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# Egypt's Domestic and International Role to Combat Political Terrorism

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## Abstract

In the past decades, Egypt has suffered a lot from terrorism, but after the June 30 revolution in 2013, there was unprecedented political terrorism, without international attention to what was occurred in Egypt, The ambiguity of the concept of political terrorism has given a strong sense of concern for this phenomenon, which led to the attempt to develop the concept of terrorism in general and political terrorism in particular. The problem of the study shows the ambiguity surrounding the idea of political terrorism, which has a various meanings, and there is still no comprehensive definition of it. And the failure of the United Nations Organization to take a decisive situation towards the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, is a big question mark? Hence, it makes a key question in the research "What is the role played by Egypt to combat the phenomenon of political terrorism at the domestic and international levels? Hence, this study seeks to describe and analyze the Egyptian role in confronting political terrorism, and the qualitative method is the most appropriate in the study of the legal, security and social phenomena, and as a result, the researcher used it. It examines the phenomenon of political terrorism as it exists in reality and describes it closely in order to reach to the conclusion which contributes to understanding and developing what is happening in real. Also, the researcher used the case study methodology as a complementary approach to understanding the situation in Egypt in depth.

**Keywords:** International Role, Political Terrorism, Egypt

## Introduction

Terrorism is a compound and complex phenomenon, its reasons are numerous and overlapping, all of which contribute to its production in varying proportions, so it should not stand at some of them, but must be studied in a comprehensive study. These reasons are including what is political, intellectual, social, economic, psychological and educational. The growing phenomenon of terrorism in the world is one of the most dangerous forms of security threats faced by States because it aims at an important aspect of the security, stability, and future of their societies, especially the gathering of terrorist act between the ambitions and objectives of external forces that do not want to use their direct tools, but by relying on

engines to create crises within the target countries plus the exploitation of its borders or surrounding political conditions.

One of its categories may encourage behavior that is harmful to society, threatening his safety, including the use of violence to achieve political goals as well as class interests that may in part be reflected in the service of regional or international external actors.

So, the researcher will address the following six points:

- Definition of terrorism in literature and international laws,
- The Kind and meaning of political terrorism,
- Political terrorism in Egypt since the June 30 revolution,
- The Egyptian vision in combating terrorism,
- The decisive confrontations against terrorism, and
- Egypt's international situation on the phenomenon of political terrorism

## 1. The Concept of Terrorism in Literature Review

The word terrorism in Arabic (Al El-Erhab) came from terrify (Yorhib), The Arab Linguistic Council recognized the word "terrorism" as a modern term in the Arabic language, based on a "Terrify" in the sense of fear and panic. Terrorists are a description of those who use violence to achieve their political goals. And also, terrorism means the attempt by groups and individuals to impose ideas, views or doctrines by force because they consider themselves right and the majority as well, no matter how misleading, and give themselves the status of guardianship under any reason.<sup>1</sup>

In English Dictionary, the word terrorism meant fear and panic and derived from verb (terror), the use of the word terrorism in English indicates crimes associated with violence or threats or crimes against the state to create an atmosphere of instability or insecurity in a country, it is the use or threat of violence for political ends, including putting the public in fear.<sup>2</sup>

Alex P. Schmid, in his book "Political Terrorism", wrote about one hundred and nine definitions of terrorism collected them from authors in all branches of social sciences including the science of law, so it can be said that all researchers in the field of terrorism have a certain priorities and specific ideas that control their minds in determining the notation of terrorism.<sup>3</sup> Joel Lisker, chief counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, mentioned that the terrorism is "a Violent criminal activity aimed at intimidation in order to achieve political objectives."<sup>4</sup>

Terrorism is one of coercion means in the international community; it has no goals universally agreed nor legally binding. It is defined by the Criminal Code as those violent

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Mokhtar, The Modern Arabic Language Dictionary, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Alam Elkotb Publisher, Cairo, 2008,p949

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth A. Martin (Ed), Oxford Dictionary of Law, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford University Press, 2003, P495

<sup>3</sup> Schmid, Alex, & Jongman, Albert, Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature. Amsterdam, 1988, pp5-6

<sup>4</sup> Stuart Taylor, When is a terrorist not necessary a terrorist?, The New York Times, Dec 12, 1984

acts aimed at creating an atmosphere of fear, directed against religious and political followers, or an ideological goal,<sup>5</sup> in which the intentional targeting or disregard of the safety of non-civilians. It is also illegal violence and war. Criminal acts against the State whose purpose or nature is to intimidate certain persons or groups of persons, or from the public people. Terrorist acts are characterized by intimidation associated with violence, such as bombings, destruction of public facilities, destruction of railways, poisoning of drinking water, spreading infectious diseases and mass killings.<sup>6</sup> Louise Richardson of Harvard University has said that “the definition of terrorism has become so widely used in many contexts as to become almost meaningless.”<sup>7</sup>

### *1.1 The Definition of Terrorism in U.S. and Western Countries Laws*

American Laws define terrorist acts as criminal violence practiced with the intent to intimidate or overwhelm a civilian population, or influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or influence the behavior of a government by means of intentional murder or kidnapping of persons.

The American project to define terrorism stems from the limitation of international terrorism to the terror of individuals, excluding or condoning state terrorism.<sup>8</sup> Throughout its history, the United States has evaded any definition of State terrorism, it focuses on the terrorism of individuals and considers it any use of illegal force and harshness against individuals or property, and this action is imposed on the government or civilians for political and social purposes.<sup>9</sup>

### *1.2 Definition of the US Department of State*

Terrorism is the deliberate violence with politically motivated, which is committed against non-combatants, or agents of traitors, usually in order to influence the public, as non-combatants are civilians, along with the unarmed military, or at times when there is no state of war and hostility.<sup>10</sup>

### *1.3 Definition of the CIA*

In the 1980s, the CIA defined terrorism as the threat of violence, or use it to achieve political objectives by individuals or groups, whether they are working for or against government authority, these acts are aimed at shock and influence on a party that goes beyond the victims of direct terrorism. Terrorism has been practiced by a group seeking to overthrow certain regimes and treatment of certain injustice and weaken the international system as an end in itself.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Mohamed Ben Makaram & Gamal Eldin Ben Manzour, Arab Talks, Dictionary Almoheet, Resala Institution. Beirut, 2nd edition, p118

