



The End of Colonies and the Rise of Modern Terrorism: Algeria

The History of Terrorism
as a Strategy of Political
Insurgency

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World War II and the Decline of Empires

Nationalist sentiments in colonial areas boiled over after WWII. Why?

Changed Expectations...

- The Atlantic Charter
- The Myth of Imperial Invincibility
- The Cold War
- Mao and Peoples War

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This first part of this section is based on the second Chapter of Bruce Hoffman's book Inside Terrorism. The sections on the Algerian war are based on book Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present by Charles-Robert Ageron and John Ruedy's book, Modern Algeria.

The Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires faced significant internal tensions from Ethnic Nationalist and these tensions contributed to their demise following the First World War, but for other empires, the tensions were just beginning.

The aftermath of World War II would set these tensions ablaze as nationalist sentiments, fueled by changing expectations, moved to the forefront for many indigenous populations. This change in expectations would lead to the breakup of all the major European overseas empires over the next two decades (with a few exceptions).

So what caused people's expectations to change so much?

- The Atlantic Charter
- The British loss of Singapore to the Japanese in 1942
- The Cold War
- Mao's Victory in 1949 - Success breeds success

Expectations and a New World Order

The Atlantic Charter

- Promise of self determination
- Legal Frame work

The Decline of European Power

- Economic decline
- Perceptions of Invincibility and inevitability changed

The Rise of the Soviet Union

The Strategy of Peoples War

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The Atlantic Charter

Prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, the United States had entered into several very significant arrangements with Great Britain to facilitate their war effort including the Lend Lease arrangement. As part of this increased close cooperation, and in anticipation of the USA eventually entering the conflict directly, Roosevelt and Churchill met off the coast of Newfoundland to outline their post war international intentions. 8 key points were made and they became the Atlantic Charter.

Below is the joint proclamation issued by FDR and Winston Churchill. The 2nd and 3rd points would become very popular with ethnic nationalists in colonial territories, and would in many cases be interpreted as promise for independence at the conclusion of the war.

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

*Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill*

Well, now they had really done it. Later the declaration of the United Nations agreed to by Britain and US on January 1, 1942 would include these principles, and later efforts by the British to exclude their empire (we really only meant the German, Japanese, and Italian Empires) from the conversation did not go far. The cat was already out of the bag. Expectations had changed.

In addition to a legal framework coming into place, the defeat of the British by the Japanese (a non-European and non-Caucasian race) in Singapore in 1942 changed the perception of British and imperial invincibility. The Europeans could be engaged, and beaten. The defeat of the French in Indochina at the hands of the Japanese made it completely impossible for them to realistically reassert their rule after World War II with so much of their imperial authority gone. In other areas such as Africa and the Middle East, a return to pre-War Status quo was simply not acceptable to native populations.

Adding to the post war tumult was the rise of the Soviet Union as a Great Power, and their interest in helping liberate the workers of the world (specifically, the ones outside their territories). Seeing an ideological match in many of the young activist leaders, and a geo-political opportunity to undermine the Western states, the Soviets funneled advisors, doctrine, and supplies into the nationalist movements globally. The US did far less for the colonies trying to throw off their European rulers, and it was noticed.

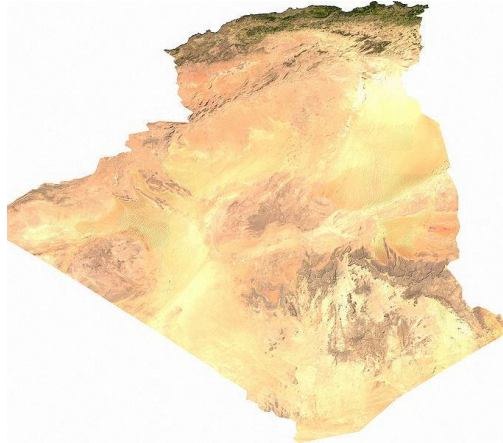
With Mao's victory in 1949, a road map for the people's struggle was tested and accepted as the path for many young Marxist revolutionaries, and accelerated with the victories of revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa.

So for the next part of this discussion, let's focus in depth on Algeria first, and then we will look at similar events in Palestine and Cyprus for comparative purposes.

Algeria – Geography

The place looks a little dry

- 3.4% of the land is arable
- No Major Rivers, minimal rain
- Atlas Mountain Range
- Lots of sand
- Oasis



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In many ways, this was one of the last immediate post World War II colonial independence struggle. It occurred relatively later than other anti-colonial wars. Because of its somewhat delayed start, many of the lessons of prior independence struggles had been learned and are incorporated into the Algerian struggle.

