

## THE IMPACT OF STATE TERRORISM ON REGIONAL SECURITY: ( THE SYRIAN REGIME POST-2010 AS A CASE STUDY).

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### **Abstract**

*The state terrorism concept refers to deeds of violence that the state undertakes against its citizens or foreign targets. The state resorts to terrorism to destroy the collective will of the people and paralyze its political effectiveness, as the country turns into a large prison, in which the authority exercises all ways of the psychological and physical torture, and carry out massacres. Over the past twenty years and under the emergency law and conventional law, human rights and fundamental freedoms in Syria, have witnessed continuing violations. This research will shed a light on violence in which practiced by the Assad regime (father and son) and answering the questions that, is state terrorism is a new phenomenon to the Assad regime?, what are the effects and consequences of organized terrorism on the globalization of terrorism in the regional and international environment?*

*The hypotheses of the research are:*

1. *For several decades the Syrian regime has practiced organized terrorism (state terrorism), but after 2011 the circle of repressive practices in all its forms expanded, which show in an unprecedented way, the terrorism actions of the Syrian state.*

2. *Without international coalitions and without regional and international support, the state terrorism of the Syrian government would not have existed. In addition, the terrorism of the Syrian state left a direct impact on the emergence of terrorist groups and organizations that practiced international terrorism, which means the terrorism act of the regime, had fueled international terrorism (the globalization of terrorism).*

*The research conclusion is that, the state terrorism in Syria began when the Assad family took power in Syria, and it practiced repression and violence in a planned and systematic way that symbolized state terrorism in Syria. The events of 2011 did not generate state terrorism, as that state terrorism existed before this period, but rather revealed the true face of the Assad regime and its organized terror acts against its population; this affected the emergence of another terrorist phenomenon, which organized by those groups and organizations against the Syrian regime and soon recognized themselves as a state (the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant/ISIL). This state practiced terrorism on a high and brutal level, and with its ideas, actions and criminal activities exceeded all international moral, religious and legal standards; subsequently, the ideas, actions and activities of this so called ISIL, threatened the whole world.*

### **Key words**

*Terrorism. State terrorism. Organized violence. Authoritarian power. Failed systems. Regional security. International security.*

### **INTRODUCTION:**

Official terrorism policy (state terrorism) or organized terrorism relies on the state's fear of the people and its failure to address political, economic, social, and cultural issues effectively, leading to a lack of trust between the ruling regime and the governed. This lack of trust quickly turns into a



state of contradiction, instilling fear and panic in the ruler themselves. Consequently, the regime resorts to imposing lost stability through force, violence, and terrorism in a systematic and planned manner to suppress ideas, movements, and currents opposing the regime, instead of seeking solutions through genuine reforms that satisfy the basic needs of citizens. This form of violent practices has expanded extensively, especially in the last decade of the twentieth century and up to the present day in the Middle East and developing countries. Mechanisms of communicative globalization have been exploited by regimes and governments to monitor dissenting ideas and movements that do not align with the regime's agenda, as well as to extend the power influence and violate the rights of citizens.

State terrorism (official organized terrorism) is considered one of the most dangerous violations of human rights, foremost among them the right to life. A regime that practices repression and terrorism domestically inevitably extends its terrorism to include other territories and regions, with very serious security implications. Thus, it threatens global security and safety, with the outcomes of terrorist acts by terrorist regimes domestically and internationally serving the process of what is called "globalizing terrorism," where terrorism takes on a global dimension beyond national borders, thereby endangering the lives and interests of individuals and peoples and undermining the foundations of friendly and positive relations between states and peoples.

States resort to terrorism to crush the collective will of the people, paralyze their political effectiveness, and subject them to a policy of discrimination and domination, using security apparatuses, the army, and armed forces in their terrorist activities. Countries turn into large collective prisons where all means of psychological and physical torture are practiced, massacres are committed, and widespread revenge acts occur indiscriminately.