<sup>6</sup> Ahmed Sayed, Security Council: Chronic Failure and Possible Reform, Al Ahram for Translation Publishing, Cairo, 2010, p231

<sup>7</sup> Richardson, Louise. “Terrorists as Transnational Actors.” In *The Future of Terrorism*, (Max. Taylor and John Horgan: Editors), Portland: Frank Cass, 2000. Pp 209-219

<sup>8</sup> USA Patriot Act of 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Title 22, Chapter 38 of the United States Code

<sup>11</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism on [www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter\\_Terrorism\\_Strategy.pdf](http://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter_Terrorism_Strategy.pdf)

#### *1.4 Definition of French law on terrorism*

Whereas the French legislature has addressed this issue within the provisions of the Penal Code, and select certain criminal acts subjected to more stringent rules as terrorist offenses if they linked to an individual or group in criminal acts, with the aim of seriously disrupting public order through intimidation.<sup>12</sup> The French legislator defined terrorism as, "Violation of the law by an individual, or organization with a view to causing serious disturbance in public order by threatening with intimidation."<sup>13</sup>

#### *1.5 UK Definition of terrorism:*

In Act 1974 (UK), it provided that: "terrorism" means the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear'. Thus, terrorism is the use of violence to achieve political objectives, including violence, the use of force to put the public in fear and panic.<sup>14</sup>

The Act 2000 defines terrorism as "a designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system." In 2001, the UK government drew up new plans and laws to deal with terrorists and terrorist acts, anyone who leaves or enters the UK will undergo an accurate electronic examination, and a new border police forces in uniform will monitor new arrivals across all border crossings, and the external security departments will also share information concerning all those leaving the country.<sup>15</sup>

#### *1.5 Terrorism in International Law*

The large numbers of the scholars of international law have been avoiding a specific and explicit definition of terrorism and confirmed that the search for a definition of this phenomenon is a waste of time and effort, researchers should focus on effective and active action to combat it, this what confirmed by United Nation in December, 29, 1986<sup>16</sup>. When the General Assembly condemned all forms of terrorism and ignored its definition, and it has been agreed on a very briefly definition which was done by the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, 1977<sup>17</sup> as well as the Eighth Congress on the "Prevention of Crime" and the "Treatment of Prisoners" which held in Havana in 1990<sup>18</sup> and the Ninth United Nations Conference which held in Cairo in 1995, which discussed strategies to prevent violent crime and the action against transnational and organized crime.<sup>19</sup>

From all the previous definitions, many scholars have a view in the definition of terrorism, some of them focused on *the psychological impact of terrorist violence*, and mentioned that the definitions had been focused on the psychological impact of the terrorist act, intentionally intended to spread fear or terror, where the nature of the terrorist act leads to the effect that is

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<sup>12</sup> Law No. 86/102 of 1986

<sup>13</sup> The new French anti-terrorism law Nov. 2014

<sup>14</sup> Cliver waLker, the prevention of terrorism in British Law, second edition, Manchester, University Press, U.K, 1992, P.P. 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> The Antiterrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Rostow, Before and After: The Changed UN Response to Terrorism since September 11<sup>th</sup>, Cornell International Law Journal, Vol.35. 2002. P475

<sup>17</sup> Saul, Ben. Defining Terrorism in International Law, Oxford University Press, 2010.pp 21-22

<sup>18</sup> A/C0NF.144/28/Rev.I on <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1296532/files/a-conf-144-28-rev-1-e.pdf>

<sup>19</sup> United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice 1955-2010, 55 years of Achievement, p6, on [http://www.un.org/ar/conf/crimecongress2010/pdf/55years\\_ebook.pdf](http://www.un.org/ar/conf/crimecongress2010/pdf/55years_ebook.pdf)

required. But there are two different trends were discerned within this impact, the first trend was the requirement of availability for fear or terror. The terrorism is the use or threat of violence in order to create a climate of fear and panic to spread terror, and thus cause some political or social change.<sup>20</sup>

The second trend, it does not require the existence of an intention to spread fear or terror, on the other hand, some believe that the fear, is one of the components of terrorism, it is not a distinguishing feature of it, and is not necessarily the primary intent of most terrorists.<sup>21</sup> It is a consequence of violence, which is the means or tool that away a specific response that achieves what terrorists want, and that terrorism is merely violence that produces terror or fear, and at the same time, the war and others of human atrocities will enter within the definition of terrorism.<sup>22</sup>

While another sees that the requirement of fear or terror as the object of a terrorist act leads to the exclusion of acts of genocide, and acts that aim to support the perpetrator regardless of implications of the latter act, therefore, terrorism is devoid of fear, where terrorism is seen as a use of violence or force, or threats against innocent persons, civilians or non-combatants, in order to achieve political objectives.<sup>23</sup> Others scholars have been focused on *the use of terrorist violence*, they clarified that the definitions of this component varied widely, and two different trends were observed in this regard, the first trend was the necessity of violence use. Terrorism is the use or threat of violence against individuals endangers innocent or human lives, or threaten the fundamental freedoms of individuals for political purposes with a view to influencing on the attitude, or the behavior of a target group regardless of direct victims, It is also a violent way of political opposition, consisting of violence and threats.<sup>24</sup>

The second trend has clarified that there is no need to use violence, many scholars see it, no need to use violence in terrorism, but the need for criminal content which causes fear and panic in society, such as burying nuclear waste, killing others with their radiation, poisoning of drinking water, the use of toxic gases, contaminating food with toxic chemicals, lethal bacteria, as well as the disruption of communications using electronic means, flooding the country with counterfeit currencies that harm the national economy, or sending mailings carrying epidemiological microbes.<sup>25</sup>

And the last group of scholars has written about *the perpetrator of the terrorist act*. The definitions are determined who could use terrorism. However, there has been a clear divergence in this definition. Two different trends were observed in this regard, the first trend was mentioned that the terrorism is used only by non-state actors, a number of scholars

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<sup>20</sup> Brian M. Jenkins, International Terrorism, The other world war, in Charles W. Kagley, Jr (ed), The New Global Terrorism: characteristics, causes, and controls, Prentice Hall, 2003, P. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas J. Badey, Defining International Terrorism, A Pragmatic Approach, Terrorism and Political Violence Journal, Spring 1988 vol.10, No. 1, P.97

<sup>22</sup> Jenny Teichman, How to define Terrorism, Philosophy, The Journal of the Royal Institute of philosophy, Cambridge University Press, 1989, Vol. 64, No. 250, P 511.

