

## November 13, 2014

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### Shi'i Oppositional Movements

- Hezbollah
  - Faction of God
  - Lebanon
  - flag, iconography of AK47 and globe
- Shi'ites fled from South after Israeli attacks, went to suburbs of Beirut
  - where Hizballah is centered now
- Musa al-Sadr
  - mobilizing Shi'ites, but not with intentions of Islamic state, war with Israel, etc
- Ideology of Hezbollah
  - different from al-Sadr and Amal
    - al-Sadr didn't promote velayat-e faqih
  - Set up by IRGC (paramilitary troops created by Khomeini after 79) in 1982
    - response to Israel's invasion of Lebanon
      - Iran considers itself revolutionary regime fighting against "forces of arrogance"
    - way to impose Iranian influence and power in Lebanon
  - fervent belief in Wilayat-e faqih
    - must believe in doctrine to be a Hizballah fighter
  - Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah (d. 2010)
    - Grand Ayatollah (only Lebanese one)
    - had political ideology that aligned with Khomeini
    - some say Hizballah's ideology defied from Fadlallah's writings
      - not true



- Hizballah always attached to Iran and Islamic Revolution, *not* Lebanese Fadlallah
- wage war against Israel's occupation
- committed to Israel's destruction
- originally wanted to set up Islamic state in Lebanon
  - abandoned that as a goal in 1992
- "culture of resistance" of the "oppressed" (mustad'afun) against the "arrogant" (mustakbirun)
- copy and imitate Israeli military tactics
  - claim they are just as good, smart, and capable as the Westerners and the Israelis
- talk in terms of Muslims, not Shi'ites
- Heavy use of propaganda videos
  - film attacks, set to music
  - emphasis and pride in look, professionalism of soldiers
    - imitate Israel and the West
- History
  - 1982 establishment by IRGC
  - wages asymmetrical campaign against Israeli forces
  - developed suicide bomb attacks
  - takes hostages
  - exempt from demilitarization after 1990 Ta'if Agreement that ended civil war in Lebanon
  - established Manar TV in 1991
  - joins parliamentary elections in 1992
    - major faction in lebanese politics
  - expels israeli forces in 2000
  - wages war against Israel in 2006

- has fiberoptic telecommunications network separate from rest of Lebanon connection to Iran
  - Sunni PM of Lebanon saw it as challenge to Lebanese sovereignty
  - Hizballah attacked Sunnis in Beirut in 2008
- enters Syrian was in 2012
- Historical Timeline
  - April 1983: explosion at US embassy in Beirut, 63 employees killed
  - Oct 1983: explosion at US/French HQ in Beirut, 240 US marines and 58 paratroopers killed
  - Dec 1983: explosion at US embassy in Kuwait
  - since 1990s, stopped attacking US and focused against Israel
- Israeli response
  - 1985: car bombing targets Fadlallah (failed)
  - July 1989: Israeli commandos kidnap Abdul Karim Ubayd, leader of Hizballah
- emphasis on discipline and institutionalization
  - most political movements (until Hizballah) depend largely on existence of a particular leader
    - cult of personality
- Hizballah billed itself such that no individual (at the top or within the movement) can be so important that the movement would be weakened or cease to function without that individual
  - created a Western-style institution
  - modeled after Israeli army



- not tied to the fate of any specific person
- source of strength
- no other movement in the middle east that is institutionalized in that form
  - people are fungible
- “They look exactly like Princeton.”
- Sayyid Hasan Nasrullah
  - 2012 speech, threatens thousands of missiles all over Israel if it attacks Lebanon
- Ayatollah Khamenei
- 2006 War
  - Hizballah decides they will enter Israel
    - not clear why
    - maybe order from Iran to do this
  - Hizballah attacks Israeli border, kill soldiers, take hostages
  - Israeli retaliation
  - “Divine victory”
- Syria’s Revolution 2011 - present
  - majority of Syrian population is Sunni, revolted peacefully against Syrian regime
  - Hizballah realized that losing Assad in power would undermine Hizballah politically and economically (weapons supply)
  - Hizballah (as a branch of IRGC) moved in, turned tide of war in favor of Assad regime
    - made crucial difference in the survival of the Assad regime
  - Hizballah showed their hand as a proxy for Iran
    - claim to be a movement of resistance is called into question
  - Future of Hezbollah?
    - Is Hizballah an Iranian proxy or a Lebanese movement?

- tied to fate of regime in Iran
- alienated a huge part of population of Lebanon
  - feel held hostage to Iran, Iran's politics, and Iran's interests
    - not comfortable leaving their fate to the revolutionary Iranian regime with many enemies
- Iran would probably use Hizballah in a war against Israel
- decline in popularity in Lebanon