Syria has witnessed grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms over the past twenty years, amid the state of emergency law, arbitrary judgments, exceptional courts, serious and continuous excesses, attacks, and violations. These demonstrated the extent to which this regime disregards human beings, understanding of their rights and freedoms, commitment to national legislation, international agreements on human rights signed by Syria, the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and principles of justice, freedom, and rights. In addition to all this, the repressive policies of the Assad regime had a significant impact on globalizing terrorism, considering that many extremist organizations and groups exploited the chaotic space in Syria to regroup and pose a threat to the sovereignty, borders, and lives of citizens in several countries in the region, for example, the terrorist organization ISIS in Syria, Iraq, and Libya.

#### **Importance of the Research:**

The importance of this research lies in addressing a topic of utmost significance, which has become one of the most pressing challenges facing the global community, especially as this phenomenon is now extensively practiced by totalitarian regimes and sometimes in developing countries. The research also sheds light on the serious repercussions of organized repressive and violent policies on regional and global security, given that all activities and movements in the era of globalization take on an international and global dimension. Ideas, issues, and practices are no longer confined and restricted internally; rather, local matters now have international implications and effects, while international affairs positively or negatively impact internal issues.

#### **Research Questions:**

Throughout our research, we raise numerous issues through the questions we pose. However, the core question, in our opinion, lies in elucidating the various forms of violent and repressive practices perpetrated by the Assad regime (both the father and the son). This is achieved by posing the question: What are the forms of organized terrorism practiced by the Assad regime? Is state terrorism a new phenomenon for the Assad regime, meaning it truly began around 2011? Finally, what are the impacts and consequences of organized terrorism on the globalization of terrorism in both regional and international environments?

#### **Research Hypothesis:**

Our research is based on highlighting its main hypothesis through two axes:



**First:** Our research hypothesis is that the Syrian regime has been practicing organized terrorism (state terrorism) for several decades, but after 2011, the scope of repressive practices expanded in various forms, leading to the unprecedented and prominent emergence of Syrian state terrorism.

**Second:** The second axis of our research hypothesis is that Syrian state terrorism would not have persisted and continued without regional and international support under the guise of international alliances (such as the Russian and Iranian roles and the presence of militias like Hezbollah). Additionally, Syrian state terrorism has directly contributed to the emergence of terrorist groups and organizations engaging in international terrorism. This suggests that the regime's terrorism has facilitated the nourishment of international terrorism (globalization of terrorism). Consequently, regional security has been disrupted due to the proliferation and instability of security conditions in Syria.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, we relied on the analytical approach, in order to analyze several elements and factors that were necessary to study and analyze, including the nature of the political system and the personal factors and characteristics of the leader, as well as the effects and repercussions of internal violence on the external and regional environment.

#### The first section:

##### Definition of Terrorism and State Terrorism

Terrorism meaning fear. Simply refers to fear and panic, and it implies fear of punishment from unknown parties ( Ibn Manzur - Lisan,1995, p. 174.)

Terrorism is when someone resorts to illegal violence or threats to achieve political goals, whether by the government, individuals, or opposing revolutionary groups( Imam Hassanin, House, 2004, p. 97.)The importance of defining the phenomenon of terrorism has led countries to hold conferences, seminars, and discussions about its elements and causes. Generally, two trends have emerged in this regard: the first is the material trend, and the second is the moral or ideological trend.

The term "terrorism," "terrorist," or "terrorism" is generally a modern term used in living languages in today's world, with its usage dating back to the 18th century. The meanings of the word "terrorism" in Arabic and global dictionaries revolve around meanings of fear, awe, or extreme panic. This term has become the most common in both international and local official and media discourse.

This phenomenon has emerged due to the escalating criminal events, which pose significant danger, in addition to the political practices of states - especially major ones - which have control over the media, thus shaping media discourse and updating its vocabulary.( Muhammad , 2007, p. 36)

There is no doubt that understanding the concept of terrorist acts begins with knowing the linguistic reality of the word "terrorism" and understanding the extent of variation or agreement in its meaning among living languages. One of the most important objectives of this study is to reach a cognitive approach that defines terrorist acts objectively and legally, free from political and personal considerations. This goal can be achieved whenever the linguistic meaning of the word "terrorism" aligns in contemporary languages.( Abdelkader,2011 , p. 14. See also Hassanein, 2006, p. 24.