<sup>23</sup> Tomis Kapitan, The Rhetoric of Terrorism and its Consequence, Journal of Political and Military Sociology, summer 2002, p.1.

<sup>24</sup> Noemi Galor, international cooperation to suppress terrorism, London, Croom Helm, 1985, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Kent Roach, Global Anti-terrorism law and policy, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 9

focused on their definition of terrorism in using by non-state actors only, some have defined it as the use or threat of violence without the State with the aim of spreading panic in society in order to weaken or overcome the authorities, and political change.<sup>26</sup> Another has defined it as the sudden use of indiscriminate violence or threats from non-state actors against innocent people for political ends.<sup>27</sup>

The second trend, terrorism is used by individuals, groups, and States alike, If the prevailing trend in the definitions of terrorism focuses on that perpetrated by an actor other than the State, and recognizing the seriousness of acts of terrorism, whoever perpetrates them, some scholars have argued that this focus should not distract attention from state terrorism, or makes us believe on other than the reality of the modern international order that terrorism is concerned only with the will or entities without the State only.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. The types of Political Science

The most important classifications of terrorism and the types of political terrorism as follows: There are three categories of terrorism, the first is "***Criminal Terrorism***" where the organized crime and terrorist crime common in many characteristics and features that can be summarized as follows:<sup>29</sup>

- Both organized crime and terrorism are relying on clandestine organizations;
- Relationships between groups involved in political violence and those involved in the criminal business;
- There is a kind of awe and secrecy about the criminal operations that they are conducting in the light of a set of internal principles and strict rules for each of the members or who dealt with;
- The organizational structures of organized crime and terrorism are similar in their cross-border nature, their illicit means, and money-laundering; and
- The unity of threats posed by organized crime and terrorism to national and international security and stability and the values of democracy.

Second, ***Pathological Terrorism*** which well known as one of the worst types. It is committed by one individual rather than a group, and has no reasoning behind it, to understand this form of terrorism, it's necessary to define 'pathological' which can be a number of things, it can refer to physical or mental illness, and it can also refer to being compulsive and obsessive. This form of terrorism has no meaning or beliefs; this is pure because the terrorist themselves wanted to do it for their own personal gain and or entertainment. This form of terrorism is usually linked to mental illness. A classic example of this form of terrorism takes place with school shootings,<sup>30</sup> As well as involves a mass shooting involving a fire arm on a school. Third, ***Political Terrorism*** which well known as a form that is more dangerous than the forms

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<sup>26</sup> Walter Liqueur, No End to War, Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century, NY, continuum, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> Audrey Kurth Coronin & James M. Ludes, Attacking Terrorism, Georgetown University press, 2004, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Wilkinson, Why Modern Terrorism? Differentiating Types and Distinguishing Ideological Motivations, in Kegley, Ir (Ed) The New Global Terrorism, Characteristics, Causes and Control, Prentice Hall, 2003, p.108

<sup>29</sup> Phil Williams, Organized Crime, and Terrorism, Latin American and Caribbean Center, Working Paper Series, School of International and Public Affairs, Florida International University, p4

<sup>30</sup> Nafiu Ahmed, Terrorism Security and the Threat of Counterterrorism, American Journal of Social Studies, Vol.1, No.1, p69

mentioned above. There is a clear link between terrorism and political violence, one of the difficulties facing this situation is the overlap of both the concepts of terrorism and political violence, and their acquisition of the same meaning, so that terrorism becomes political violence, and it may be identical in purpose and goal, it may differ in content and values, so terrorism becomes a criminal and delinquent act contrary to the values and customs of societies.<sup>31</sup> It embodies inhuman and barbaric practices, while political violence remains legitimate and acceptable to society, yet it remains counterproductive. Terrorism as an act depends on violence as a means to achieve its goals and aspirations, violence is similar and synonymous with terrorism, and legitimate violence may turn into terrorist acts of a barbaric nature.<sup>32</sup> So, the political terrorism is “the violent criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purposes.”<sup>33</sup>

There are forms that fall under political terrorism, which can be highlighted as follows:<sup>34</sup>

**2.1 Sub-State terrorism.** It is as an epidemic infection, also affects individuals and groups that close in their face the normal political opposition, the resistance of the oppressive state and the establishment of the values of democracy and the transfer of power, and what affects the individual and the group of intimidation and torture turns into a desire to revenge and restore dignity waiting for the opportunity to overcome the natural way that deprived him. However, the most serious aspect of this epidemic is its transmission to social behavior, individual relations and the pattern of crime, all characterized by aggression and violence.

State terrorism stems from the feeling of excessive power, the possession of its tools and a false sense of the legitimacy of its actions, especially in the eternal dictatorships. The individual does not have such luxury; he is not safe for his life and the fate of his family. This is a new concept in power relations based on the domination of the state, not the free choice of the individual and the people, and thus increases the lust for violence in the state and the lust for revenge in the individual in agitating the basic pillars of society.

**2.2 Ideological terrorism,** however, the violence that is based on a particular ideological base, principles, and concepts is the most serious violence that threatens modern societies, which is precisely the description of terrorism, because in this case, it is no longer a sadistic or ordinary crime but it has become an ideology based on the principle of terrorism and the use of violence to gain political, social, religious or even intellectual and cultural gains, especially if it knows that these groups aim to establish a model of state, law, and social values, as it occurred in Afghanistan under Taliban rule.<sup>35</sup>

**2.3 Ethno-nationalist terrorism,** are “regionally concentrated peoples with a history of organized political autonomy with their own state, traditional ruler, or regional government, who have supported political movements for autonomy at some time since 1945”.<sup>36</sup> Nationalist terrorism is a type of terrorism motivated by nationalism. Nationalist terrorists aim to form self-determination in some form, which may range from acquiring a high percentage of autonomy to create a totally independent, sovereign state (separatism).

