDs would be placed along patrol routes and would be

either used as the opening of an assault on patrols or simply detonated to cause as much damage as possible. The IEDs would be disguised as rocks. In a naturally rocky area, this provided an effective means of camouflage. It was also incredibly cost effective—the hollow foam rocks could be acquired at any garden store in Lebanon for around $15.[105] Originally, the IEDs were detonated by wire, so the detonator had to be close. This was doubly risky as it required Hezbollah fighters to infiltrate, plant the bomb, and wait for a target to approach. Israel's countermeasure was to equip vehicles with wire-cutting attachments. When wired bombs lost their advantage, radio detonators were used. When the IDF realized radio detonators were being used and neutralized this advantage, Hezbollah moved on to cell phones, then a double cell phone, then finally a photocell detonator which is the type of sensor used for automatic doors.[106]

Another sophisticated IED method used by Hezbollah is what journalist Nicholas Blanford refers to as "seven minute" bombs.[107] A "seven minute" bomb is actually a set of IEDs. When the first IED detonated, it would trigger a seven minute timer in the second. The idea was that within seven minutes, the IDF or SLA patrol hit by the first IED would have recovered and began treating the wounded and then would get hit again by the second IED. Another tactic with these bombs was to place a decoy IED where it would be easily detected. As the first IED was being disarmed, a nearby, more hidden bomb would detonate.[108]

---

[105] John Kifner, "In the 1990s, Shadows Waged War," *The New York Times,* July 26, 2006.

[106] Steven Erlanger and Richard A. Oppel, Jr., "A Disciplined Hezbollah Surprises Israel With Its Training, Tactics and Weapons," *The New York Times*, August 7, 2006, accessed June 30, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07hezbollah.html.

[107] Nicholas Blanford, *Warriors of God: Inside Hezbollah's Thirty-Year Struggle Against Israel* (New York: Random House, 2011), 129.

[108] Blanford, *Warriors of God*, 130. Major Christopher Whitting also describes this particular IED tactic. He does not discuss the use of linked timers, but he does describe that the first IED would be used to drive forces into a secondary kill zone or the second IED would be detonated upon the arrival of a rescue party. See Major Christopher E. Whitting, "When David Becomes Goliath" (master's thesis, U.S. Army General Command and Staff College, 2001), 84.

Artillery: Hezbollah's other major armament is their varied supply of artillery rockets. Hezbollah's most famous artillery weapons are their BM-21 Grad rockets, more commonly known as Katyusha rockets, acquired from both Iran and Syria.[109] The other is Hezbollah's 81 mm and 121 mm mortars.[110] Prior to the 2000 withdrawal and during the 2006 war, Hezbollah launched thousands of rockets. These rockets were originally 107mm or 122mm short-range Katyusha rockets with an effective range of 5 miles. The 107mm rockets, in two variations, are able to be launched by individuals (Figure 4.1) or from the 144 Haseb-type mobile, multi-barrel rocket launcher system provided by Iran.[111] Hezbollah initially, used the individual launch variety, allowing for fighters to set-up, launch, and retreat before Israeli counter-attacks can be launched. In addition, the 122mm rockets have an effective range of 12 miles and, like the 107mm, are either portable by individuals or launched from multi-barrel rocket launcher systems, however, the 122mm go further and have larger warheads.

Figure 4.1: Single Katyusha Rockets[112]

---

[109] Katyusha (Russian for "little Kate") is a generic term for a range of artillery rockets from the former Soviet Union or other nations. Katyusha rockets are generally short-ranged and unguided used for bulk rather than accuracy.

[110] Ed Blanche, "A Bizarre yet Bloody Conflict Drags on in Southern Lebanon," *Jane's Intelligence Review,* (October 2007): 459.

[111] Patrick Devenny, "Hezbollah's Strategic Threat to Israel," *Middle East Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 1, accessed June 12, 2012, http://www.meforum.org/806/hezbollahs-startegic-threat-to-israel.

[112] The Velvet Rocket Online Magazine, "The Lebanon of Hezbollah," accessed June 14, 2012, http://thevelvetrocket.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/hezbollah-firing-rockets.jpg.

The 107mm and 122mm rockets are old staples of Hezbollah's armament. After the 2000 withdrawal, Hezbollah began being supplied with the 240mm, 26 mile, 110 lbs. payload Fajr-3 and the 333mm, 46 mile, 385 lbs. payload Fajr-5, unlike the smaller Katyushas, the Fajrs are solely launched from vehicle based systems. Bigger than the Fajr-5 is the Zelzal-2 SRBM (short-range ballistic missile). The Zelzal-2 has a range of 186 miles and carries a 1322 lbs. payload. These Zelzals were delivered to the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corp (IRGC) units in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. There is a possibility that the Zelzal system was beyond Hezbollah fighters' ability and required actual IRGC oversight.[113] In addition, Table 4.1 (page 78) shows what weapons were used during the July War. As illustrated by the table, Hezbollah not only had multiple sizes of artillery rockets, but they also had multiple anti-tank weapons, unmanned aerial vehicles, and even shore-to-ship weapons, which was used to cripple the *INS Hanit*, an Israeli corvette. Andrew Exum in *Hezbollah at War: A Military Assessment,* states that Hezbollah fighters used the AT-3 Sagger to attack almost all types of targets - tanks, infantry, structures, and any vehicles Israel used in its attack.[114]

Hezbollah's armaments are the weakest indicator of Hezbollah's military strategy. While weapons are required for warfare, the direct impact of Hezbollah's armaments was not as powerful as the indirect threat of these armaments. The psychological effect derived from hidden explosives and the potential for rockets to rain down on cities had a greater impact than the destructive capability of Hezbollah's weapons. As stated above, the IDF only lost 200 soldiers, however, the impact on morale was of greater consequence. In actual use, Hezbollah's rockets were highly inaccurate. During Operations Accountability, Grapes of Wrath, and the Summer War, when Hezbollah perpetually launched rockets, only 45 Israeli civilians were killed

---

[113] "Hizballah Rockets," Global Security.org, accessed June 15, 2012, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hizballah-rockets.html.
[114] Andrew Exum, "Hizbollah at War: A Military Assessment," *Policy Focus 63* (December 2006): 6.

compared to over 2,000 Lebanese civilians.[115] However, the rockets mere presence was enough to affect Israeli public opinion. Hezbollah's more advanced systems, the Zelzal and Fajrs, did not see much use. However, the fact that Hezbollah has access to rockets that can reach further into Israel than in earlier years was more effective than the actual use. The C-308 shore-to-ship missile was only used once and did not even sink the *INS Hanit,* however, the simple fact Hezbollah had access to this weapon was enough for the Israeli to push their ships further away from the coast. Hezbollah could probably have had as much success simply through the use of IEDs and raids, their rocket capabilities were just an added bonus. The Afghan Taliban and the Iraqi insurgency have had great success on shaping American opinion without the use of or access to rockets just by using IEDs and guerilla tactics.

4.2 Indicator 8: Tactics and Operations

Hezbollah's tactics and operations are a major part of their irregular warfare strategy against Israel—a war of attrition. This was not a novel strategy to use against Israel; Anwar Sadat planned the use of an attrition strategy for the conduct of the 1973 Arab-Israeli "Yom Kippur" War:

> To challenge the Israeli Security Theory by carrying out a military action according to the capabilities of the armed forces *aimed at inflicting the heaviest losses on the enemy* and convincing him that continued occupation of our land exacts a price too high for him, and that consequently his theory of security—based as it is on psychological, political, and military intimidation—is not an impregnable shield of steel which could protect him today or in the future.[116]

---

[115] Numbers compiled from Human Rights Watch reports – *Civilian Pawns: Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border,* 1996, http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1996/Israel.htm; *"Operation Grapes of Wrath": The Civilian Victims*, September 1, 1997, http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/09/01/operation-grapes-wrath; *Civilians Under Assault: Hezbollah's Rocket Attacks on Israel in the 2006 War,* August, 29, 2007, http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/08/28/civilians-under-assault; *Why They Died: Civilian Casualties in Lebanon during the 2006 War,* September 6, 2007, http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/09/05/why-they-died-0, all accessed June 16, 2012.
[116] George W. Gawrych, *The 1973 Arab-Israeli War: The Albatross of Decisive Victory,* Leavenworth Papers no. 21 (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute, 1996), 12.

Unfortunately for Sadat, the war did not go as planned, after initial victories, Egypt and

Syria were pushed out of acquired territory and cease-fires were signed. However, the Yom

Kippur War did succeed in breaking the Israeli Security Theory, an Egyptian label for Israel's

confidence that the IDF could deter any Arab attempts to acquire lost territory through military

actions. Israel's spectacular success in the Six-Day War generated a national pride in the IDFs

ability to defend Israel, therefore, Israel could always engage in diplomatic matters from a

position of power.[117] In three weeks of combat, 2,800 soldiers had been killed, 7,500 had been

wounded and 500 were prisoners of war.[118] As a result of the war, an official investigation was

launched to find out why Israel and the IDF had been so unprepared which led to higher-than-

acceptable casualties.   The findings resulted in the dismissal of multiple high-ranking officers

and even the resignation of, then Prime Minister, Golda Meir in 1974.[119] Overall, the surprise

attack and the affliction of higher numbers of casualties than acceptable to Israelis, Sadat did

succeed in bringing to light Israel's weakness, in a state with a small population, avoidable

deaths matter.

The impact of avoidable deaths and unacceptably high casualties had on Israel's domestic

politics, whether understood by Hezbollah's founding leadership or taught to them by Iran,

Hezbollah would implement and utilize Sadat's strategy with a vengeance. Hezbollah's

understanding of this effect on Israel is reflected in Naim Qassem's statement that: "when an

Israeli soldier is killed, senior Israeli officials begin crying over his death…Their point of

---

[117] Gawrych, *The 1973 Arab-Israeli War: The Albatross of Decisive Victory*, 11

[118] Gawrych, *The 1973 Arab-Israeli War: The Albatross of Decisive Victory*, 76; Gawrych continues by explaining that Israel's losses compared to their population of three million would have been the equivalent of the United States losing 200,000 soldiers in the Vietnam War— four times the actual number of losses.

[119] Gawrych, *The 1973 Arab-Israeli War: The Albatross of Decisive Victory*, 77-78.

departure is preservation of life, while our point of departure is preservation of principle and sacrifice. What is the value of a life of humiliation?"[120]

Hezbollah's actions against Israeli soldiers were two-fold: to inflict physical damage to the Israeli occupation force and as a result of these attacks, decrease morale in the military and more importantly in the Israeli population. These goals were carried out through Hezbollah's overall strategy intended to undermine the Israel forces' sense of security. Qassem describes a successful resistance operation as "that achieved the wounding, death or expulsion of the post's occupiers, and not necessarily one that resulted in reclamation of the target post."[121]

4.2.1 Operational Doctrine

Hezbollah's battlefield doctrine recreated and labeled as "13 Principles of Warfare," by the *Jerusalem Report* was published on March 21, 1996:

1. Avoid the strong, attack the weak - attack and withdraw!
2. Protecting our fighters is more important than causing enemy casualties!
3. Strike only when success is assured!
4. Surprise is essential to success. If you are spotted, you've failed!
5. Don't get into a set-piece battle. Slip away like smoke, before the enemy can drive home his advantage!
6. Attaining the goal demands patience, in order to discover the enemy's weak points!
7. Keep moving, avoid formation of a front line!
8. Keep the enemy on constant alert, at the front and in the rear!
9. The road to the great victory passes through thousands of small victories!
10. Keep up the morale of the fighters, avoid notions of the enemy's superiority!
11. The media has innumerable guns, whose hits are like bullets. Use them in the battle!
12. The population is a treasure - nurture it!
13. Hurt the enemy, and then stop before he abandons restraint![122]

The use of these principles gave Hezbollah an advantage over the cumbersome, conventional Israeli military. These principles show the true depth of how Hezbollah understands the conduct of irregular warfare - their military strength would manifest through prolonged engagement.