So, what is the meaning or connotation of the word "terrorism" and its derivatives in the Arabic language and some other living languages?

##### Meaning of the word "terrorism" in Arabic:

If we start with the linguistic definition of the word "terrorism" in the Arabic language, we find that ancient Arabic dictionaries did not mention the word "terrorism" or "terrorist." Some attribute this to the fact that they are modern terms and were not known in ancient times. The linguistic origin of the word "terrorism" in Arabic is the verb "rahb," meaning fear, awe, or intimidate. The noun form is "rihba," and the verb "tarihba" means worship. ( Abdelkader,2011 , p. 14. See also Hassanein, 2006, p. 24).Ibn Al-Katheer states that "tahreeb" means intimidation.



Some argue that terrorism is derived from "rahba," meaning fear, or it is intimidation, spreading insecurity, and instilling terror and panic ( Abu Al-Fadl, 1993, pp. 436-437 ) In "Lisan Al-Arab," it is mentioned under the article "rahb": "rahb" with a kasra means to fear, and "rihba" and "rihban" with a damma mean fear, and "rihba" means to fear something( Abu Al-Fadl, 1993, pp. 436-437)

In political dictionaries, the term "terrorism" generally refers to attempting to spread panic and fear to achieve political goals. Terrorism is a means used by authoritarian governments to coerce the population into submission. In political encyclopedias, terrorism means the use of violence or the threat thereof in various forms such as assassination, mutilation, torture, sabotage, and bombing to achieve specific political goals, such as breaking the spirit of resistance or undermining the morale of individuals and institutions, or as a means to obtain information or material gains, or to subjugate opposing parties to the will of the terrorist entity ( Abd al-Wahhab, 1985, p. 135.)

In the French Academy dictionary published in 1694, the word "terreur" meant "terror," extreme fear, or violent disturbance occurring in the soul in the form of a present evil image or imminent danger.( Abdul Qader,2011, p. 14)

However, Robespierre and his companions from the men of the French Revolution exploited the characteristics of terror in terms of its effect on people, elevating it to a means of governance and horrifically practicing it against enemies of the French Revolution, such as the massacres of September 1792 committed against prisoners and detainees who were feared to collude with enemies of France from neighboring states.( Abdul Qader,2011, p. 14.)

Therefore, the use of the term "terrorism" historically in Western culture refers to the type of rule that the French Revolution resorted to during the Jacobin Republic or Jacobinism against the alliance of royalists and bourgeois opposed to the revolution.

The origin of the word "terrorism" in English can be traced back to the Latin verb "Ters," from which the word "Terror" is derived, meaning terror or extreme fear. The Oxford English Dictionary defines terrorism as "the use of violence and intimidation, especially for political purposes(Muhammad and Agadir, 2006, pp. 23-26), " The word "terrorism" in English is formed by adding the suffix "ISM" to the noun "Terror," meaning panic, terror, and horror, and the verb "Terrorize" is derived from it, meaning to terrorize and horrify.( Muhammad and Agadir, 2006, p41)

In the modern politics dictionary, the term "terrorist" is used to describe political groups that use violence to pressure governments into supporting advocated directions or demanding radical social changes. Other definitions in English dictionaries revolve around the previously mentioned meaning.( Muhammad,2007, p. 42.)

Returning to the context of analysis, some political analysts believe that terrorism has become an alternative to war, while Dr. Ahmed Azaddin believes it has become a de facto alternative to war (albeit traditional) because terrorism has become a means of influencing political decisions.

Dr. Nabil Ahmed Helmy defines terrorism as an international crime, which is "acts that violate the rules and traditions of the international system, and the rules of humanity. ( Dr. Thamer ,Social Issues., 2019)

In summary, regarding the linguistic definitions of the word "terrorism" and its derivatives, there is not much difference in the linguistic meaning of the word "terrorism" between languages. The meaning of the word in Arabic is almost the same in foreign languages, as it generally conveys the sense of fear, terror, and having a political goal through the use of violence or the threat thereof. In Kurdish, the term " Teror" is used to refer to violent acts and the use of intimidation beyond the limits allowed for the use of force in all its violent forms.