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31 Nehemia Fiedland, Political Terrorism: A social Psychological Perspective in Wolfgang Stroebe & et al. (Ed), The Social Psychology intergroup conflict: Theory, Research and Application, Springer, 1988, pp103-114

32 Frank T. De Angelis, Terrorism as a Political Philosophy A comprehensive Analysis with a Unique and Controversial perspective, Writer Club Press, NY, 2002, p15

33 N.C Asthana, Anjali Nirmal, Urban Terrorism: Myths and Realities, Pointer Publisher, 2009, p7

34 Jerrold M. Post, The Socio-Cultural Underpinnings of Terrorist Psychology, in Tore Bjoro (Ed), Root Causes of Terrorism, Myths, Reality, and Ways Forward, Routledge, UK, P.54

35 Michael Burleigh, Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism, Harper Collins NY, 2009, p111

36 Ole J. Forsberg, Ethnonational Terrorism: An Empirical Theory of Indicators at the State Level 1985-2000, paperwork in WISC Conference, Turkey, August, 2005, p6

Jalata clarified, that by depending on the grievances of collective memory to regain economic, political and cultural rights and or by rejecting subordination and cultural assimilation."<sup>37</sup> Nationalist terrorists usually oppose what they consider to be occupying, imperial, or otherwise illegitimate powers. Nationalist terrorism is linked to a national, ethnic, religious, or other identifying group, and the feeling among members of that group that they are oppressed or denied rights, especially rights accorded to others.<sup>38</sup>

**2.4 Religious - political terrorism**, however, has caused great acts to occur, and it has acted as a social control mechanism for millions of people. Religion has been a motivating factor for both good and evil.<sup>39</sup> Hoffman Bruce mentioned that the Religious terrorism is "terrorism carried out based on motivations and goals that have a predominantly religious character or influence."<sup>40</sup>

**2.5 Single-issue terrorism**, it also called Special interest terrorism and differed from traditional right-wing terrorism, and left-wing terrorism in that extremist special interest groups seek to resolve specific issues, rather than a wide-ranging political change.<sup>41</sup> Special-interest extremists continue to carry out politically motivated violence to force the sectors of society, including the public, to change positions on issues that are important to their issues. These groups are extreme parties to animal rights, pro-life, environmental, anti-nuclear and other movements. Some extremists with special interests - particularly in the field of animal rights and environmental movements - have increasingly turned towards sabotage and terrorist activity in attempts to promote their issues.<sup>42</sup>

**2.6 State-supported terrorism**, is government support of violent non-state actors engaged in terrorism. Because of the pejorative nature of the word, the identification of particular examples is usually subject to political dispute and different definitions of terrorism".<sup>43</sup>

**2.7 Regime or state Terrorism**, N. Chomsky describes state terrorism as "terrorism exercised by states (or governments) and their institutions and agents."<sup>44</sup> The main difference between state terrorism and other types of state violence is that state terrorism involves the illegal targeting of individuals that the state has a duty to protect with the intention of creating extreme fear among an audience beyond the direct victim of the violence<sup>45</sup>.

**2.8 International/ Global terrorism**, it carried out by one or more States. It is either unilateral international terrorism perpetrated by one State, bilateral terrorism perpetrated by two States or collective terrorism committed by a group of States or by one State, but with the support of States or a coalition of other States, and this type of terrorism is coming from the

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<sup>37</sup> Asafa Jalata, "Ethno-nationalism and the global 'modernising' project," Nations and Nationalism Vol.17, No.3, 2001, p 389.

<sup>38</sup> Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History*, Polity Press, UK, 2009, pp 178-179.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Tarlow, *The International of Religion and Terrorism*, International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism and Hospitality, University of Palermo, Italy, 2017, p3-4

<sup>40</sup> Hoffman, Bruce "The Confluence of International and Domestic Trends in Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 9, No.2, 1997, pp 1-15

<sup>41</sup> Dingley, James; Kirk-Smith, Michael "Symbolism, and Sacrifice in Terrorism." *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. Vol. 13, No.1, pp102-28.

<sup>42</sup> Raphaeli, Nimrod, "Financing of Terrorism: Sources, Methods and Channels," *Terrorism and Political Violence Journal*, Vol 15, No.4, 2003, pp59-82.

<sup>43</sup> Maogoto Jackson Nyamuya, *Battling Terrorism: Legal Perspectives on the Use of Force and the War on Terror*, Ashgate Publishing, 2005, p. 59

<sup>44</sup> N.Chomsky "What Anthropologists Should Know about the Concept of Terrorism'." *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2002, pp. 22-23

<sup>45</sup> Blakeley, Ruth, *State Violence as state terrorism*, in "Breen -Smyth, Marie (Ed), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Political Violence*, Ashgate Publishing, 2012, PP 63-78

globalization, and many scholars are mentioned that there is a link between globalization and terrorism in a causal fashion.<sup>46</sup>

### 3. Political terrorism in Egypt since the June 30 revolution

Terrorism in Egypt is a term that refers to a number of attacks, most of which were perpetrated by extremist groups” inside Egyptian territory, they targeted senior politicians, symbols of power, and Egyptian security forces throughout the 1980s. These attacks targeted government offices and Egyptian police headquarters, they also targeted tourists in Egypt in the early 1990s, but after successive security strikes by Egyptian security which included arresting most of their members and the beating of their bases.<sup>47</sup>

The strength of these terrorist groups increased again after the June 30, 2013 revolution, where an armed attack on the evening of 24 October 2014 targeted the security point of the Armed Forces in the area of “Karam al- Qawadis” in Northern Sinai, hi has been died dozens of lives and injures in the Egyptian Armed Forces.<sup>48</sup> After the incident, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi initiated an urgent meeting of the National Defense Council, in which it directed towards the implementation of a rapid plan aimed at stopping the terrorist operations in Sinai, preventing its expansion in Egypt and restoring security and stability.

On January 29, 2015, an armed group has been targeted the “101<sup>st</sup> Battalion” by using mortars shells on Armed Forces Hotel and Police Rest, killing 30 people, 56 injured, and this attack was adopted by ISIS<sup>49</sup>. This year witnessed the largest number of terrorist attacks, according to records, the number of terrorist attacks in the years 2014, 2015 and 2016 reached to 1165 attacks, in 2014 has reached to 349 attacks, in 2015 to 617 attacks, and 2016 to 199 attacks which in 2015 the largest proportion of them<sup>50</sup>, and in 2017 reached to 45 attacks as the figure No. 1 showed below.