---

[120] As quoted in Clive Jones, "Israeli Counterinsurgency Strategy and the War in South Lebanon 1985-1997," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 8, no. 3 (1997):89.

[121] Qassem, 142.

[122] Ehud Ya'ari, "Hizballah: 13 Principles of Warfare," *The Jerusalem Report*. March 21, 1996.

Hezbollah even adhered to both Lawrence and Mao's principles, from Lawrence's thesis - mobility (Principles 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13), time (Principles 6 and 9), protection of fighters (Principles 2, 5, 7), and loyalty of the population (Principle 12). Due to technological advancements, Principle 11—the use of the media as a weapon, would fit precisely in both Lawrence and Mao's ideas of conducting irregular warfare. In a 2006 *New York Times* interview, Hezbollah's commander in the south, Sheik Nabil Qaouk stated: "By limiting the firing, we were able to keep the cards in our hands…We were able to do small, little battles where we had the advantage."[123]

Ultimately, this doctrine allowed Hezbollah to achieve four objectives, in Qassem's opinion: 1) through unpredictable attacks, Israeli forces were forced to be on high states of alert for extended periods of time leading to fatigue and a decrease in overall combat effectiveness; 2) the ever-present threat of attack drained troop morale and also decreased combat effectiveness; 3) Hezbollah attacks limited the ability for Israeli forces to expand into new territory by ensuring already occupied territory was not safe; 4) the eventual reclamation of Lebanese lands from Israeli forces.[124]

4.2.2 Unit Organization and Operational Security

The majority of Hezbollah fighters are civilians with civilian jobs, though all fighters are given the same basic training. This training is divided into four sections: hand-to-hand combat, marksmanship, medical support, and weaponry. A recruit's strengths and weaknesses during training determine which of four combat groupings they are assigned. The groups are: martyrs, those willing to execute suicide operations; commandos or special forces, which contains fighters that have been distinguished in their knowledge and execution of guerilla warfare; rocket launcher operators, these fighters have experience in all weapons systems, especially surface-to-

---

[123] Kifner, "In 1990's, Shadows Waged War."

[124] Qassem, 142-143.

surface and surface-to-air rockets and mortars; and the final grouping is for regular fighters, who mainly perform surveillance, logistics, and medical support, but, if required, conduct attacks.[125]

Hezbollah uses a decentralized cell-based combat structure. Combat groups operate independently from one another, unless an operation needs to combine groups, and the identities of members of combat groups are kept secret from one another. This allows not only for the quick and easy retreat of fighters, but if captured fighters do not have information on other combat groups or the operational activities of other groups. Not all fighters are full-time. In the varying estimation of Hezbollah's troop strength, only hundreds are full-time as opposed to the estimated thousands that are part-time or reservists. This structure also permits fighters to disperse once an operation has been complete, effectively halting any chance the IDF had of capturing individuals. The rank and file Hezbollah fighters are not involved with the operational planning. Operational planning is conducted by a small cadre and this cadre only consists of those directly involved with planning and execution of operations, limiting the possibility of the leaking of operational details.

4.2.3 The "Rules of the Game"

A series of "rules" had emerged between Hezbollah and Israel. When Hassan Nasrallah became Secretary-General in 1992 after his predecessor Abbas al-Musawi was assassinated, Nasrallah laid out a very specific policy: if Lebanese civilian targets are hit by Israel, Hezbollah will hit Israel.[126] Hezbollah's only long-range capability came from their initial Katyusha rockets, thus if Israel hit civilians within Lebanon, Hezbollah would hit Israeli civilians with their rockets. This strategy was particularly useful as Hezbollah fighters would attack IDF or

---

[125] Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 71.

[126] Augustus Richard Norton, "Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 2000): 29.

SLA personnel, Israel would retaliate against civilian areas, harming civilians, which would then cause Hezbollah to retaliate against Israeli forces. This basically created a retaliation cycle between Hezbollah and the IDF.

The initial rules were in effect until the Israel commencement of two punitive campaigns, Operation Accountability in July 1993 and Operation Grapes of Wrath in April 1996. Both campaigns were meant to put pressure on the Lebanese and Syrian governments to reign in Hezbollah. Accountability was ended with an unwritten, oral agreement brokered by, then Secretary of State, Warren Christopher. In this oral agreement, Israel would not attack civilian targets in Lebanon and Hezbollah would not fire rockets into northern Israel.[127] Operation Grapes of Wrath ended with the written, but unsigned April Understanding. The agreement prohibited Hezbollah from launching attacks against Israel, Israel would not target civilians or civilian targets in Lebanon, civilian areas and infrastructure cannot be used to launch attacks, and a monitoring group consisting of the US, France, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel would be established to ensure adherence to the Understanding.[128] Nowhere in either agreement was attacking Israel soldiers within the security zone prohibited. The addition of an international monitoring group gave, de facto, legitimacy of the "rules." Violations did occur on both sides, but Hezbollah seemed to have become the better of the two in conducting effective operations within the "rules," reducing the casualty ratio of Hezbollah to IDF/SLA from 5:1 to 2:1 in 1995.[129] An Israeli spokesman even discussed Israeli casualties in Lebanon as being "within the rules."[130]

[127] "Operation Accountability," Globalsecurity.org, accessed July 1, 2012, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/lebanon-accountability.htm

[128] *The Israeli-Lebanese Ceasefire Understanding*, April 26, 1996, accessed June 29, 2012, http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/Israel-Lebanon+Ceasefire+Understanding.htm.

[129] Norton, "Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon," 30.

It is highly likely that the 13 Principles were developed as a result the "rules" as, at least, the

public release date of the 13 Principles came one month before Operation Grapes of Wrath.

4.2.4 Martyrdom Operations

Martyrdom operations, more commonly known as suicide terrorism, were an initial

mainstay of Hezbollah's early strategy. Most suicide operations were conducting during the

Lebanese Civil War period from 1982-1990. Ami Pedahzur counts 34 suicide operations from

1982 to 1988 with a total of 745 fatalities and 761 wounded.[131] Operations were conducted

against multiple forces within Lebanon. Some operations were conducted to shock foreign

military forces into leaving Lebanon and others were to inflict damage against Israel. The most

famous examples from this period include the very first suicide bombing, the November 11th,

1982 suicide truck bomb that exploded at the Israeli military headquarters in Tyre; [132] the April

1983 suicide bombing of the US embassy in Lebanon; and the October 1983 attacks on both the

US Marine barracks and French barracks in Beirut, which resulted in the combined withdrawal

of US and French peacekeeping forces from Lebanon. After 1990, Hezbollah conducted two

suicide operations that demonstrated the global reach of the organization and more potently, that

no matter Israel's defense program along the border, Hezbollah could potentially strike anywhere

Israelis live. These two attacks were the 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires,

Argentina and, also in Argentina, the 1994 bombing of a Jewish community center.

---

[130] Norton, "Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon," 29.

[131] Ami Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism* (Malden: Polity Press, 2005), 241-242. These numbers were counted from the appendix found within the publication. By observing the data found in this table, there is a significant and noticeable drop in suicide operations attributed to Hezbollah after 1988, Pedahzur records only three suicide operations between 1988 and 2005.

[132] This attack was not initially acknowledged by Hezbollah in order to protect the perpetrators family and the emerging leadership of Hezbollah. It was later revealed on May 19, 1985, that Hezbollah had orchestrated the attack. Every November 11th is now celebrated as "Martyr's Day." See Blanford, *Warriors of God,* 107.

The decline in suicide operations is attributed to the ending of the Lebanese Civil War and Hezbollah's entrance into the Lebanese democratic process and elections.[133] At this point, operationally, Hezbollah shifted into more of a guerilla warfare organization. The change from terrorism to guerilla operations helped legitimize the resistance efforts. The resistance operations would be attributed to the use of arms and the fighting spirit of Hezbollah, not the incredibly violent and shocking effect of the use of suicide operations. This is not to say suicide operations are not conducted, but they are used sparingly and only under certain circumstances.

4.2.5 Kidnappings

Another operational tool of Hezbollah is the use of kidnapping. Kidnappings were, like suicide operations, more prevalent and more intensely covered during the civil war period. Kidnappings during this period also served the same purpose of the suicide operations—to shock the civilian population of interfering countries. In this time period 17 Americans, 15 Frenchmen, 14 Britons, 7 Swiss, 7 West Germans, and 27 others from various states were kidnapped.[134] Post-civil war kidnappings seem to have taken a more hostage-ransom aspect. IDF or SLA (South Lebanon Army) soldiers would be kidnapped in exchange for the release of Palestinian or Hezbollah fighters.[135] It should also be noted that the kidnappings do not always result in the trade of living IDF personnel. Hezbollah has kidnapped and killed IDF personal and held their

---

[133] At this time, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah became Secretary-General and began the process of *Infitah* or "opening up." *Infitah* was Nasrallah's plan to assuage the fears of the other confessional groups that Hezbollah was to be feared only by Israel, not the Lebanese population. For assessments of Hezbollah's shifting ideology see Wiegand, "Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party," and Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizballah's Ideology.*

[134] Found in Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 85, cited from Hala Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1997), 113.

[135] The South Lebanon Army was a mainly Christian (it contained other Lebanese confessional groups) militia in southern Lebanon. The SLA received funding and support from Israel and manned a significant number of IDF observation posts in southern Lebanon. See Norton, "Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon" and Qassem, *Hizballah: The Story from Within*.

bodies for ransom. The assumption is that the families of the killed soldiers would put pressure on the government to make a deal so they can bury their family members in a timely fashion, as per Jewish tradition. This mode of kidnapping was the catalyst for the outbreak of war between Israel and Hezbollah in the July 2006. The use of kidnapping adds to the IDF sense of unease as not only could there be impending fire fights, but the soldiers could be kidnapped and either kept alive until demands are met or they are executed and their corpses are used as a bargaining tool.

4.2.6 The 2006 Israel-Hezbollah War

The 2006 War saw a marked difference in Hezbollah's military strategy. Hezbollah was to engage in a defensive war. After Prime Minister Ehud Olmert laid out Israel's goals for the war— destroy Hezbollah, cease the rocket attacks into northern Israel, and free the two captured soldiers, Hezbollah's objective was to simply prevent Israel from achieving these objectives by enduring, ensuring sustainability of rocket attacks, and to inflict as high a cost as possible on the IDF forces.[136] In his May 25, 2000 victory speech, Nasrallah declared "'Israel' which owns nuclear weapons and the strongest war aircraft in the region, is feebler than a spider's web."[137] Nasrallah seeing the impact Hezbollah's war of attrition had on Israel society and having observed the Israeli conduct of Operations Accountability and Grapes of Wrath, Nasrallah understood that when it came to major Israeli retaliatory action, Israel would focus mainly on precision air-strikes and not risk the lives of soldiers.[138]

---

[136] Exum, "Hizballah at War," 8. See also David Hirst, *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East* (New York: Nation Books, 2010); Patrick Porter, *Military Orientalism – Eastern War through Western Eyes.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); and Anthony H. Cordesman's lecture "The Lessons of the Israeli-Lebanon War." Center for Strategy and International Studies, March 11, 2008.