However, the reality of today's situation indicates that with the evolution of the phenomenon of terrorism, terrorist acts extend beyond political goals to ideological, personal, religious, or racial purposes. Individual acts extend to group and state actions. Ultimately, the concept of terrorism is broad and cannot be confined within a specific framework or defined by specific rules because it can be practiced in various forms, in terms of the means used, the objectives sought, and the



actors involved. Who are the perpetrators of terrorism? Can they be limited to individuals, entities, states, groups, etc.?

**As for the second issue:** Defining state terrorism (official or organized terrorism), we can distinguish several types of terrorism depending on its intended goal, its spread environment, the entity carrying it out, or the method of execution. Concerning our research, the term "state terrorism" refers to acts of terrorism carried out by a state against its citizens or foreign targets. It describes the widespread violence perpetrated by a state against its people. States resort to terrorism to crush the collective will of the people, undermine their political efficacy, and subject them to a policy of discrimination and domination. They use security apparatuses, the army, and armed forces in their terrorist activities, turning the country into a large collective prison where all forms of psychological and physical torture are practiced, massacres are committed, and widespread revenge is carried out without discrimination. ( Hassan , 2007, p. 54)

### **The third issue: State Terrorism in Syria**

In recent times, Syria has been referred to as the "Kingdom of Silence," indicating that both the state and its citizens were subjected to surveillance, arbitrary arrests, oppression, and killings by the ruling authority. ( Shams, 2017, pp. 7-8 )

The regime silenced any voice or conscience that called for justice and demanded it. The state conducted periodic and recurrent raids, searches, and sweeps of cities, neighborhoods, villages, and homes, targeting hundreds of innocent citizens. Thousands were arbitrarily arrested without charge, while thousands more were displaced, suffering in their livelihoods and sustenance. Kidnappings, assassinations, and extrajudicial killings were carried out against Syrians and Arabs, as well as opinion leaders, intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other prominent figures, who were either tortured to death or killed by organized terrorist operations inside and outside Syria. The regime even perpetrated massacres and genocide, executed by its military forces in various Syrian cities and towns, including Tel al-Zaatar, Tripoli in Lebanon, Damascus, Aleppo, Latakia, Jisr al-Shughur, Idlib, Tadmur Prison, and many others. ( Shams, 2017, pp. 7-8 )

The human rights situation in Syria over the past two decades has witnessed ongoing violations and abuses in the presence of emergency laws, extrajudicial judgments, and exceptional courts. These violations reflect the regime's disregard for human beings and its failure to understand their rights and freedoms. The regime has violated national legislation, international agreements on human rights, and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its violations have primarily targeted the right to life, freedom, and personal safety – fundamental rights sacred in all laws of the earth and heavenly rules, which have been affirmed, protected, respected, and not violated. However, the ruling regime in Syria has made it a constant practice and a systematic policy to infringe upon the right to life and personal freedom, in addition to violating economic, democratic, trade union, and other rights recognized by international treaties and agreed upon by the international community. ( Yasser ,2018)

### **The second section:**

#### **The Syrian regime and the practices of state terrorism (Historical Stages)**

It can be said that the features and practices of state terrorism manifested during 50 years of Baathist rule and the Assad's unprecedented bloody terrorism in massacres and atrocities in Syrian history.

#### **First Issue: Stages of Adopting State Terrorism**

The storming of the Sultan Mosque in Hama by the coup authorities of the Baath Party in 1964 to disperse a peaceful sit-in by force, and then the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus to disperse a sit-in by Damascus merchants, where Baath Party tanks entered the historic mosque courtyard for the first time, shedding the blood of Syrian protesters, marked the first signs of political violence of the authoritarian state and sectarian terrorism that gradually formed with the coup of the Black Baath Party. Its criminal sectarian peak was reached in the 1980s, as a result of ten years of Hafez al-



Assad's rule, who legalized the Alawite sectarian seizure of the Syrian state ( Dr. Ahmed ,the Arab Center for Research and Studies, 2017)