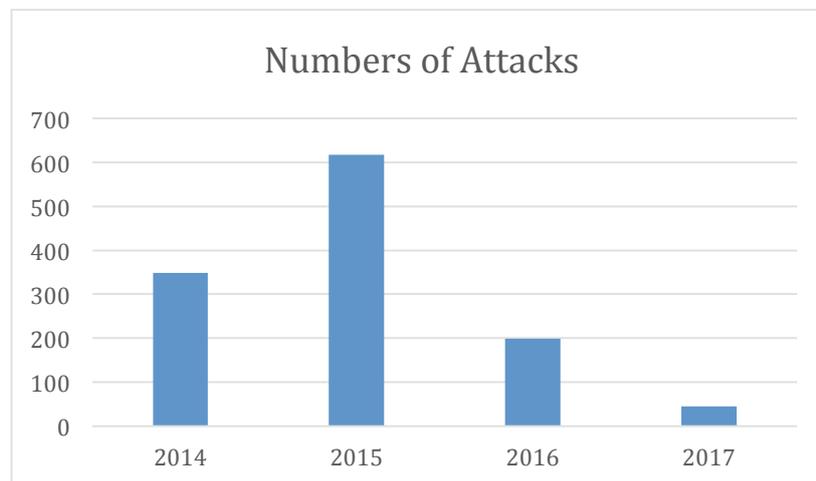


Figure No. 1 shows the number of Attacks since 2014 to 2017

<sup>46</sup> Albert J. Bergesen & Omar Lizardo, International Terrorism and the World System, Sociology Theory Journal, Vol.22, No.1, 2004, p43

<sup>47</sup> Mohamed El Sayed Selim, The Evolution of International Politics in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Dar Al Fajr Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2006, p. 702

<sup>48</sup> Yousry Mohamed, " Attacks in Egypt's Sinai kill 33 Security Personnel", Reuters, 24 October 2014, on <https://www.reuters.com/article>

<sup>49</sup> Lizzie Dearden, Egypt attacks: Isis – Affiliated group kills 26 people in bomb and rocket strike in the Sinai Peninsula, on <http://www.independent.co.uk>

<sup>50</sup> Ahmed Kamel Albeheri, Terrorism attacks Numbers in Egypt during the end of 2016 on <http://www.acpss.ahram.org.eg>

In the context of attempts to monitor and analyze terrorist operations in Egypt, it can be noted that the year 2017 saw a significant decline in the number of terrorist attacks, reaching less than 50% of the number of attacks in 2016.<sup>51</sup>

However, the year 2017 also witnessed terrorist incidents, the most violent in the history of modern Egypt at all, most notably the attack on the “Masjid Alrouda”, which occurred on the twenty-seventh of November 2017 (killed 311 people), which is the worst terrorist incident in Egypt, surpassing the terrorist bombing of the Russian plane No. 9268, which crashed after leaving Sharm El-Sheikh International Airport on 31 October 2015, killing 224 people on board. At the international level, the Masjid Alrouda incident is the second largest terrorist attack in the world in 2017 while Al-Shabaab suicide bombing in October 2017 in Mogadishu, Somalia, which killed more than 358 people is the first.<sup>52</sup>

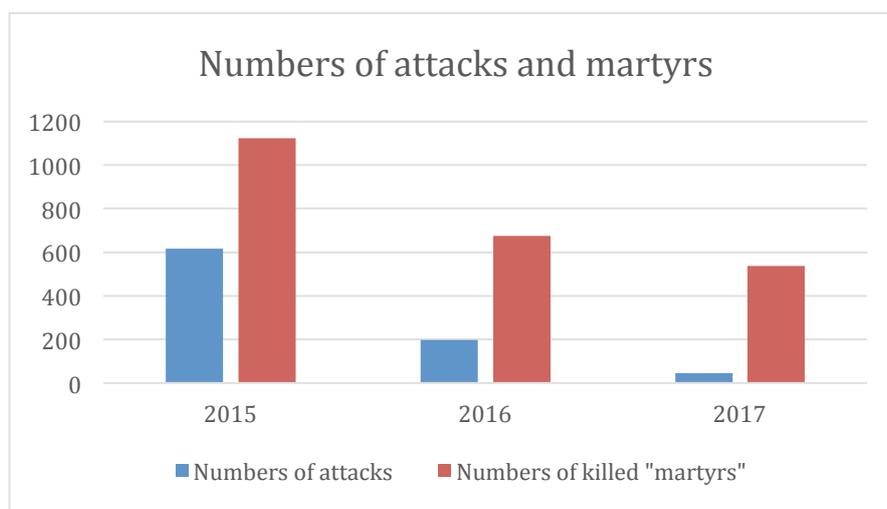


Figure No. 2 shows the number of Attacks and Martyrs since 2015 to 2017

It is also noted that the number of martyrs and the innocent killed in 2015 is the most where the number reached 1124 and declined in 2016 to 674 killed, and then dropped to 539 killed in 2017.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4. The Egyptian vision in combating terrorism

The Egyptian vision in this field is based on the following elements<sup>54</sup>:

- Egypt believes the war against terrorism is a war led by defending itself first and protecting Arab national security secondly, and on behalf of the world thirdly.
- Egypt does not differentiate between a terrorist group and the other and see all the armed organizations that are outlawed must be confronted.
- Egypt supports each action contributes to undermining terrorism, these contributions are numerous, and the most recent was revealed by the director of the Russian security

<sup>51</sup> The State Information Service, on <http://www.sis.gov.eg>

<sup>52</sup> <https://timep.org/commentary/special-report-attack-at-rawda-mosque>

<sup>53</sup> The researcher depends on the number of sources such as

Asmaa Khalifa, 2017 numbers: In Egypt where you go, there's terrorism on 25 December 2017 on

<https://www.ida2at.com/terrorism-egypt-2017/> Idaat is an Arabic site that provides analytical service for contemporary issues and events and knowledge readings of related ideas.

Ahmed Kamel Albeheri, the killed people from terrorism group in Egypt on 22 February 2017 on

<https://www.acpss.ahram.org.eg>

<sup>54</sup> Egypt and counter-terrorism, on Ministry Of Foreign Affairs <https://www.mfa.gov.eg>

services Alexander Portnikov, for the suppression of a group of terrorist operations inside Russia with the help of foreign partners, headed by Egyptian intelligence.