[137] Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, "Full Speech of Secretary General of Hizbullah, His Eminence Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, during the Festival of Victory in Bint Jbeil City on May 26, 2000," accessed July 2, 2012, http://www.english.moqawama.org/essaydetails.php?eid=14178&cid=322.

[138] Matt M. Matthews, *We Were Caught Unprepared: The 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli War,* The Long War Series Occasional Paper 26 (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2008), 16-17.

Soon after the Israeli pullout, Hezbollah began building extensive tunnel and bunker networks (Figure 4.2) in preparation for this defensive war. These networks were established as stationary rocket launcher positions. The bunkers would provide cover and protection from Israeli strikes. Andrew Exum on his visit to the area saw "in one spot, south of Naqoura and within view of both the Mediterranean and the Israeli border, a Hizballah position with eighteen inches of concrete overhead cover had been built a mere 20 meters from a UNIFIL position and just 100 meters from an IDF position."[139] The bunker system included electrical wiring, reinforced concrete firing positions, water, food, and ammo, enough to maintain a functional bunker for extended periods of time.[140]
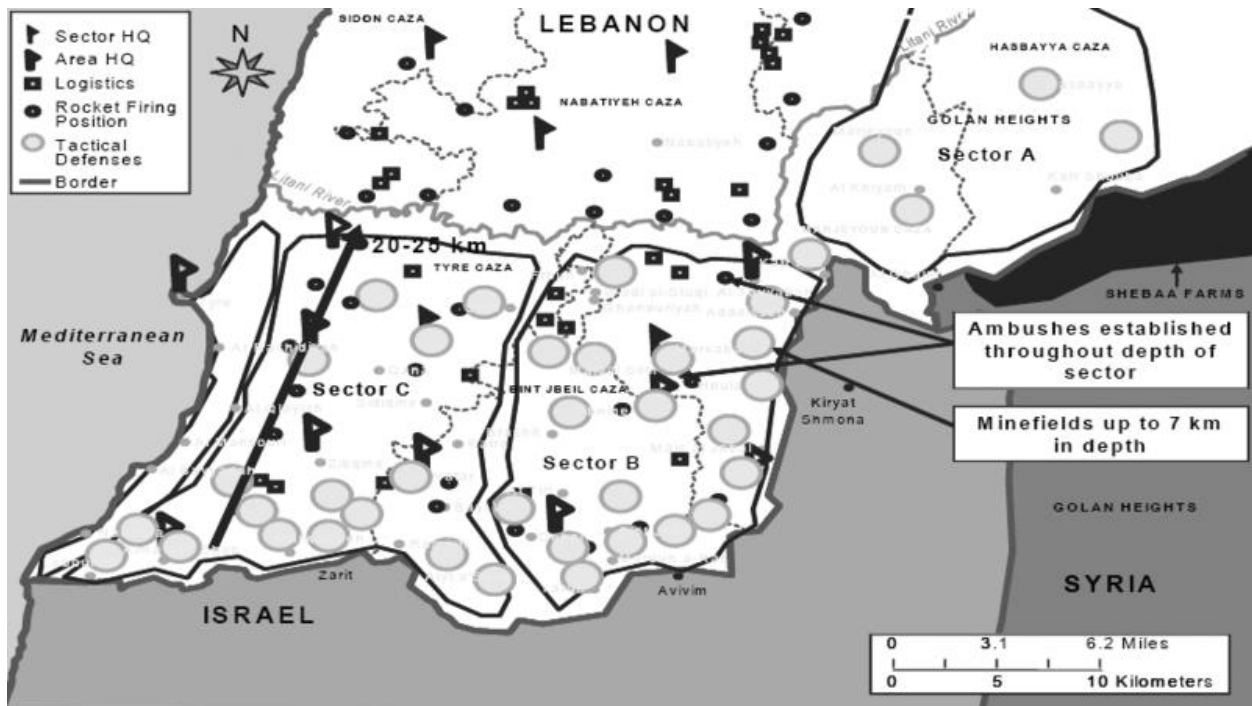

Figure 4.2: Hezbollah Defensive System[141]

---

[139] Exum, "Hizballah at War," 3

[140] Exum, "Hizballah at War," 3

[141] Image taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hezbolladefenseslebanon.png, found in Matthews, *We Were Caught Unprepared: The 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli War,* 20, accessed July 8, 2012.

At Maroun al-Ras, where the Israelis attempted to establish a foothold, Israeli forces encountered fierce resistance. The Israelis established control during the day, but the next morning they were completely surrounded by Hezbollah fighters. The area around Maroun al-Ras had an extensive bunker and tunnel network, which one Israeli infantryman said was "… more than 25 feet deep and contained a network of tunnels linking several large storage rooms and multiple entrances and exits. He said it was equipped with a camera at the entrance, linked to a monitor below to help Hezbollah fighters ambush Israeli soldiers."[142] Hezbollah's military strategy had entered into a new unique grey area—they are an irregular force that began utilizing very regular strategies and weapons. That is not to say the completely abandoned their 13 Principles, as mentioned earlier, they still kept the loyalty of the population which permitted the establishment of bunkers and weapon caches throughout the area.

Hezbollah did not necessarily have an established front line, thus there was never a definitive push back in any kind of retreat, however, fighters would stop fighting but not necessarily vacate the battlefield. Timur Goksul, former spokesman for and senior adviser to UNIFIL, commented, "For a guy fighting in Ayta ash Shab (Aita al-Shaab), 'withdrawal' means going home, putting your AK-47 under the bed and changing your clothes."[143]

Stephen Biddle and Jeffrey A. Friedman in *The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy* explain that Hezbollah, instead of uniformly attempting to hold the front, actually allowed swaths of territory to be taken without resistance, but some areas would be defended in hours long firefights which did not end until

---

[142] Matthews, *We Were Caught Unprepared: The 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli War,* 51.

[143] Exum, "Hizbullah at War," 11

every last fighter was killed, a tactic unheard of for a guerilla force.[144]   This tactical decision

may, in fact, be based off Hezbollah's strategic choice on how to stop the Israelis—the

uninterrupted launching of short-range rockets.

The Israeli Air Force (IAF) had successfully either destroyed or negated Hezbollah's

longer range missiles. This left only the short range rockets capable of putting pressure on the

Israelis as a result the established rocket bunkers had to be defending long enough for rockets to

land and built political pressure within and outside Israel, thus Hezbollah had to adapt non-

guerilla tactics in order to hold out long enough.[145]   Interestingly, in August 2007, Nasrallah

admitted "the resistance withstood the attack and fought back. It did not wage a guerrilla war

either . . . it was not a regular army but was not a guerrilla in the traditional sense either. It was

something in between. This is the new model."[146]

Hezbollah's tactics and operations are also a strong indicator of military success. The

ascension of Hassan Nasrallah to the Secretary-Generalship of the group fundamentally changed

how Hezbollah would operate. Hezbollah transformed from a group that was feared, due to its

fanaticism and use of terrorism, by both Lebanese and Israelis, into an armed movement that

promoted popular resistance to Israeli occupation. As a result, Hezbollah essentially

professionalized the Islamic Resistance with emphasis placed on the training of capable,

competent forces, not self-sacrificing fanatics. This is not to say Hezbollah relaxed on their

religious devotion, religiosity was actually a major trait required in recruits. In fact, prior to

---

[144] Stephen Biddle and Jeffrey A Friedman, *The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2008), 33-45.

[145] This was a summation of Biddle and Friedman, *The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy,* 47-55.

[146] Maryam al-Bassam, "Interview with Lebanese Hizbollah Leader Hasan Nasrallah," Beirut New TV Channel in Arabic, date of interview unknown, aired 27 August 2006, cited in Captain Daniel Helmer, "Not Quite Counterinsurgency: A Cautionary Tale for the US Forces Based on Israel's Operation Change of Direction," *Armor* (January–February 2007), 8, cited in Matthews, *We Were Caught Unprepared*, 22.

receiving any military training, recruits are given religious training and guidance on overcoming

the Greater Jihad, discussed in Section 1, as jihad is considered:

> to be a basic behavior in a Muslim's life, be it a jihad with one's soul or a struggle against
> the enemy. The second form of struggle is the more difficult practical evidence of the
> concept and comes only after fulfillment of the first, only after man shuns his wants and
> prepares himself for practical confrontation with oppressors and occupants.[147]
> This new professionalism manifested in the effectiveness of operations—soldier

kidnappings, assaults on positions, IED placement, etc. As the amount of operations conducted,

Israeli morale decreased. As Hezbollah IEDs destroyed or damaged equipment and personnel,

Israeli morale decreased. These operations and IED success created an atmosphere of a constant

threat and a sense of dread reducing soldiers' combat effectiveness. Hezbollah's adherence to

and exploitation of the "rules," allowed Hezbollah to attack and kill soldiers, provoking a

response from Israel, usually by artillery, against civilians permitted Hezbollah's launching of

rockets, which then scared Israeli civilians. The civilians eventual demoralization, through

constant threat of attack and the deaths of soldiers, turned into dissention and political pressure

on elected officials.

A Gallup/Ma'ariv poll in April 2000, one month before the withdrawal, 53% of the

population polled supported a unilateral withdrawal from south Lebanon.[148] In the end, more

Hezbollah fighters, 1248, and Lebanese civilians were killed in the 18 years of occupation than

IDF personnel, 200, or Israeli citizens.[149] However, due to the Israeli population's sensitivity to

casualties, the total population of Israel only grew by 2.258 million between 1982 and 2000, the

---

[147] Qassem, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*, 90.

[148] "Israeli Opinion Regarding Peace with Syria and Lebanon," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed June 20, 2012, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/golanpo.html. This is a collection of survey results ordered chronologically. The poll cited is found on the second half of the webpage.

[149] Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 94.

death of 200 soldiers to hold a strip of land was unacceptable.[150] The election of Ehud Barak to Prime Minister, who campaigned on withdrawal, resulted in Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon and as IDF personnel were leaving, villagers came in to resettle the once occupied territory. In addition to those villagers, Hezbollah moved into the south to almost immediately establish the military infrastructure seen in the 2006 War.

4.3 Indicator 9: Safe Haven

Hezbollah's utilization of Lebanon as a safe haven is an important aspect of Hezbollah's strategy. Hezbollah operates within the international boundary of the state of Lebanon, specifically within south Lebanon, the eastern Bekaa Valley and within Beirut, the capital. By operating within a sovereign state, Hezbollah has a safe haven. The use of a safe haven allows Hezbollah both a secure operational area and a propaganda tool. Operating within a safe haven permits Hezbollah to acquire weapons, train soldiers, and devise operations with impunity from Israeli reprisals. While Hezbollah controlled areas or positions can still be attacked by Israel, when Israel performs these kinetic operations, they violate the national sovereignty of Lebanon, which can lead to international condemnation for Israel.