For example, the coup of 1970 carried out by Hafez al-Assad was the beginning of an era of injustice and organized corruption for the Assad family, a regime where (institutionalized violence) was no longer a guarantor of the ruler's survival, or sufficient to defend power, marking the beginning of another bloody and torturous era in Syria. It was an organized terrorism by the authority (Michel , Al Jazeera website , 2018)

Perhaps the explosion in 1980 wasn't just a political and military confrontation between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Assad regime; it was indeed a genuine societal explosion. This came after a decade of the Assad regime's consolidation of power, seizing all economic, political, and cultural resources of the Syrian state. Many Syrians didn't anticipate any political breakthrough from the Syrian authorities; rather, Hafez al-Assad's actions hinted at a fusion of two abhorrent tendencies: tyranny and sectarianism.

The regime's seizure and monopolization of power meant abandoning any national project derived from legitimate sources of authority. Instead, maintaining power became the regime's sole project. The regime sought political vehicles for its authoritarian agenda, masking it with a traditional nationalist discourse that concealed its oppression and corruption. This deceitful rhetoric justified the regime's brutal actions against the Syrian people, convincing Syrians that any notion of resistance came at the cost of their dignity, freedom, and rights.

The military explosion in the early 1980s, portrayed as mutual violence between the Assad regime and the Muslim Brotherhood, witnessed defensive violence against an aggressive regime. This phase's repercussions affected all Syrians, not just the Muslim Brotherhood. The regime's response to any form of Syrian opposition consolidated its grip on power, with a few generals becoming the oppressors under Assad's authorization. Figures like

A - Brigadier Ali Haydar: Commander of the Special Forces.

B - Rifaat al-Assad: Commander of the Defense Companies.

C - Brigadier Shafiq Fayadh: Commander of the Third Division.

D - Brigadier Ali Duba: Head of General Intelligence.

E - Hisham Bakhtiar: Chief of Military Intelligence.

during the 1980s, the Assad regime is blamed for inaugurating a new phase that left Syria appearing more humiliated and impoverished. ( Michel , Al Jazeera website , 2018)

### **The second issue**

is the abandonment of the concept of the state. The combination of sectarianism and despotism made the Assad regime somewhat of an outlier from the standards to which most despotic regimes adhere. Effectively, the concept of the state was abandoned, relying instead on the power and cohesion of the sect and subsequently the family. The Syrian state was no longer perceived with all its capacities except as a private farm for them. Bashar al-Assad's statement before the invasion of Hama, "I will turn Hama into a potato field," underscores this perception. Syrian society after 1980 became a constantly humiliated and violated society under a violent authority, indicating that "compound violence" became the guaranteed means of defending power. Here are some of the most prominent incidents of this form of compound violence: ( Michel , Al Jazeera website , 2018)

1. In June 1980, Hafez al-Assad survived an assassination attempt, which was blamed on the Muslim Brotherhood. On the night of June 27 of the same year, Rifaat al-Assad, then commander of the Defense Brigades, stormed the military prison in Tadmur and killed approximately 800 Islamist detainees within a few hours.

2. In early 1981, Special Forces besieged the Al-Masharqa neighborhood in Aleppo on the morning of Eid al-Fitr, gathering its residents and killing them all.

3. On February 2, 1982, the city of Hama was invaded and its inhabitants subjected to brutality, resulting in the killing of approximately twenty thousand of its residents.

It may be difficult to provide an accurate statistical analysis of cases of compound violence that occurred in Syria because they were not exceptional cases resorted to by the authorities, but



rather a widespread situation ranging from the terror practiced by security personnel against citizens in public streets to individual and mass killings.

**The Third Issue: The 2011 Revolution: Syrians (the Syrian people) Caught Between Two Terrors!**

If the dictatorship regime in Syria has established terrorism in both its legislative and executive forms, then the Syrian people, after the start of the Syrian revolution, have faced forms of terrorism no less horrifying and brutal than the terrorism established by the Assad regime. The source of this terrorism is religious groups carrying non-national agendas aimed at controlling areas of Syrian land. They also aim to tighten their grip and dominance over the economic and financial resources of those areas. Moreover, they work diligently to compel citizens to adopt their ideologies and values. Those who refuse to comply are threatened with various forms of punishment, including imprisonment, confiscation of property, and even murder and mutilation.