The Geography

Most of the country is unpleasant with that hot desert sandy thing going on, but the coastal area is nice. The availability of water is the most important variable shaping Algerian history, and the Atlas mountain range across the North helps protect the coast and creates some good agricultural land, although they are not high enough to generate a snow pack and more favorable water conditions. They lack any significant rivers, so dry condition agriculture, such as cereals, and are better suited than other crops.

Deforestation was significant in the Colon era, and this has been an ongoing problem.

Economy of Algeria

Main industries are

- agriculture
- Petroleum & Natural Gas
- Mining
- Light industries

Employment

- 14% Agricultural
- Industry
- 13% construction
- 15% trade
- 32% Government
- 16% other

Year	Gross Domestic Product	US Dollar Exchange	Inflation Index (2000=100)	Per Capita Income (as % of USA)
1980	162,500	3.83 Algerian Dinars	9.30	18.51
1985	291,600	4.77 Algerian Dinars	14	15.55
1990	554,400	12.19 Algerian Dinars	22	10.65
1995	2,004,990	47.66 Algerian Dinars	73	5.39
2000	4,123,514	75.31 Algerian Dinars	100	5.17
2005	7,493,000	73.44 Algerian Dinars	114	7.43

<http://data.worldbank.org/country/algeria>

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From the Web I pulled the following information (see link listed below)

Agricultural production is a moderate contributor to the Algerian economy, accounting for 11-12 percent of GDP and 22 percent of total employment in 1997, but has declined since independence

Years of government restructuring, lack of investment, meager water resources, and dependence on rainwater for irrigation have contributed to this decline. The production of cereals as well as orchard and industrial crops has significantly dropped. As a result, Algeria today has become dependent on food imports, accounting for close to 75 percent of food needs.

Although Algeria is the second-largest country in Africa, the arable land of about 8.2 million hectares accounts for only 3.4 percent of the total land area. The vast Sahara desert, which spans much of the south central part of the country, is not available for agriculture.

Between 1961 and 1987, all arable land was controlled by the state, which divided the land into state farms, known as *domaines agricoles socialistes*. State farms were dismantled in 1987 and the land was divided into smaller collective and individual farms. Despite these measures, about one-third of cultivable land in Algeria is still owned by the government, which leases the land to private investors and farmers. The remaining two-thirds of arable land (about 5 million hectares) is privately owned.

Algeria's main crops are cereals (mainly wheat and barley), citrus fruit, vegetables, and grapes. Fresh dates exports have risen sharply in the past decade and have become the second-largest export after hydrocarbons. Some 72,000 hectares are cultivated with palm trees, mainly in the Saharan oases. Algerian dates are mainly exported to France, Russia, Senegal, and Belgium.

Algeria was once a major exporter of wine and associated products. Despite government efforts to revive the sector, production has fallen significantly since 1962, reaching 248,000 hectoliters (6,552,160 U.S. gallons) in 1996, down from 410,000 hectoliters (10,832,200 U.S. gallons) in 1992.

Algeria is also a producer of olive oil, and production has generally averaged around 150,000 hecto-liters (3,963,000 U.S. gallons) annually.

The bulk of Algeria's crops are cultivated in the fertile but narrow plains around Bejaïa and Annaba in the east, in the Mitidja Plain south of Algiers, and beyond Oran from Sidi Bel Abbes to Tlemcen. The agricultural sector's dependence on rainwater for irrigation has often affected its production levels, especially during droughts. The cereal harvest, for example, was badly affected by drought conditions that plagued North Africa in 2000, producing only half of its annual yield.

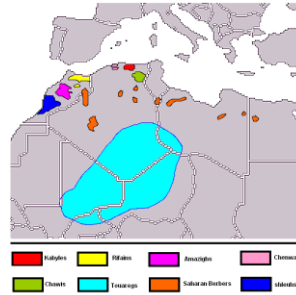
Hence, despite government efforts to extend funding and technical assistance to farmers and increase the productivity of the agricultural sector, Algeria imports the bulk of the food it consumes, especially cereals (mainly wheat).

Read more: [Algeria Agriculture, Information about Agriculture in Algeria](http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Algeria-AGRICULTURE.html#ixzz1Dr3dYtGR)
<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Algeria-AGRICULTURE.html#ixzz1Dr3dYtGR>

The Berbers

Berbers

- In Africa since 3000 BC
- Scattered throughout the Maghreb
- Tribal and nomadic
- 3 main dialects
- Distinctive music and dress
- Major Empires in 11th through 13th centuries
- A darn fine looking bunch of people



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Algeria is majority Arab, but has about 20-25% Berber population. The division is at this point mostly a linguistic divide, and I have heard different views on the language origin, so I will only say it is not a Semitic language. The Berbers were dominant in the area at different points, but starting with the Punic Era (106 BC) they were gradually pushed off the coast and into the mountains where they retained or regained tribal social organization (depends on who you read). Bouts of Christianity, Judaism, and tribal religions were gradually replaced by Islam with its arrival in the 7th century.