Quite possibly the strongest example of Hezbollah's advantage in the use of Lebanon as a safe haven comes from IDF released photographs of Hezbollah installations in south Lebanon published in *The Washington Post*. Figure 4.3 was taken in 2011, five years after the 2006 Israel-Hezbollah War. From this photo, evidence is provided that in the five years since the conflict, Hezbollah has been able to rebuild their previous support network. The bunkers created are not simply holes in the ground with sandbags. If they are like the 2006 bunkers, they are

---

[150] Israeli population numbers taken from World Bank data, accessed June 20, 2012, http://www.worldbank.org.

concrete structures built deep into the ground with tunnel networks, ammo rooms, supply rooms, etc. capable of withstanding sustained attacks by the Israelis.
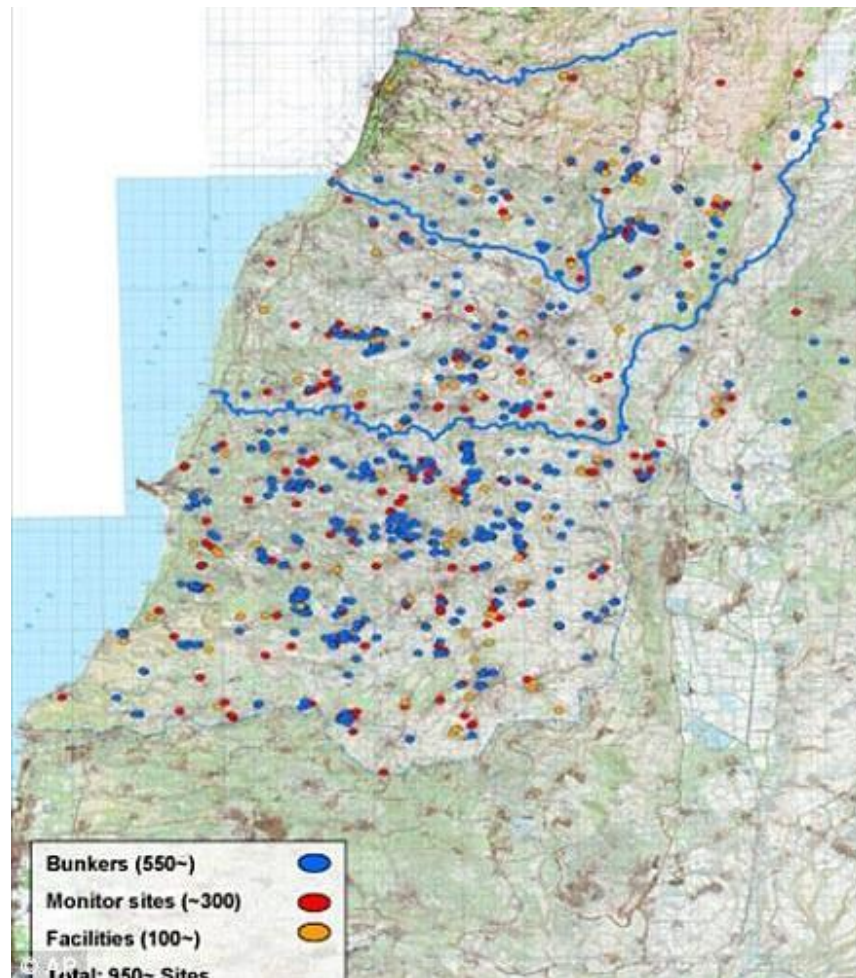

Figure 4.3: Hezbollah Facilities 2011[151]

The IDF says that these facilities are located across 270 villages and that these facilities are placed near hospitals, homes, and schools.[152] More disturbing is that the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 1701 calls for UNIFIL and the Lebanese government forces to be

---

[151] Janine Zacharia, "Israel, long critical of Assad, may prefer he stay after all," *The Washington Post*, March 29, 2011, accessed July 5, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/israel-long-critical-of-assad-may-prefer-he-stay-after-all/2011/03/29/AFIq5JxB_story.html. Image has been cropped to fit.

[152] Jonathan Urich, "Hezbollah located in 1,000 facilities in southern Lebanon," March, 3, 2011, accessed July 5, 2012, http://www.idf.il/1283-9582-en/Dover.aspx.

the only armed entities south of the Litani River.[153] In Figure 4.3, the Litani River is the most

south heavy blue line and Israel's border is where the colored dots stops. Figure 4.4 is al-Khaim

village. This village houses multiple weapon facilities and underground sites. Also stationed in

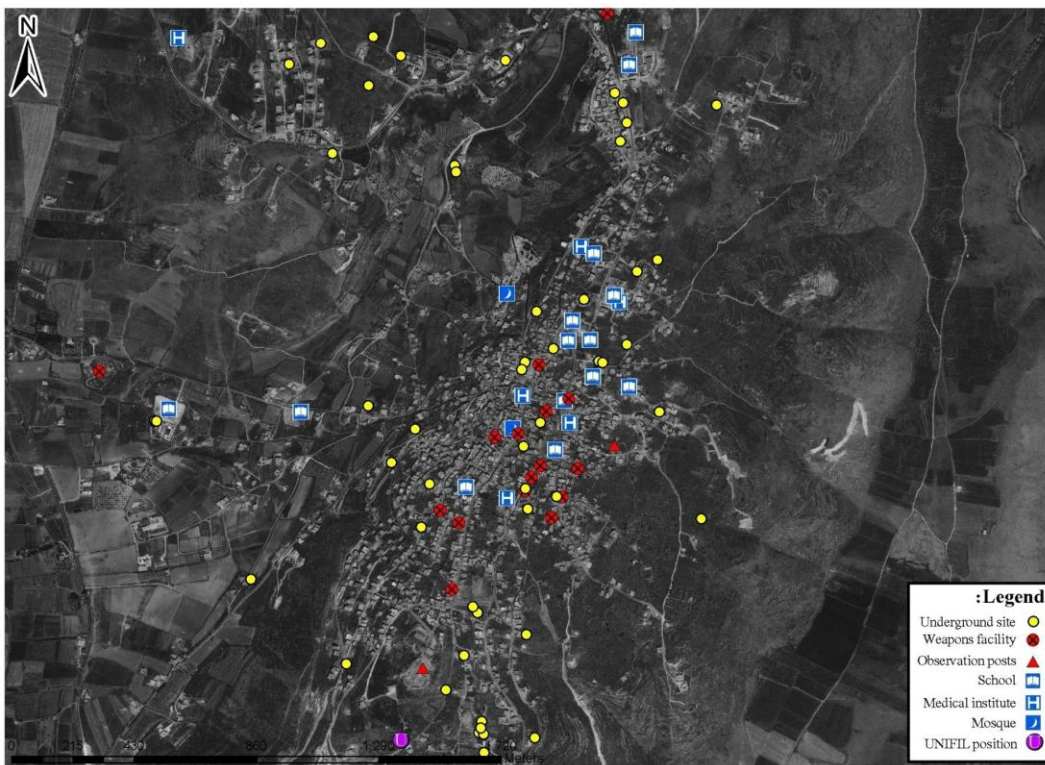al-Khaim are more than 100 Hezbollah fighters prepared to battle Israel whenever called upon.[154]

Figure 4.4: Al-Khaim Village, 2011[155]

Prior to the establishment of these static defense systems and caches, Hezbollah enjoyed

the chaos of a civil war, a significant amount of loyalty from the population in southern Lebanon,

southern Beirut, and the Bekaa Valley in western Lebanon, all areas historically Shi'a

---

[153] *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, S/RES/1701*, 2, accessed July 5, 2012, http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/465/03/PDF/N0646503.pdf?OpenElement. In addition, 1701 calls for the disarmament of Hezbollah, as per Resolutions 1559, 1680, and the Ta'if Accords, and that the government of Lebanon is the only armed force within Lebanese territory.

[154] Urich, "Hezbollah located in 1,000 facilities in southern Lebanon."

[155] Janine Zacharia, "Israel, long critical of Assad, may prefer he stay after all," *The Washington Post*, March 29, 2011, accessed July 5, 2012. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/israel-long-critical-of-assad-may-prefer-he-stay-after-all/2011/03/29/AFIq5JxB_story.html. Image has been cropped to fit.

dominated, and the consent of the Lebanese government as seen in Section 1. These factors have given Hezbollah, throughout its history, a vast safe haven for development and execution of operations against Israel. The chaos that resulted from an outbreak of civil war permitted Hezbollah to operate without a significant response to their actions. While there was a Lebanese government and a Lebanese military, the loss of the monopoly of power, neutered the Lebanese government and military from taking direct action on Hezbollah. If Hezbollah had to be concerned with domestic checks to their power, it would have come from other militias. However, the different militias were busy either fighting each other, did not care what Hezbollah did, were deterred from attacking Hezbollah, or could not actually target Hezbollah fighters or leaders due to Hezbollah's initial secretive nature.

As discussed in Section 3, Hezbollah works and maintains a positive with the population within their areas of control. As a result of this work, Hezbollah has been able to use houses within loyal villages to store weapons, house fighters, or even launch rocket attacks or operations.[156] This was seen extensively in the 2006 war. When asked about Hezbollah's use of civilian areas, retired Lebanese Army general Elias Hanna said:

> Of course there are hidden invisible tunnels, bunkers of missile launchers, bunkers of explosive charges amongst civilians....You cannot separate the southern society from Hezbollah, because Hezbollah is the society and the society is Hezbollah. Hezbollah is holding this society together through its political, military and economic services. It is providing the welfare for the south.[157]

---

[156] In an interview, a captured Hezbollah fighter stated that the village of Aita al-Shaab was completely empty and the houses were either left open or keys were provided to Hezbollah for full use of the houses for the needs of Hezbollah. This fighter and another operative stayed in the houses of two brothers. One house was used to store the rockets the operatives brought with them; the other house was used to sleep in order to provide protection in case the rockets detonated. The captured fighter could name the owner of a house that was used to store anti-tank guided missiles, he additionally knew of storage sites within Aita al-Shaab for weapons including machine guns and RPGs. This and additional interviews can be found at http://www.ajcongress.org/site/PageServer?pagename=humanshields, accessed July 5, 2012.

[157] Greg Myre, "Offering Video, Israel Answers Critics of War," *The New York Times*, December 5, 2006, accessed July 5, 2012

Additionally, in the Bekaa Valley in western Lebanon on the border with Syria are some of Hezbollah's training camps. At these camps Hezbollah recruits are given religious indoctrination and military training. In the time of Hezbollah's inception, this training was conducted by Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps military advisors.[158] From the Bekaa, Hezbollah fighters are provided basic training and subsequent specialized training in Iran. Coupled with training, Iranian arms shipments, flown into Damascus, are thought to come into Lebanon and into Hezbollah's arms through the Bekaa Valley due to its close proximity to the Syrian border.

The access to a safe haven is critical for any guerilla movement. In the absence of a safe haven, whether in the conflicted state or sanctuary found in an adjacent host state, the guerilla forces are vulnerable to attack and have no ability to recuperate or plan. That is why the denial of safe havens is central to counterinsurgency efforts. In the case of Hezbollah, the IDF or Israeli diplomats were never able to successfully deny Hezbollah a safe haven. Hezbollah was able to operate unhindered in Beirut, the Bekaa Valley, and in the Lebanese side of the security zone.