- Egypt believes that the military war is the most prominent and most important option in confronting terrorist organizations, with strengthening intellectual confrontation to prevent new terrorists joining these groups.
- Egypt has always emphasis that terrorist groups do not work in isolation, no matter how geographically diverged, where they are ideologically linked, and share in funding, military coordination and information.
- Terrorism cannot be eliminated, but it must a confront in all the terrorist spots in the Middle East by all countries, to prevent the infiltration of terrorists from one country to another like what happened after the restrictions on ISIS in Iraq which make them went to Libya and Syria.
- The Egyptian vision is based on the renewal of religious discourse which is the most important way in an intellectual confrontation where it will stop the bleeding of young people who joined the terrorist organizations and reduced the number of eligible to join them under what is called a "terrorist project."
- The Egyptian vision of the intellectual confrontation of terrorism depends on Al-Azhar as the most important religious institution in the Islamic world. Al-Azhar is expected to play an active role in rejecting all that distorts religion which is exploited by terrorists.
- It is also expected that the media, which can play an excellent role intellectually in correcting concepts and ideas that can contribute to the destruction of communities.
- Egypt sees poverty, declining development rates, and rising unemployment, as one of the most important reasons for creating an environment for attracting the hundreds of terrorists who fall prey to those who exploit their social conditions.
- Egypt has affirmed that it is one of the most important steps in combating terrorism is the establishment of a national state, which is collapsed in a number of countries, due to their environments which has become an incubator for terrorist organizations particularly after their disintegration and the destabilization of their institutions.

#### *4.1 The Muslim Brotherhood is a terrorist group*

The Court of urgent matters has been sentenced that considering the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. The Court paved the way for its ruling by noting that the word "terrorism" in terms of language, The court said, "It is fright and panic, horror and grief, words are close to indicating fear," and in the Holy Quran word "terrifying" is found to indicate severe fear. The concept of terrorism in Islam is divided into two parts, firstly, a section is denounced, and it is forbidden to do and practice it, it is one of a major sin, the perpetrator deserves a punishment, It is at the level of states, groups and individuals, which about the assault on the safe, second, legitimate terrorism, which is God has decreed us and ordered us, a preparation of strength and preparedness to resist the enemies of God.

As the plaintiff presented the request to consider the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, it based his claim on the availability of the requirement of urgency, and the Brotherhood's practice a number of crimes against the Egyptian people, which is a major sin and deserves a punishment, they are intimidating people in roads inside and outside the cities. The history of the Brotherhood's work dates back to the love of control, the abandonment of people, and

intimidation in order to obtain their purposes contrary to social concepts, also using methods of violence, intimidation and murder, which opposite the text of the Constitution of 2013 in accordance with Article 59 that every human being has the right to a safe life and that the assault on the human body is a crime punishable by law. For these reasons, the court ruled that the Muslim Brotherhood was a terrorist group.<sup>55</sup>

## 5. Decisive confrontations against terrorism

After repeated terrorist incidents against the army, police forces, and the people of Sinai, which resulted in the fall of dozens of innocent people, and the martyrs of the homeland, Egypt is Began a series of military operations on the land of Sinai, which is being fought by the Egyptian army in a decisive battle to eliminate terrorist outposts that penetrated some limited areas of the Sinai. The terrorist are coming to Sinai, and have been stationed in it, to establish the state of terrorism, and placement this part of the land of Egypt to control. They have been attacked on police stations and security personnel to break the prestige of the state, then assaulting the armed forces in attempting to destabilize the people's confidence in the capabilities of its armed forces.

### 5.1 *The Launching of military operations in Sinai:*

It began the crucial security confrontations with terrorism in Sinai with an operation "Eagle 1" in 2011 after the Police Station was bombed by heavy artillery shelling<sup>56</sup>. And after continuing targeting army patrols in its fulcrums and soldiers, following the attack on a military unit and the killing of 16 soldiers, it was the process of "Eagle 2" in August 2012, A spokesman for the armed forces, Col. Ahmed Mohamed Ali, announced in September 2012, at a press conference that 33 criminal elements were killed, weapons were confiscated and 31 tunnels were destroyed on the border with the Gaza Strip during the first phase of Operation Eagle2 after more than a month of its launch to root out terrorist elements and criminal targets in the areas of North Sinai.<sup>57</sup>

Terrorist attacks continued on Sinai, and seven soldiers were kidnapped in May 2013, then the President Mohamed Morsi in that time, has met the Ministers of Defense, the Minister of Interior, and the head of the General Intelligence, at the Federal Palace (Kasr Al-Etahdia) in Heliopolis. Morsi declared to make efforts to release the abducted soldiers quickly and ensure the preservation of the lives of everyone, whether or kidnapped the kidnapers<sup>58</sup>.

It is the first time, which the public hear the attention of the President of the State about the safety of the offender and equalize their victims.

However, the ambiguous negotiations conducted by President Morsi with the kidnapers, resulted in the return of soldiers and found them in the desert, without any mention of the fate of the kidnapers, who carried out the operation, the case was closed in a mysterious way, but after year, a security source has revealed the details of what happened in the abduction of the seven soldiers in the Sinai in mid-May 2013 as he confirmed the existence of a relationship

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<sup>55</sup> The reasons for the rule of considering the Brotherhood as "terrorist": The history of the group is due to the culture of control and the intimidation of people to obtain their purpose using violence and murder. The Court explains the meaning of terrorism according to Sharia on <http://www.youm7.com/story/2014/2/24/>

<sup>56</sup> Egypt: Army begins with "Eagle" operation against militants in Sinai, on [http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/08/110815\\_sinai\\_arrests](http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/08/110815_sinai_arrests)

<sup>57</sup> Samir Said, "Eagle 2" operation aimed at cleansing the Sinai of terrorism and the wells of criminality, on <https://www.emaratyyoum.com/politics/news/2012-09-13-1.511277>

<sup>58</sup> Fathia Al - Dakhkhani Morsi calls for safety of kidnapped and kidnapers in "liberating Sinai soldiers" on 16-05-2013, <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/317252>

between President Morsi and leaders of the Brotherhood on the one hand, and the militant who kidnapped soldiers in Sinai on the other hand, through monitoring telephone between the leaders of Muslim Brotherhood and kidnappers. Finally, the National Security in Egypt declared that the isolated president informed Interior Minister Mohammad Ibrahim that the kidnappers will release the soldiers at 7 am and that the negotiations succeeded.<sup>59</sup>

After the revolution of 30 June 2013, terrorist attacks have been increased, where 25 soldiers were killed in August 2013. Under these repeated crimes, there are joint forces of the army and police launched an expanded military campaign, started in September 2013, to trace the elements of "terrorist," and "extremists," in a number of provinces started with North Sinai.