These groups derive legitimacy for their behavior from a strong desire for control and power. To justify this desire, they resort to Islam, granting them a religious cover drawn from centuries-old Islamic heritage. Interestingly, the intellectual and political projects pursued by these groups do not align with the social context of Syrian life nor were they the catalysts for the Syrian revolution. They are transient projects that exist only in areas lacking state authority, allowing these groups to operate. Syrians currently face two main sources of terrorism:

Firstly, terrorism rooted in dictatorship, embodied by the Assad regime and its allied forces, which will only cease with the removal of its causes, meaning the elimination of dictatorship and the establishment of a state chosen by the Syrians themselves.

Secondly, terrorism led by extremist religious groups and forces, aiming to enforce their ideologies through coercion, seize power, and exercise it not based on citizens' will but rather on their own claim of divine authority.

**The fourth demand: The terrorism of the Syrian state in the context of the contemporary international political equation (globalization of terrorism).**

The remarkable changes that have occurred in the Syrian political landscape since the beginning of the revolution until now have proven that the real motive has been and still is the liberation from the Assad regime's colonialism, tyranny, and oppression. The Syrian people's demand for freedom and dignity ignited many qualitative and quantitative changes that directly affected the international and regional political situation. The role played by the United Nations, particularly its Security Council and some of its sensitive agencies like the International Atomic Energy Agency, indicates their intervention in the Syrian events after a long absence, despite the regime's repeated use of chemical weapons against unarmed civilians. However, the results of UN teams and missions sent to find a solution to the Syrian crisis reveal the weakness of the international organization in dealing with the crisis and its security repercussions, whether at the Syrian internal level or its implications on the regional and even international security environment.

On the other hand, the reinstatement of the balance of power standards, role exchanges, and interests, and the use of the Russian-Chinese axis supporting the criminal regime, the double veto, considered undemocratic practice, led to the paralysis of the Council, especially as the actions of the Syrian regime are appropriately described as terrorist acts of a state towards its people ( Emad ,2012, p. 160) Therefore, the policy of obstructing the Security Council (considering that the Council has not even been able to issue a resolution condemning the Assad regime, due to Russia's staunch support for the Assad regime) (Dr. Ibrahim ,Al Jazeera website,2018.)in the face of forces considered allies of Assad, is evidence of their support for fascist and racist regimes. This aids in the existence of state terrorism, which constitutes a major violation of human rights and is contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter ( Dr. Hassan ,Al Mayadeen website)

Furthermore, the Syrian opposition countries have been unable to directly strike the Assad regime except for short and limited periods, due to considerations of international politics and the great powers' conflict in Syria. As a result, the outcome is confined to Assad's remaining in power and continuing his organized terrorism against his people. The globalization of terrorism in Syria has led to policies pursued by both Assad's supporters and opponents, serving to create and expand a security vacuum where terrorist groups thrive. Syria has become fertile ground for the emergence



of numerous extremist groups and organizations, perhaps the most ruthless and powerful in the history of international relations. The Islamic State, which has practiced terrorism beyond its borders, issuing extremist terrorist ideology beyond regional boundaries, has become a threat within European and advanced countries, leading to an international coalition of over 70 countries to stop the spread of terrorism it practiced.

As a result, the Syrian revolution has created an international and regional crisis, causing the Council to lose its moral basis when it left the Syrian people to face Assad's slaughter squads, which have trampled on the basic human rights of Syrians, leaving them with the choice between facing death or suffering exile and displacement. Meanwhile, those who appointed themselves as guardians of the principle (the international community and some factions of the opposition) deliberately turned their backs and imposed coercive solutions on the Syrian people by negotiating with the regime in an international conference aimed at saving Bashar al-Assad and preserving his security apparatus, covering up the international community's retreat and failure to support the Syrians according to an international plan and scenario paving the way for a civil war that drains the capabilities of the Syrian people and the country's infrastructure. Additionally, the crisis has opened the door to the emergence of extremist ideas that refuse to submit to authoritarian regimes while also firmly standing against the strategies of the great powers. In this context, lacking movement and activity within one state, these forces resort to violence and terrorism under the management of external powers. In the age of globalization and information technology, the natural result is that their activities and actions do not remain confined to one state, thus initiating the process of globalizing their terrorism to further reaches and areas of the world.