As is true for any militant group, what kind of arms, how those arms are used, and being able to safely use those arms is paramount to success. Hezbollah has been able to utilize each of those aspects in their military campaign against Israel. This utilization is what has made them both vilified and idolized around the world. In Western countries and Israel, Hezbollah is an example of the level of sophistication and success that a terrorist group can attain. In September

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/05/world/middleeast/05mideast.html?pagewanted=2&_r=1&ei=5088&en=b8b25a9e380122ff&ex=1322974800&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss

[158] The number of initial advisors varies; Byman estimates around 1500 members, see Daniel Byman, "The Lebanese Hizballah and Israeli Counterterrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34, no. 12 (2011): 920; Ranstorp and Katzman state 2,000, see Magnus Ranstorp, "The Hizballah Training Camps of Lebanon" found in *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*, Vol. 2, ed. James J.F. Forest (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006), 248 and Wege says 1,000, see Carl Anthony Wege, "Hizballah Organization," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 17, no.2 (1994): 155.

2002, then Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage went so far as to suggest that in regards to lethality, "Hezbollah may be the A team of terrorists and al-Qaeda is actually the B-team."[159] This designation of Hezbollah's lethality can only be derived from Hezbollah's military competency and this competency can only make the group more effective and more lethal.

Assessment

Having presented research and evidence concerning the three indicators of military success (military armaments, tactics and operations, and safe haven) in the most basic and strict sense of what should contribute to military success, Hezbollah's tactics and operations should be the most important indicator, however, it is not. Contrary to comparative amounts of evidence for each, the strongest indicator of Hezbollah's military success is the access to a safe haven, their tactics and operations are also strong, and their military armament is the weakest.

Even if Hezbollah was expelled from these areas, in all actuality, Israel is in a no win situation. If access to Lebanese safe havens could have been successfully removed, Hezbollah would have been able to operate out of Syria at the time, which would probably have been more difficult to combat. The Golan Heights would have been a prime target or Hezbollah could just infiltrate back into Lebanon, plant an IED, and promptly exfiltrate. The removal of a Lebanese safe haven would have been a temporary measure as maintenance of the removal would have required cooperation between the IDF and Lebanese army (which the Lebanese government was essentially a puppet of Syria) to guard the borders.

The other option for a new, primary safe haven would have been Iran. If Hezbollah was based out of Iran, Hezbollah could have possibly never abandoned suicide operations. The necessity to balance the use of suicide operations against a domestic population would have been removed. Hezbollah would not have to worry about alienating sections of a population they

---

[159] Daniel Byman, "Should Hezbollah be Next?" *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (Nov-Dec 2003): 55.

proclaim to represent and defend. Using of Iranian embassies and diaspora communities, Hezbollah could have conducted more attacks like those on the Israeli embassy and the Jewish community center in Argentina. Of course, these are assumptions based off research, if Hezbollah was denied a safe haven; the group would have either ceased to exist or would have taken on a different form, possibly an al-Qaeda type flat network of loose affiliates and franchises. However, as Section 5 will discuss, even with the removal of a safe haven, the movement very likely would have been sustained through economic support.

Table 4.1 Weapons Used by Hezbollah during the July War [160]

Type	Name	Caliber (millimeters)	Maximum Range (kilometers)	Comments
Surface-to-surface rockets; short range (0-25km)	Katyusha	122	20	
Surface-to-surface; mid to long range (>25km)	"Extended-range" katyusha	122	35	New version of standard katyusha
	Fajr-3	240	43	12 barrels, truck mounted launcher
	Uragon	220	70	Syrian-made
	Fajr-5	333	75	4 barrels, truck-mounted launcher
	Khaiber-1	302	100	Syrian-or Chinese-made
	Zelzal-2	610	210	Launch attempted; did not hit Israel
Shore-to-ship missiles	C-701		15	Television guidance
	C-802 Noor		120	Onboard active homing
Unmanned aerial vehicles	Mirsad-1			Hizballah version of Iranian Mohjar-4; three flown during conflict
Antitank missiles	RPG-29	105	0.5	Shoulder-fired, tandem warhead
	AT-13 Metis-M	130	2	Tandem warhead
	AT-4 Spigot	120	2	Wire-guided semi-automatic command to line of sight (SACLOS)
	AT-3 Sagger	125	3	Wire-guided SACLOS
	TOW		3.75	American-made
	AT-5 Spandrel	135	4	Tandem shaped-charge warhead
	AT-14 Kornet-E		5	SACLOS guidance

---

[160] Recreation of table found in Exum, "Hizballah at War: A Military Assessment," 6.

Section 5: Economics

The access to financing is crucial for non-state actors engaged in irregular warfare. This section will analyze the economic indicators of success: legal/illegal income sources, state sponsorship, and Shi'a diaspora donations.

5.1 Indicator 10: Legal/illegal sources of income

Hezbollah has a wide and varying array of income sources. Some are legal and some are illegal. Martin Rudner points to seven sources of income for Hezbollah: charitable fundraising, legitimate commercial activity, tax-like levies, criminal activity, financial defalcation, government transfers, and cross-subsidies.[161] While Rudner has labeled these examples as legal and illegal, the legal sources are generally seen as fronts for the funding of the Resistance.

5.1.1 Legal

5.1.1.1 Charitable fundraising: Hezbollah solicits donations to help fund the various social service agencies conducted by Hezbollah. A major source of these donations come from Shi'a neighborhoods with collection boxes in public areas and donation boxes found in family homes, where families can recommend other families to receive a donation box.[162] Additionally Hezbollah utilizes the internet for donations. Through the use of multiple websites Hezbollah displays account numbers which individuals can give to Lebanese banks in order to donate money. The major Hezbollah organs which use websites for donations include the Martyr's Foundation, Jihad al-Binaa Organization, and The Support Association of the Islamic Resistance

---

[161] Rudner, "Hizbullah: An Organizational and Operational Profile," 232-233.

[162] Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, *Funding terrorism: Hezbollah uses its websites to collect donations for itself and for its affiliated institutions in Lebanon and elsewhere in the world. The donations are deposited in bank accounts in Lebanon and Europe.* Israeli Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, May 26, 2008, 4.

in Lebanon.[163] While advertised as helping these organizations, funds are known to be redirected into the acquisition of arms.

   5.1.1.2 Zakat*: Hezbollah has access to tithes or *zakat.[164]* Politically, Hezbollah is identified as a religious organization which is entitled to tithes of one-fifth of a constituent's income, a practice intended for charity, whether *zakat* is given directly to Hezbollah or given to Hezbollah sponsored mosques is unknown. According to the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, Ayatollah Khomeini authorized the allocation of *zakat* into support for the Palestinians. Hezbollah uses these to acquire weapons and help train Palestinians, as Hezbollah has taken up the Palestinian struggle as one-in-the-same to Hezbollah's goals.[165]

5.1.2 Illegal

   5.1.2.1 Shakedowns: In 2002, Jeffrey Goldberg in his article "In the Party of God" in *The New Yorker* traveled to the Tri-Border Area (where Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil meet) and was told about Hezbollah officials would enter shops owned by Lebanese immigrants and give them a paper thanking them for their donation, which would then have an amount written on the paper. If the amount was not paid, the shop owner would be warned, their family in Lebanon would be warned, and, in case of noncompliance, rumors would be spread that the shop owner

---

[163] Intelligence and Terrorism Center, *Funding terrorism: Hezbollah uses its websites to collect donations for itself and for its affiliated institutions in Lebanon and elsewhere in the world. The donations are deposited in bank accounts in Lebanon and Europe*, 3.

[164] *Zakat* is one of the Five Pillars of Islam and a duty for all Muslims who are capable.

[165] Israeli Intelligence and Terrorism Center, *Funding terrorism: Hezbollah uses its websites to collect donations for itself and for its affiliated institutions in Lebanon and elsewhere in the world. The donations are deposited in bank accounts in Lebanon and Europe*, 2.

and his family were a spies for Israel. If and when the amount was paid, the paper would be placed in the window and the shop keeper would be left alone until the next month.[166]

5.1.2.2 Criminal Activity: Hezbollah is reported to benefit from the cultivation of poppy in the Bekaa Valley, which the shipping of this is used to buy information from Israeli-Arabs.[167] Further, there is evidence of a partnership between Hezbollah and the FARC. Hezbollah can get ship drugs and the FARC provides weapons.[168] Hezbollah was also reported to have been a party to "conflict diamond" shipping.[169] Other criminal activity includes human smuggling, drugs and arms trafficking, trade in contraband, money-laundering, forging travel documents, and financial fraud.[170] An example of terrorism linked criminal activity was Operation Smokescreen in 2002. Operation Smokescreen was a United States interagency sting operation against Lebanese-born brothers, Mohammed and Chawki Hamoud in North Carolina.   This sting was set to halt the sale of untaxed cigarettes. Through the sale of untaxed cigarettes, this North Carolina cell was able to raise millions of dollars and acquired items in Canada and the U.S. and smuggle these items into Lebanon. These items include night-vision goggles, global positioning systems, stun guns, naval equipment, nitrogen cutters and laser range finders.[171]

---

[166] Jeffrey Goldberg, "In the Party of God, Part 2: Hezbollah Sets Up Operations in South American and the United States," *The New Yorker*, October 14, 2002, 4, accessed May 9, 2012, http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2002/10/28/021028fa_fact2.

[167] Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, "Hezbollah: Funding Terror Through Criminal Enterprise," Testimony by Matthew Levitt, May 25, 2005, 10.

[168]Cyrus Miryekta, "Hezbollah in the Tri-Border Area of South America," *Small Wars Journal* (Sept. 10, 2010), 7, http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/hezbollah-in-south-america.

[169] Levitt, "Hezbollah: Funding Terror Through Criminal Enterprise," 10.

[170] Martin Rudner, "Hizbullah Terrorism Finance: Fund-Raising and Money-Laundering," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33, Issue 8 (2010): 706.

[171] Levitt, "Hezbollah Financing Terror through Criminal Enterprise," 8.

Much of Hezbollah's criminal activity is based out of the Tri-Border Area where the borders of Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina meet, is essentially an ungoverned, lawless area where international organized criminal elements operate with little or no threat from law enforcement. It was reported by the Naval War College, that Hezbollah receives close $10,000,000 a year from the Tri-Border Area.[172]

Hezbollah's access to both legal and illegal income sources has provided Hezbollah with a wide variety of sources for income. This has allowed Hezbollah to maintain a public face as a legal organization with good intentions, while using their expatriate communities to run illegal operations ranging from drug running to shakedowns of commercial businesses. These sources of income allow for Hezbollah to make up the projected 300 million to 400 million difference between their financial needs and the money supplied by Iran.

5.2 Indicator 11: State sponsorship

The major source of income for Hezbollah comes from the aide received from both Syria and Iran. The evidence points to while the direct monetary amounts provided to Hezbollah are not as significant as the income acquired through both legal and illegal means, the economic aide provided by Syria and Iran comes in the form of free weapons and training. Armament and training of Hezbollah's fighters, both active and reserve forces, is easily in the hundreds of millions. Through the aide provided by Syria and Iran, Hezbollah does not need to raise these considerable amounts of money. The range of monetary support Hezbollah receives from Iran specifically is between $50 million and $200 million.[173] This is in addition to the equivalent amounts of training, arms transfers, and other support provided to Hezbollah from Iran. The same issue arises when attempting to quantify Syrian support—placing a real dollar amount on

---

[172] Levitt, "Hezbollah: Financing Terror through Criminal Enterprise, 9.