The armed forces have succeeded in countering terrorism and eradicating many terrorist outposts, they arrested a number of very danger criminals, and continued demolition of tunnels in the northern border area, between Arish - Rafah.<sup>60</sup>

### 5.2 "Operation Martyr's Right"

The General Command of the Egyptian Armed Forces on Monday, September 7, 2015, has been announced in a statement on Egyptian television, it was about the start of the comprehensive operation to confront terrorism in the Sinai (Martyr's Right) in the areas of (Rafah - Sheikh Zwaïd – Arish), in North Sinai to eliminate terrorist groups in those areas. The statement has mentioned that the Army was in the field supported by commandos and rapid intervention forces, with the help of anti-terrorist units of the Civilian Police in order to raid the terrorist outposts' areas which referred above and the elimination of the terrorist group.

This process has begun in the framework of the continuation of the Egyptian armed forces for the cleansing operations of terrorism, where it was decided to start the implementation of a massive operation to uproot terrorism from the land of Sinai, under the name of « Martyr's Right.»<sup>61</sup> There is no doubt that the choice of this name reflects the appreciation of Egyptian Armed Forces for the sacrifices of the righteous martyrs of their sons, and also affirms its determination to uproot terrorism and eliminate the remaining remnants of it. The armed forces have announced the end of the first phase of the comprehensive security and military operation in Northern Sinai, which lasted for 16 days, after achieving its main objectives.

The results of the process have included more than 300 terrorists were killed and the arrest of large numbers of them, as well as the destruction of 10 stores of weapons and explosives, large numbers of cars and scooters, and hundreds of terrorist outposts in the cities of Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid.<sup>62</sup> The armed forces have announced that intensified its actions to secure vital targets, facilities and public properties, and areas of Arish, Sheikh Zuweid, and Rafah, and all Roads leading to there, They continued its operations to purge and prosecute terrorist groups very insistently to achieve homeland security, and securing the Egyptian people from the evils of those terrorists.

### 5.3 "Operation Martyr's Right 2"

On January 3, 2016 The second stage of Operation " Martyr's Right", to complete Sinai's cleansing of terrorism, the army and police forces participated in security attack which made

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<sup>59</sup> Sayed Noon, Security source reveals the relationship «Morsi» kidnappers of the seven soldiers in 2013, on October 26, 2014 <http://www.shorouknews.com/news/view.aspx?cdate=26102014&id=8bfe501d-47a2-444f-ad0d-45fb13b20dcf>

<sup>60</sup> Egypt declares a state of emergency in Sinai after checkpoint bombing on

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/25/egypt-declares-state-of-emergency-in-sinai-after-checkpoint-bombing>

<sup>61</sup> A report entitled "The Right of the Martyr" attacks Sinai terrorists with "blindness and helplessness," Al-Watan website, 10/9/2015, <http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/802519>.

<sup>62</sup> Operation martyr's right on <https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1257404>

several painful blows to the terrorist groups which called "Beit Al-Maqdis" -"House of Jerusalem"- The security forces launched an extensive attacks on the hotbeds of terrorism, in the cities of Arish, Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid, On the third day of the operation, also participated Apache, helicopters, and F-16 aircraft, which were targeted a number of the most dangerous terrorist strongholds. The Army Forces continued attacks in the field under air cover to raid the terrorist strongholds and eliminate the elements of the terrorist groups. The operation aimed at completing the elimination of the remnants of terrorism, and the remnants of "Beit Al-Maqdis: who managed to escape from Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid, and concentrated in the city of Arish, they carried out a number of intermittent terrorist operations, in order to relieve pressure on their members in Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid, and during these operations resorted to assassinations and detonated (IEDs) explosive devices, police and army armored vehicles.<sup>63</sup>

The process of "Martyr's Right 2", achieved great and tangible results, because of prior information on terrorist groups, and participated the honorable people of Sinai with the Armed Forces for their desire to eliminate terrorism, and the cleansing of the land of Sinai. The Armed Forces were able to kill more than 500 terrorists and captured a large number during the operation. Also, the army managed to destroy more than 99% of the tunnels with the Gaza Strip. It has been confirmed that the successful preemptive strikes of the military, which was carried out in the Operation "Martyr's Right 2" That the Egyptian armed forces, civilian police, and all counter-terrorism bodies have the "upper hand" in the battle of terrorism in the Sinai.<sup>64</sup>

#### *5.4 Operation Martyr's Right 3 and 4*

On 25 May 2016, the third phase of operation began an extensive operation in Sinai, which sheltered some very dangerous terrorist groups.

The process of Martyr's Right has resulted in the following points:<sup>65</sup>

- The Killing of 85 terrorists during the air strikes, in addition to, the success of artillery elements in the areas of Sheikh Zuwaid and Rafah.
- Destruction and burning of 190 cottages, and 57 houses, the terrorist elements have taken it as the base of their criminal operations.
- The arrest of 3 suspects, and the destruction of 10 cars and five motorcycles used by a terrorist in attacking the bases and security points.
- Destroying 73 shelters and hideouts used by terrorist elements in the areas of Al-Zawraha, Al-Nasraniyah, Al-Bitaytat, Al-Abadi, Al-Shadeideh, and Al-Jurei.

On 10 February 2017, the success of the armed forces was announced in the killing about 500 terrorist elements in North Sinai, and destroyed the number of 130 cars, and a number of 250 bunkers which gathering those extremists, as well as stores and administrative needs.<sup>66</sup> In July 2017, the armed forces completed Operation Martyr's Right 4 which the army forces killed 30 terrorists, and the discovery and destruction of 20 cars and four motorcycles, and

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<sup>63</sup> Report entitled "The Right of the Martyr 2» Continue to catch "the heads of terrorism", Al Watan newspaper, 23/10/2015 on [http://www.elwatannews.com\\_news\\_details\\_824505](http://www.elwatannews.com_news_details_824505)

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

<sup>65</sup> Ahmed Eleiba, Egypt's counterterrorism operation 'Martyr's Right' continues in North Sinai, on August 6, 2017, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News>

<sup>66</sup> Ismail Gomaa, wandering through the caves and shelters after being completely cleared. Fall legend of the Mountain of Halal, Al - Ahram, 3 April 2017.

destroyed more than 100 shelters.<sup>67</sup> Finally, all the operations under the name Martyr's Right are considered the most dangerous and difficult operation as achieved a number of victories.