**The fifth demand: Implications of state terrorism in Syria on the regional security system.**

One of the primary threats to regional and international security, related to Syrian state terrorism, is the deluge of refugees, numbering over four million, in addition to even more internally displaced persons. This represents one of the largest displacement crises the world has seen since World War II. Within the framework of the security approach to the Syrian refugee crisis, another challenge has emerged in the form of the spread of organized crime gangs, exploiting the refugees' tragedy for illegal purposes, exacerbating the crisis and casting its destructive repercussions on security and stability, both nationally and beyond.

Another threat to regional and international security stemming from Syrian state terrorism is manifested in the explosion and expansion of individual arms trade, whether within Syria or in its regional vicinity. This phenomenon is not entirely new to the region, but what is new is its magnification and escalation to the point of uncontrollability. No one today can claim the ability to control or grasp the threads of this trade completely, as it is unregulated in all its aspects and not centrally directed by specific organizations or groups. The chaotic explosion of individual and organized group arms trade in the Middle East may not be fully apparent at present, but it will undoubtedly have deep-seated repercussions on regional security and, consequently, international security in the future.

The third issue highlighted by the brutality and terrorism of the Syrian regime is the growing and increasing presence of extremist fundamentalist groups and organizations that resort to force and arms as the best means of dealing with others, such as Jabhat al-Nusra and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, commonly known as ISIS. These groups have had a direct impact on the spread of international terrorism in the second decade of the 21st century, necessitating the mobilization of a large international coalition, including major powers in international politics, to confront them. Additionally, the physical and material damage they have inflicted on the peoples and countries of the Middle East is considerable.

The last issue, representing one of the most dangerous implications of Syrian state terrorism and its regional and global ramifications, is the emergence of a new regional and international polarization in the political equation in the Middle East, alongside the current international divisions that have imparted a new character to current international politics. The prominent title of these divisions is





unilateral policies, whether from the major powers with significant global influence or even from regional powers that have begun to mobilize all their resources to expand their regional influence, disregarding international law and the sanctity of state sovereignty. This matter is extremely dangerous, especially as it will inevitably lead the region to further fractures and regional tensions, ultimately threatening the lives of oppressed peoples in this region.

#### CONCLUSION:

Terrorism is a strategy of organized violence connected to achieving ideological, political, and economic goals, thus it has multifaceted historical and present dimensions, and its end is not anticipated in the future.

State terrorism is one of the most dangerous organized violent practices by the regime aiming to intimidate and instill fear in the citizens' hearts. It serves as a mechanism for the government to silence opposition voices and to seize the people's wealth and resources for the benefit of elite or familial groups within the regime.

State terrorism in Syria began with the ascent of the Assad family and the Ba'ath Party to power, and systematically practiced throughout the stages of the political process in Syria.

The events of 2011 did not create state terrorism, as it existed earlier, but these events exposed the true face of the Assad regime and its organized terrorism, previously concealed, now openly revealed to the world.

Assad and his regime emerged unscathed despite the blatant acts of terrorism witnessed by all, benefiting from the conflict environment and the new dynamics in the international political landscape. The Syrian revolution transformed into a tragic and bloody crisis due to the violent clashes between the regime's terrorism and its allied militias, supported by international powers (Russia and Iran), and opposition forces such as the Free Syrian Army and other movements. This dragged the crisis into the agenda of international powers and their strategies, affecting the puzzle of the Assad regime's survival despite its blatant state terrorism.

All of this has contributed to the growth of another counter-terrorism phenomenon against Syrian state terrorism by groups and organizations quickly considering themselves as a state (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria), practicing terrorism at a high and brutal level, surpassing all ethical, religious, and international legal standards. The consequences of these actions, termed as the globalization of terrorism, have threatened the entire world with retaliatory ideas, actions, and vengeful activities.

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