[173] Byman, *Deadly Connections*, 88 and Levitt, "Terrorism Financing," 137.

support provided by Syria is problematic. However, the number has to be at in the same range as Iran's monetary support.

While the amount of evidence for state sponsorship is short, the impact of having two states willing to provide not only money, but weapons and training is a major source of economic security for Hezbollah. By freeing up much of the cost associated with military organizations, Iran and Syria have allowed Hezbollah more money to devote to their social service and "hearts and minds" campaigns—campaigns almost, if not more important, than the military aspects of irregular warfare.

5.3 Indicator 12: Shi'a Diaspora Donations

There is no evidence of any specific amounts of funding provided to Hezbollah through Shi'a diaspora community donations. However, as described in Indicator 10, donations to Hezbollah are a major source of income for the organization.

This indicator has the same situation as Indicator 11: State Sponsorship. This indicator suffers from a lack of evidence producing monetary figures of how much Shi'a diaspora donations contribute to Hezbollah's economics. However, as discussed in Indicator 10, donations through Hezbollah's charities contribute highly to Hezbollah's social programs and military programs.

Section 6: Conclusion

The research question for this thesis is: To what extent was Hezbollah successful in their use of irregular warfare against Israel? In answering this question, evidence was provided that showed how Hezbollah used the instruments of power to execute a campaign of hybrid warfare against Israel. Based on the evidence presented, Hezbollah was highly successful in their use of hybrid warfare against Israel due to their effective use of the instruments of power.

If the key to hybrid warfare is the amalgamation of irregular troops and tactics and conventional arms and tactics, then not only have Hezbollah succeeded in their utilization but has become the exemplar of hybrid warfare. Hezbollah success at hybrid warfare is their blending of and utilization of the DIME. By successfully utilizing the instruments of power, Hezbollah succeeded against Israel. While some indicators had more evidence and others had less, the amount of evidence is not directly related to the significance of that indicator. As ideal as it would be to be able to list the indicators in some fashion of importance, the fact is that as the instruments of power do not exist in a vacuum, they cannot be listed as such, certain indicators being considered as more important than others.

The importance or prominence of indicators would be directly affected by Hezbollah's plans at the time. A single course or strategy of action would have, most likely, led to Hezbollah's failure against Israel. In being strategically rigid, Hezbollah would have lost a hallmark of hybrid warfare—adaptability. For example, if Hezbollah wanted to apply military pressure then tactics and operations and propaganda would be most important, as seen in the "Who's Next?" campaign that was accompanied by a spike in IDF casualties. Between 2000 and 2006, Hezbollah seemingly focused on once again redefining the organization and its role in Lebanon after the Israeli pullout, however, during that time military actions were still taken.

The most powerful instruments used by Hezbollah were information and military. The

essence of Hezbollah's activity was active, military-based resistance to both Israel's occupation

of Lebanon and Israel's very existence. Thus, the strength and capability of their military

apparatus was paramount as seen in the evidence provided in Indicator 11. Hezbollah had a

robust military doctrine that promoted irregular warfare while also focusing on the power of both

the media and the population. This doctrine would provide Hezbollah with fighters with combat

experience ideally resulting in minimal loss of fighters and maximized psychological affect

against the IDF producing Israeli soldiers that were likely to high amounts of combat stress

which would increase the chance for combat accidents and reduced combat efficiency.

Additionally, Hezbollah's access and use of conventional military weapons such as their

Katyusha arsenal and access to anti-tank missiles provided Hezbollah with the capability to offer

stand-off resistance against heavy armor and Israel's bunker systems—two things which provide

problems for traditionally lightly armed irregular fighters.

In their use of information, Hezbollah dominated. As Hassan Nasrallah admitted that

Hezbollah would wage psychological warfare, Hezbollah was able to utilize their access to

battlefield footage and their private television state, al-Manar, to produce news about operations

within hours where Israel produced information in days. In controlling the available information

and their ability to alter that information to fit their needs, Israel was never able to catch up and

gain control of the narrative within the occupied zone. This loss of control of the narrative

benefitted Hezbollah in two ways: 1) Hezbollah was able to produce footage of Israel troops

being killed or wounded and footage implying Hezbollah's military and tactical superiority

against the IDF and 2) This footage, while demoralizing to Israel, bolstered the spirit of

Hezbollah's fighters and supporters. In seeing that Hezbollah can be victorious against the once

awesome IDF, support increased in order to assure Hezbollah's victory. Hezbollah's ability to reinvent and remarket themselves as a national resistance movement was also a crucial aspect of Hezbollah's information instrument. In building bridges and ties with other confessional groups, who were once enemies, Hezbollah increased their status and prestige as a group working to ensure the safety and liberation of Lebanon from Israel and not a group actively and violently seeking the complete reformation of Lebanon into a Iranian modeled Islamic state.

Finally, Hezbollah's extensive use of social service networks added to their nationalist image. Hezbollah provides services to any confessional group, not just their Shi'a constituency. In providing crucial medical, educational, construction, and quality of life services, Hezbollah effectively replaced the state in their main areas of control as well as endearing themselves to the Lebanese who benefited from these services in other parts of the country. In helping people from other groups, Hezbollah can build a network of support throughout the state as one satisfied customer would inform others of how much Hezbollah helped him or her and their family.

Hezbollah's economic and diplomatic instruments are important but were not as crucial to Hezbollah's success. This is not meant to say that these instruments were worthless, to the contrary, no DIME based strategy can existed without the interaction of all aspects. This means that while the military and information instruments are the most powerful, diplomacy and economics are comparatively weaker. This is due to the most powerful indicators of both—lack of international pressure and state sponsorship.

Economically, Hezbollah's strongest indicator is state sponsorship. This indicator goes hand-in-hand with the lack of international pressure. Hezbollah receives, annually, an estimated amount of between $100-200 million from Iran alone. This money is in addition to training and arms provided by both Iran and Syria. If Hezbollah did not have access to this money and what

amounts to free weapons and training, their fight against Israel would have likely taken a radically different form. However, due to this support, Hezbollah was able to become a successful hybrid force against Israel. Behind state sponsorship is Hezbollah's own means of collecting funds through their legal and illegal income sources.

Hezbollah's projected operational budget is between $300-500 million. In order to make up the difference between what they need and what Iran provides, Hezbollah has created a system of both legal and illegal income sources. A strong source of legal income comes from donations provided by both their Shi'a constituency, other Lebanese, and from the extensive Lebanese diaspora communities found throughout the world. Much of these donations go straight to funding the Islamic Resistance, however, these donations also go towards funding Hezbollah's social programs and providing aid to the Palestinians. As for Hezbollah's illegal sources of income, Hezbollah is known to extensively operate out of the Tri-Border Area of Latin America where shakedowns of locally operated stores are known to occur in addition to drug running and arms purchasing and selling.

In analysis of the indicators of success for diplomacy, the strongest indicator was the lack of international pressure on Hezbollah. Hezbollah had massive amounts of leeway within multiple states. Hezbollah operated with two state sponsors and had access to states that either had no interest in the situation in the Middle East or had a more pro-Arab political leaning. Much like attempting to enforce international sanctions, if one state is not will to enforce the sanctions and instead does business normally with the targeted state, the sanctions are weakened or rendered moot. The same logic exists for hampering terrorist organizations. As mentioned earlier, al-Qaeda was successfully dismantled due to multiple states willingly working toward a common goal of stopping al-Qaeda. This unified goal does not exist in the case of Hezbollah.

Hezbollah has the backing of two states and the de facto support of the states that are either allies or partners with Syria and Iran in addition to states or populations that are anti-Israel and see Hezbollah as a positive force in the region.

Hezbollah's status as a non-state actor, while legally problematic, does not necessarily represent a major diplomatic initiative on Hezbollah's part. While a stronger discussion on whether Hezbollah is a state or non-state actor has occurred after the 2006 War, in terms of resisting Israeli occupation, Hezbollah was a recognized "resistance movement" within Lebanon that was part of internationally negotiated cease-fires giving them de facto recognition as a party to the conflict whether state or non-state. Finally, international pressure on Israel seemed to be a by-product of Hezbollah's actions. Operations Accountability and Grapes of Wrath were political nightmares for the Israeli government and came as a direct result of Hezbollah's military successes—Israel was Israel's worst enemy. However, much like Hezbollah's state sponsorship protects them from international pressure, the United States' sponsorship of Israel protected Israel from most international pressure.

Through their use of the DIME, Hezbollah was successful in achieving their immediate goals—the removal of Israel from Lebanese territory and becoming the guardian of Lebanon. However, while Hezbollah was successful, many groups are not. By understanding Hezbollah's coordinated use of the DIME, states and other parties can better understand what actions aid in success and how those actions can be countered. Combating insurgencies and rebel groups are long and costly battles, but if the counterinsurgent can understand the insurgent's overall strategy and how that strategy is implemented, the battles may not have to be so long and costly.

Bibliography

I. Official and Government Documents

Congressional Research Service. Library of Congress. *Lebanon: The Israeli-Hamas-Hezbollah Conflict.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2006.

The Department of Defense. *The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (JP 1-02). Accessed Feb. 26, 2012.
http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf.

Government Accountability Office. *GAO-10-1036R Hybrid Warfare*, Sept. 10, 2010.

Human Rights Watch. *Civilian Pawns: Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 1996. Accessed June 16, 2012.
http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1996/Israel.htm.

Human Rights Watch. *Israel/Lebanon - "Operation Grapes of Wrath: The Civilian Victims"* Vol. 9, No. 8(E), September 1997. Accessed June 16, 2012.
http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/09/01/operation-grapes-wrath.

Human Rights Watch. *Civilians Under Assault: Hezbollah's Rocket Attacks on Israel in the 2006 War*, Vol. 19, No. 3(E), August 2007. Accessed June 16, 2012.
http://www.hrw.org/2007/08/28/civilians-under-assualt.

Human Rights Watch. *Why They Died: Civilian Casualties in Lebanon during the 2006 War.* Vol. 19, No. 5(E), September 2007. Accessed June 16, 2012.
http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/09/05/why-they died-0.

Israel-Lebanon Ceasefire Understanding. April 26, 1996. Accessed June 4, 2012.
http://www.usip.org/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/il_ceasefire_1996.pdf.

Joint Center for Operational Analysis. "Hizbollah." *Joint Center for Operational Analysis Journal* 10, Issue 1 (December 2007): 1-72.

The Department of Defense. *The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (JP 1-02). Accessed Feb. 26, 2012
http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf.

The U.S. Army. *Field Manual (FM 3-05.130) Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare*, 2008. Accessed Feb. 26, 2012.
http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-05-130.pdf.

The U.S. Marine Corps. "Small Wars Manual—United States Marine Corps, 1940." Accessed March 5, 2012. http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/swm/index.htm.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, S/RES/1701. Accessed July 5, 2012. http://daccessddny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/465/03/PDF/N0646503.pdf?OpenEle ment.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Near East and South Central Asian Affairs. *Assessing the Strength of Hezbollah*. 111th Cong., 2nd sess., June 8, 2010.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs. Testimony of Matthew Levitt. *Hezbollah: Financing Terror through Criminal Enterprise*. 105th Cong. 1st sess. May 25, 2005.