## 6. Egypt's international view on the phenomenon of political terrorism

Egypt was the first country to call for an international conference to combat terrorism; the initiative was launched by former President Mubarak during his speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on 28 January 1986.<sup>68</sup> The speech-based on two basic rules, the first is the security manner and to prosecute terrorist cells and their elements everywhere, and the international cooperation should be established between the security services for this purpose, and terrorist financing sources should be pursued through the international financial network. The second rule is sought to find and root up the roots of terrorism. In this regard, President Hosni Mubarak said clearly and confidently that "the sword of terrorism will reach everyone."<sup>69</sup>

In the interest of the Egyptian leadership to dry up the sources of terrorism, President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi presented at the Arab-Islamic-American summit held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, an integrated strategy to combat fundamentalist organizations. The Security Council documented it as an official UN document under the symbol S / 2017/450.<sup>70</sup> Over the course of years, successive events have shown that confronting and rooting up the threat of terrorism at its root, in addition to, the security and military measures require a comprehensive approach that includes the political, ideological and developmental dimensions. However, President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi pointed to this question in four points:<sup>71</sup>

**First**, talking about addressing terrorism in a comprehensive manner means confronting all terrorist organizations without discrimination, there is no room for reducing the confrontation in one or two organizations, terrorist organizations operate through a cancerous network, it has many links in most parts of the world, including "ideology, funding, military, information and security coordination."

**Second:** the comprehensive confrontation with terrorism means necessarily confronting all dimensions of the phenomenon of terrorism in terms of "funding, armaments, political and ideological support." As the terrorist is not only a weapon holder but also is "the one who trains it, funds it, arms it, provides it with political and ideological cover, Here the researcher asks, where are places for terrorist organizations to train fighters and the treatment of the wounded and the replacement of their equipment? Who buys from them the natural resources they control ... like oil? Who colludes with them through antiquities and drugs trade? Where do they get their financial contributions? And how do they have a media presence in the media who wanted to become propaganda trumpets for terrorist organizations?"

**Third:** Eliminate the ability of terrorist organizations to recruit new fighters by confronting them comprehensively at the ideological and intellectual levels, as the battle against terrorism is a battle of intellectual, and the successful confrontation of terrorist organizations must include restricting their ability to recruit and attract sympathizers with distorted

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<sup>67</sup> Operation martyr's right on <https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1257404>

<sup>68</sup> Voices of Europe: A selection of speeches delivered before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 1949-1996, Council of Europe Publishing, Germany, 1997,p146,147

<sup>69</sup> Jihad Ouda, M. Abdel Azeem, Ayman zaki, Introduction to Terrorism in Egypt and Saudi Arabia: Strategic Experiences, Arab Knowledge Bureau, Egypt, 2015, p 234

<sup>70</sup> <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1287579>

<sup>71</sup> Statement by President Abdel Fattah El Sisi at Arab-Islamic-American Summit on 23 May 2017 <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/113123?lang=en-us>

interpretations of the teachings of religions, remove them from their tolerant purposes, deviate from them for political ends.

In this regard, Egypt has launched an initiative to correct the religious discourse. So that leads to a comprehensive intellectual revolution that shows the inherent essence of the tolerant Islamic religion, and face the attempts to abduct and confiscate religion in favor of misinterpretations, and pretexts to justify crimes have no place in the doctrine of Islam.

**Fourth:** There is no doubt that the recognition of the necessary condition, which provides an incubator environment for terrorist organizations is the disintegration and destabilization of the institutions of the national state in the Arab region. This is what Egypt has faced in recent years through systematic attempts well-funded to dismantle its institutions, and drawn the region in a destructive vacuum is what has provided the ideal environment to emerge terrorists' organizations as well as the depletion of Arab peoples in sectarian and ethnic conflicts.

The Security Council's decision to document the speech is an official UN document is being circulated on counter-terrorism, and drying its sources is important in several respects, it can be summarized in the following points:

- The speech of Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi draws a picture of "New Egypt" capable of achieving its objectives, which confirms that the international community is aware of the reality of what happened in Egypt, and that what is happening in the Middle East is a good witness.
- The speech presents the image of "New Egypt" as a state that pursues the principles it sought through the map of the future, through the referendum on the constitution and the presidential and parliamentary elections.
- An important step was taken by the Security Council, the General Assembly of the United Nations takes the same action by distributing the statement to all Members of the United Nations, to promote the vision of Egypt and document the historic speech of the President of Egypt in the United Nations folders.

## Conclusion

Although the number of terrorist operations has decreased, the number of martyrs is increasing in 2016 and 2017, and the number of killers reached to more than half of the numbers of operations, it means that the terrorist attacks have become more dangerous and killed more victims, so if there is a positive trend that the operations are few, there is also a negative trend in the number of killed people "martyrs." The sponsorship and support by some States for political terrorism in Egypt has led to the wide range of terrorist practices, that the support and care have played a role in executing the objectives of the sponsoring state and the achievement of its interests, and we cannot ignore in this role the Intelligence of some countries in that matter, like the training of its personnel and in the careful planning of its operations. These countries and regimes achieved their objectives, and its political pressure on Egypt through those terrorist practices, avoiding the entry into international wars that are unsafe consequences.

The intellectual deviation of the Muslim Brotherhood is one of the most important motives and causes of the delinquency of violence and political terrorism in Egypt, and in light of the recent terrorist acts that led to the most heinous crimes against humanity in Egypt, the United

Nations and international units should consider the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group due to their supports of crimes against the homeland's sons of the army, police, and civilians. Therefore, Egypt should update the old Arab conventions on counter-terrorism, there is also an urgent need for in-depth studies and scientific research on the phenomenon of political terrorism from research centers, as well as the establishment of information centers in counter-terrorism agencies to gather as much information as possible on terrorism.

As well as, the Egyptian state should care of the isolated and rural areas in the field of education and economy as one of the areas from which terrorism originates, in addition, to eliminate the problem of unemployment where it has become an input to the engagement and participation of the unemployed with these illegal groups, and make a strict control of mosques (Zawya) in the villages which work on the brain washing of young Egyptians. Finally, the researcher view that the use of brute force, especially in Sinai, is the only way to eliminate terrorism in Egypt, because if it lasted long, there is a legal basis for the Security Council to intervene militarily to combat it like what happened in Afghanistan as well as the intervention in Syria, which will affect Egypt's sovereignty in its territorial integrity. .

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