II. Peer Reviewed Articles

Abu Fadil, Magda. "Hezbollah TV Takes Credit for Ousting Israelis." *IPI Global Journalist* 6, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter, 2000): 12.

Ajemian, Pete. "Resistance Beyond Time and Space: Hezbollah's Media Campaigns." *Arab Media & Society* (May 2008): 1-13.

Bakatari, Bahman and Augustus Richard Norton. "Lebanon End-Game." *Middle East Insight* (March-April 2000): 23-28.

Bloom, Catherine. "The Classification of Hezbollah in both International and Non-International Armed Conflicts." *Annual Survey of International & Comparative Law* 14, Issue 1 (August 2010): 62-97.

Byman, Daniel. "Should Hezbollah be Next?" *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (Nov-Dec 2003): 54-66.

Byman, Daniel. "The Lebanese Hizballah and Israeli Counterterrorism." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34, Issue 12 (2011): 917-941.

Costanza, William. "Hizballah and Its Mission in Latin America." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35, no. 3 (2012): 193-210.

Childs, Steven. "From Identity to Militancy." *Comparative Strategy* 30, no. 4 (2011): 363-372.

Devenny, Patrick. "Hezbollah's Strategic Threat to Israel." *Middle East Quarterly* (Winter 2006): 31-38. Accessed June 12, 2012. http://www.meforum.org/806/hezbollahs-strategic-threat-to-israel.

El-Houri, Walid and Dima Saber. "Filming Resistance: A Hezbollah Strategy." *Radical History Review* Issue 106 (Winter 2010): 70-85.

Evans, Michael. "Eloquent Irrelevance Revisited: A Critique of Fourth-Generation Warfare." *Contemporary Security Studies* 26, no. 2 (2005): 242-249.

Exum, Andrew. "Hizballah at War: A Military Assessment." *Policy Focus 63* (December 2006): 1-24. Accessed March 18, 2012. http://www.lebanonwire.com/0701MLN/Hezbollah_at_war.pdf.

Exum, Andrew. "The Spectacle of War: Insurgent Video Propaganda and Western Response, 1990-Present." *Arab Media & Society* (May 2008): 1-13.

Feldman, Shai. "The Hezbollah-Israeli War: A Preliminary Assessment." *Middle East Brief* no. 16 (September 2006): 1-8.

Flanigan, Shawn Teresa "Nonprofit Service Provision by Insurgent Organizations: The Cases of Hizballah and the Tamil Tigers." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31, Issue 6 (2008): 499-519.

Flanigan, Shawn Teresa and Mounah Abdel-Samad. "Hezbollah's Social Jihad: Nonprofits as Resistance Organizations." *Middle East Policy* XVI, no.2 (Summer 2009): 122-137.

Flanigan, Shawn Teresa. "Charity as Resistance: Connections between Charity, Contentious Politics, and Terror." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, Issue 7 (2006): 641-655.

Haddad, Simon. "A Survey of Lebanese Shi'i Attitudes towards Hezbollah." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 16, no. 3 (2005): 317-333.

Harb, Mona, and Reinoud Leenders. "Know thy enemy: Hizbullah, 'terrorism' and the politics of perception." *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2005): 173-197.

Hirst, David. "South Lebanon: The War That Never Ends?" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 5-18.

El-Husseni, Rola. "Hezbollah and the Axis of Refusal: Hamas, Iran, and Syria." *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 5 (2010): 803-815.

Jones, Clive. "Israeli Counterinsurgency Strategy and the War in South Lebanon 1985-1997." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 8, Issue 3 (1997): 82-108.

Karagiannis, Emmanuel. "Hizballah as a Social Movement Organization: A Framing Approach." *Mediterranean Politics* 14, no. 3 (November 2009): 365-383.

Khatib, Lina. "Hizbullah's Political Strategy." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 53, no. 2 (2011): 61-76.

Kulick, Amr. "Hizbollah vs. the IDF: The Operational Dimension." *Strategic Assessment* 9, no. 3 (November 2009). Accessed July 2, 2012. http://www.inss.org.il/publications.php?cat=21&incat=&read=88. .

Lamloum, Olfa. "Hezbollah's Media: Political History in Outline." *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 3 (December 2009): 353-367.

Lander, Natasha. "Hezbollah: Organizational Analysis of an Insurgency." *The Michigan Journal of Public Affairs* 7 (Spring 2010): 1-12.

Madani, Blanca. "Hezbollah's Global Finance Network: The Triple Frontier." *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 4, No. 1 (January 2002). Accessed June 6, 2012. http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0201_12.htm.

Makovsky, David, and Jeffrey White. "Lessons and Implications of the Israeli-Hizbollah War: A Preliminary Assessment." *Policy Focus* 60 (October 2006): 1-72. Accessed March 20, 2012. http://www.lebanonwire.com/0705MLN/Hezb_Isr_Policy_Focus.pdf.

Mansdorf, Irwin J. and Mordechai Kedar. "The Psychological Asymmetry of Islamist Warfare." *The Middle East Quarterly* (Spring 2008): 37-44. Accessed June 12, 2012. http://www.meforum.org/1867/thepsychological-asymmetry-of-islamist-warfare.

Noriega, Roger F. and José R. Cárdenas. "The Mounting Hezbollah Threat in Latin America." American Enterprise Institute no. 3 (Oct. 2011): 1-7.

Norton, Augustus Richard. "Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30, no.1 (Autumn 2000): 22-35.

Norton, Augustus Richard. "Lebanon's Conundrum." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 41-53.

Norton, Augustus Richard. "Lebanon's Malaise." *Survival* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2000-01): 35-50.

Norton, Augustus Richard. "(In)security Zones in South Lebanon." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23, no. 1 (Autumn 1993): 61-79.

Ranstorp, Magnus. "The Strategy and Tactics of Hizballah's Current 'Lebanonization Process.'" *Mediterranean Politics* 3, no. 1 (1998): 103-134.

Schleifer, Ron. "Psychological Operations: A New Variation on an Age Old Art: Hezbollah versus Israel." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 1 (2006): 1-19.

Shanahan, Rodger. "A Pyrrhic Victory? Hezbollah's Complex Post-War Environment." *Democracy and Security* 4, no. 1 (2008): 34-47.

Rudner, Martin. "Hizbullah Terror Finance: Fund-Raising and Money-Laundering." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 33* (2010): 700-715.

Rudner, Martin. "Hizbullah: An Organizational and Operational Profile." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 23, no. 2 (2010): 226-246.

Wege, Anthony. "Hizbollah Organization." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 17 (1994): 151-164.

Wehley, Frederic M. "A Clash of Wills: Hizballah's Psychological Campaign against Israel in South Lebanon." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 13, no. 3 (2002): 53-74

Wiegand, Krista E. "Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32, no. 8 (2009): 669-680.

III. Books/ Monographs

Alagha, Joseph. *Hizbullah's Documents: From the 1985 Open Letter to the 2009 Manifesto*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011.

Alagha, Joseph Elie. *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Aslan, Reza. *No god but God*: *The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam.* New York: Random House, 2005.

Asprey, Robert B. *War in the Shadows: The Guerilla in History Vol. 1 & 2.* Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1975.

Azani, Eitan. *Hezbollah: The Story of the Party of God.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Baylouny, Anne Marie. *Al-Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies.* George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Occasional Paper Series no. 2, 2006.

Beaumont, Roger. *Small wars: Definitions and dimension.* In *Small wars*, edited by William. J. Olson. Vol. 541 of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, edited by Richard D. Lambert and Alan W. Heston. Thousand Oaks: Sage Periodicals Press, 1995.

Biddle, Stephen and Jeffrey A Friedman. *The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy.* Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2008.

Blanford, Nicholas. *Warriors of God: Inside Hezbollah's Thirty-Year Struggle against Israel*. New York: Random House, 2011.

Bolt, Neville, David Betz and Jez Azari. *Propaganda of the Deed 2008: Understanding the Phenomenon.* Whitehall Report 3-08. *Whitehall Report Series*, ed. Dr. Terrence McNamee. London: The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, 1998.

Brister, Paul, William H. Natter, III, and Robert R. Tomes. *Hybrid Warfare and Transnational Threats: Perspectives for an Era of Persistent Conflict.* New York: CENSA, 2011.

Byman, Daniel. *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Calwell, C.E. *Small Wars: Their Principles & Practice*. 3rd ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Chun, Clayton K.S. "Economics: A Key Element of National Power." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed. edited by. J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr.: 249-260. Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, June 2008.

Echevarria, Antulio J. *Fourth-Generation War and Other Myths.* Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, 2005.

Fendrick, Reed J. "Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed. edited by. J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr.: 189-194. Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, June 2008.

Galula, David. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006.

Gawrych, George W. *The 1973 Arab-Israeli War: The Albatross of Decisive Victory.* Leavenworth Papers, no. 21. Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 1996.

Ghazal, Amal, Jens Hanssen, Reinoud Leenders, eds. "The Sixth War: Israel's Invasion of Lebanon." *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* (Summer 2006).

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Hajjar, Sami G. *Hizballah: Terrorism, National Liberation, or Menace?* Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, 2002.

Hammes, Thomas X. "War Evolves into the Fourth Generation." *Contemporary Security Studies* 26, no. 2 (2005): 189-221.

Hammes, Thomas X. *The Sling and the Stone: On War in the 21ˢᵗ Century*. St. Paul: Zenith Press, 2006.

Hamzeh, Ahmad Nizer. *In the Path of Hizbullah*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004.

Hecker, Marc and Thomas Rid. *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age.* Westport: Praeger Security International, 2009.

Helmer, Daniel David. *Flipside of the COIN: Israel's Lebanese Incursion Between 1982-2000.* The Long War Series Occasional Paper 21. Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2006.

Hirst, David. *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East.* New York: Nation Books, 2010.

Hoffer, Eric. *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*. New York: Time, Inc, 1963.

Hoffman, Frank G. "*Conflicts in the 21ˢᵗ Century: The Rise of Hybrid War.*" Arlington: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007. Accessed March 25, 2012. http://www.projectwhitehorse.com/pdfs/HybridWar_0108.pdf.

Karp, Aaron, Regina Karp, and Terry Terriff, eds. *Global Insurgency and the Future of Armed Conflict: Debating Fourth-Generation Warfare.* New York: Routledge, 2008.

Kitson, Frank. *Low Intensity Operations.* London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1971.

Jaber, Hala. *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*. New York: Colombia University Press, 1997.

Joes, Anthony James. *Modern Guerilla Insurgency*. Westport: Praeger, 1992.

Jorisch, Avi. *Beacon of Hatred: Inside Hizballah's Al-Manar Television.* The Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Washington, D.C., 2004.

Lasica, Lt. Col. Daniel T. *Strategic Implications of Hybrid War: A Theory of Victory.* Ft. Leavenworth: United States Army Command and General Staff College, 2009.

Levitt, Matthew. "Hezbollah Finances: Funding the Party of God." In *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* edited by Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Love, James B. *Hezbollah: Social Services as a Source of Power.* Hurlburt Field: The JSOU Press, 2010.

Manwaring, Max G. *Insurgency, Terrorism, and Crime: Shadows from the Past and Portents for the Future.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.

Manwaring, Max G. *Latin America's New Security Reality: Irregular Asymmetric Warfare and Hugo Chavez.* Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, 2005.

Martin, John L. "Effectiveness of International Propaganda," In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 398, Propaganda in International Affairs* (November 1971): 61-63. Accessed on April 12, 2012. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1038921.

Marks, Thomas A. *Maoist People's War in Post-Vietnam Asia.* Bangkok: White Lotus, 2007.

Matthews, Matt M. *We Were Caught Unprepared: The 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli War,* The Long War Series Occasional Paper 26, Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2008.

Merom, Gil. *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon and the United States in Vietnam.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Murphy, Dennis M. "Strategic Communication: Wielding the Information Element of Power." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., edited by J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr.: 175-188. Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, June 2008.

Nagl, John A. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Nasr, Vali. *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007.

Nation, Craig R. "National Power." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., edited by J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr.: 163-174. Carlisle: Security Studies Institute, June 2008.

Nye, Jr., Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

O'Neill, Bard, William R. Heaton, and Donald J. Alberts, eds. *Insurgency in the Modern World*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1980.

Pedahzur, Ami. *Suicide Terrorism*. Malden: Polity Press, 2005

Porter, Patrick. *Military Orientalism—Eastern War through Western Eyes.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Qassem, Naim. *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*. Translated by Dalia Khalil. Beirut: Saqi, 2010.

Ranstorp, Magnus. "The Hizballah Training Camps of Lebanon." In *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*, Vol. 2, edited by James J.F. Forest. Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006.

Robb, John. *Brave New War: The Next Stage of Terrorism and the End of Globalization.* Hoboken: John Wiley Sons, Inc., 2007.

Saad-Ghorayeb, Amal. *Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion.* Sterling: Pluto Press, 2002.

Shy, John, and Thomas W. Collier. "Revolutionary War." In *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, edited by Peter Paret. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Totten, Michael J. *The Road to Fatima Gate: The Beirut Spring, the Rise of Hezbollah, and the Iranian War against Israel.* New York: Encounter, 2011.

Troxell, John F. "Military Power and the Use of Force." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol. 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 3rd. ed., edited by J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr.: 209-234. Carlisle, PA: Security Studies Institute, June 2008.

Tse-Tung, Mao. *On Guerilla Warfare*. Translated by Samuel B. Griffith. Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2005.

IV. Internet Sources

Anti-Defamation League. *Hezbollah's International Reach*. 2004. Accessed March 25, 2012. http://www.adl.org/terror/hezbollah_print.asp.

"Human Shields." American Jewish Congress. Accessed July 5, 2012. http://www.ajcongress.org/site/PageServer?pagename=humanshields.

"Hizballah Rockets." Globalsecurity.org. Accessed June 15, 2012. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hizballah-rockets.htm.

Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, *Funding terrorism: Hezbollah uses its websites to collect donations for itself and for its affiliated institutions in Lebanon and elsewhere in the world. The donations are deposited in bank accounts in Lebanon and Europe.* Israeli Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center. May 26, 2008. Accessed June 26, 2012. http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/data/pdf/PDF_08_120_2.pdf.

Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, *Hezbollah as a case study of the battle for hearts and minds.* Israeli Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center. June, 2007. Accessed June 26, 2012. http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/data/pdf/PDF_07_030_2.pdf.

IntelligenceOnline.com. *Hezbollah a North Korea-Type Guerilla Force*. No. 529 (25 August-7 September 2006). Accessed July 2, 2012. http://www.oss.net/dynamaster/file_archive/060902/26241feaf4766b4d441a3a78917cd55c/Intelligence%20Online%20on%20Hezbolllah.pdf.

"Iranian Artillery Rockets." Globalsecurity.org. Accessed June 16, 2012. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iran/mrl-iran.htm.

"Iranian Artillery Rocket Launchers." Globalsecurity.org. Accessed June 16, 2012. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iran/mrl-iran-launcher.htm.

"Iranian Artillery Rockets Specifications." Globalsecurity.org. Accessed June 16, 2012. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iran/mrl-iran-specs.htm.

Israeli Defense Force. *Hezbollah Weaponry and Tactics*. Accessed July 5, 2012 http://www.flickr.com/photos/idfonline/sets/72157623454720034.

"Israeli Opinion Regarding Peace with Syria and Lebanon." Jewish Virtual Library. April, 2000. Accessed June 20, 2012. http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/golanpo.html

Nasrallah, Sayyed Hassan "Full Speech of Secretary General of Hizbullah, His Eminence Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, during the Festival of Victory in Bint Jbeil City on May 26, 2000." Accessed July 2, 2012. http://www.english.moqawama.org/essaydetails.php?eid=14178&cid=322.

"Operation Accountability." Globalsecurity.org. Accessed July 1, 2012. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/lebanon-accountability.htm

The Kataeb Party. "History of the Lebanese Phalanges." The Lebanese Phalanges. Accessed July 12, 2012. http://www.kataebonline.org/history.html.

The Living Martyr: Inside the Hezbollah, 2000. Accessed June 12, 2012 http://0-digital.films.com.lib.utep.edu/PortalViewVideo.aspx?xtid=29377#.

The Velvet Rocket Online Magazine. "The Lebanon of Hezbollah." Accessed June 14, 2012. http://thevelvetrocket.com/2011/08/22/the-lebanon-of-hezbollah.

The World Bank. Accessed June 20, 2012. http://www.worldbank.org.

Urich, Jonathan. "Hezbollah located in 1,000 facilities in southern Lebanon." March, 3, 2011. Accessed July 5, 2012. http://www.idf.il/1283-9582-en/Dover.aspx.

*"*Zelzal-2/Mushak-200." Globalsecurity.org. Accessed June 16, 2012.

http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/iran/zelzal-2.htm.

V. Non-Peer Reviewed Articles

Blanche, Ed. "A Bizarre Yet Bloody Conflict Drags On in South Lebanon: Part One." *Jane's Intelligence Review* (September 1997): 411-415.

Blanche, Ed. "A Bizarre yet Bloody Conflict Drags on in Southern Lebanon: Part Two." *Jane's Intelligence Review* (October 1997): 457-462.

Blanche, Ed. "Is the Myth Fading for the Israeli Army?—Part 1." *Jane's Intelligence Review* (December 1996): 547-550.

Blanford, Nicholas. "Deconstructing Hizbullah's Surprise Military Prowess." *Jane's Intelligence Review* 18, no. 11 (November 2006): 20-27.

Blanford, Nicholas. "Hezbollah Attacks Force Israel to Take a Hard Look at Lebanon." *Jane's Intelligence Review* (April 1999): 32-37.

Cordesman, Anthony H. "The Lessons of the Israeli-Lebanon War." Center for Strategy and International Studies, March 11, 2008.

Erlanger, Steven and Richard A. Oppel, Jr. "A Disciplined Hezbollah Surprises Israel With Its Training, Tactics and Weapons." *The New York Times*. August 7, 2006. Accessed June 30, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07hezbollah.html.

Erlich, Reuven. *Hezbollah's use of Lebanese civilians as human shields: the extensive military infrastructure positioned and hidden in populated areas. From within the Lebanese towns and villages deliberate rocket attacks were directed against civilian targets in Israel.* Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies. November 2006. Accessed June 30, 2012. http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/19120.

Eshel, Lt. Col. David. "Armored Anti-Guerrilla Combat In South Lebanon." *Armor* (July August 1997): 26-29.

Eshel, David. "Counter-guerilla Warfare in South Lebanon." *Marine Corps. Gazette* 81, Issue 1 (July 1997): 40-43.

Finer, Jonathan. "Israeli Soldiers Find a Tenacious Foe in Hezbollah." *The Washington Post*. August 8, 2006. Accessed July 1, 2012. www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/08/07/AR2006080701453_pf.html.

Goldberg, Jeffrey. "In the Party of God, Part 2: Hezbollah Sets Up Operations in South

American and the United States." *The New Yorker*. October 14, 2002. Accessed May 9, 2012. http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2002/10/28/021028fa_fact2.

Hammes, Thomas X. "The Evolution of War: The Fourth Generation." *Marine Corps Gazette* (September 1994). Accessed March 17, 2012. http://www.zoklet.net/totse/en/politics/us_military/162582.html.

Helmer, Captain Daniel. "Not Quite Counterinsurgency: A Cautionary Tale for the US Forces Based on Israel's Operation Change of Direction." *Armor* 116, No.1 (January–February 2007): 7-11.

Kifner, John. "In the 1990s, Shadows Waged War." *The New York Times*. July 26, 2006.

Lawrence, T.E. *Science of Guerilla Warfare*. 1929. Accessed Feb. 27, 2012. http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~eshaw/lawrence.htm.

Lind, et al. "The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation." *Marine Corps. Gazette* 1989. Accessed Mar. 17, 2012. http://zinelibrary.info/files/TheChangingFaceofWar-onscreen.pdf.

McCuen, Col. John J. "Hybrid Wars." *Military Review* (March-April 2008): 107-113.

Miryekta, Cyrus. "Hezbollah in the Tri-Border Area of South America." *Small Wars Journal* Sept. 10, 2010. http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/hezbollah-in-south-america.

Myre. Greg. "Offering Video, Israel Answers Critics of War." *The New York Times*. December 5, 2006. Accessed July 5, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/05/world/middleeast/05mideast.html?pagewanted=2&_r=1&ei=5088&en=b8b25a9e380122ff&ex=1322974800&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss.

Rathmell, Andrew. "The War in South Lebanon." *Jane's Intelligence Review*. April 1994: 178-182.

Venter, Al J. "Lebanon; A Pawn in a Power Struggle." *Jane's Intelligence Review* (June 1998): 18-23.

Ya'ari, Ehud. "Hizballah: 13 Principles of Warfare." *The Jerusalem Report*. March 21, 1996.

Zacharia, Janine. "Israel, long critical of Assad, may prefer he stay after all." *The Washington Post*. March 29, 2011. Accessed July 5, 2012. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/israel-long-critical-of-assad-may-prefer-he-stay-after-all/2011/03/29/AFIq5JxB_story.html.

VI. Theses

Mason, Douglas E. "An Assessment of the 2006 Lebanon-Israeli War." Master's thesis, Joint
    Forces Staff College, 2009.

Philippone, Douglas. "Hezbollah: The Network and its support systems, can they be stopped?"
    Master's thesis. Naval Postgraduate School, 2008.

Whitting, Maj. Christopher E. *When David Becomes Goliath*. Master's thesis. U.S. Army
    General Command and Staff College, 2001.

Curriculum Vita

Stephen K. Mulhern was born in Havre de Grace, Maryland, but has lived in Arlington, Texas since he was three months old. He is the youngest of four children born to Lt. Col. (Ret.) Michael L. Mulhern and retired teacher Linda S. Mulhern. He graduated from Arlington High School in 2003 and enrolled at Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas in the fall of 2003. He graduated with a B.A. in Political Science in the fall of 2007. In 2009, he enrolled at the University of Texas at El Paso in the M.S. in Intelligence and National Security Studies graduate program and was an Intelligence Community Center of Academic Excellence (IC CAE) Scholar. He is currently attending Kansas State University's Security Studies doctoral program.

Permanent Address: 2915 Canongate Dr.

                            Arlington, TX 76015