<http://www.africaguide.com/culture/tribes/berber.htm>

BERBER:

Location: Berbers have lived in Africa since the earliest recorded time. References date back to 3000 BC. There are many scattered tribes of Berber across Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. Forty percent of the Moroccan population is Berber, 30% live in Algeria, and 1% in Tunisia. There are smaller numbers of Berbers in Mauritania, Mali, and Niger. They tend to live in desert regions like the Sahara and in the Atlas Mountains. They live there because the Arabs conquered North Africa in the 7th century AD, and pushed the Berbers out. The number of Berbers in North Africa has slowly declined because more and more Berbers are adopting the language and culture of the Arabs.

Language: Berber is derived from the Roman term for barbarians. Berbers are non-Arabic tribes. Throughout the centuries Berbers have mixed with many ethnic groups, mostly Arabs. Because of this, Berbers have come to be identified by linguistics instead of racial basis. The Berber language has 300 closely related dialects. A number of tribes have their own distinct language. Some of the largest Berber tribes are Rif, Kabyle, Shawia, Tuareg, Haratin, Shluh, and Beraber. The written language is not commonly taught and is rarely used.

Daily Life: Berbers are traditionally Muslim, and societies are quite fragmented. Berbers have had a constant struggle for power in North Africa with Arab tribes for centuries. The Barbary Coast of North Africa was named after the word Berber, and was known as a place where Arab and Berber pirates would prey on ships on the Mediterranean Sea. Traditionally, Berbers raised sheep and cattle. However, some Berbers subsist by working in flourmills, doing woodcarving, quarrying millstones, and making pottery or jewelry. Women were generally involved with housework, weaving, and pottery. Berbers generally live in rural areas. Their housing is usually clay huts or tents made out of goat hair. In larger villages, however, houses are made of stone. Today, most Berbers are migrant workers who work in Spain or France.

French Colonization

Declining Ottoman Empire and Expanding French Empire meet in 1829 Algiers.

French Colonization accelerates from 1848 to 1870

Land Seizures from Indigenous population accelerates

- If an Arab or Berber abandoned an Estate (especially if the French were shooting at them), the estate could be seized.
- Seizure of lands of any who fought against the French
- Seizure of public lands – pastures held communally, or even religious land administered for charitable purposes
- Legal challenges to titled land (in Algiers alone 95,000 titles changed hands from Muslims to the French)

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The French in Algeria

Charles-Robert Ageron was a French Historian who provided excellent documentation on the Algerian war. Unfortunately, I lost much of the actual reference sources, so can only simply acknowledge his major influence on this section. If it sounds like an intelligent point, it is almost certainly his point, not mine. His book [Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present](#) contributed greatly to the next few sections. John Ruedy's book, [Modern Algeria](#) was also used extensively. Almost everything following is from these two gentlemen's work.

So what got the French first into Algeria, then just so *into* Algeria, the love of their colonies?

Let's set this up a bit.

First, the Algerians were part of the Ottoman Empire for many centuries, really since the Ottomans took over from the Arabs in that part of the world. An important point I think is that they had a fair amount of autonomy, and had developed significant localized administrative and economic controls of their areas, with an associated social hierarchy, economy, and culture. They were a mix of the Arab and Berber peoples, and had a reasonably coherent society.

Debts to France and internal issues of the Ottoman Empire led to the first French intervention in 1829, with 37,000 troops occupying the city of Algiers. Occupation became formal in 1834 when the French developed a very mediocre local administration (primarily of the coastal areas around Algiers, Oran, Bougie, and Bone). Conditions in the cities were poor, French interest in Algeria waxed and waned with political turnover in Paris, and the mediocrity of partial occupation escalated into frequent conflicts with the Arabs and the Berbers.

In the great colonial traditions of the time, razing villages and burning crops was the main antidote administered to the restless indigenous populations. And since few Algerians held title to lands held in the communal manner of herding pastoral people, the lands therefore must be not owned by anyone, and therefore appropriated by the French (who had lawyers and knew how to assign titles to land). Throw in a few epidemics, and the natives were quite miserable and occasionally restless. Insurrections happened, and were dealt with, harshly. Fines were often levied, resulting in more land being taken in lieu of payment.

Around this time, it became apparent that there were more Arabs and Berbers than Europeans, so getting more Europeans became important. In 1848, 15,000 Parisians were deported to Algeria. In 1870, after the Paris Commune was put down, many trouble makers were sent to Algeria. And in the 19th century, since Algeria was two days on boat compared to up to 6 weeks to get to America, many Europeans (Spain, Portugal, Italy, etc.), chose the shorter ride to go to Algeria.

But where to put all these new people?

- First, if an Arab or Berber abandoned an Estate (especially if the French were shooting at them), the estate could be seized.
- Second, seize the lands of any who fought against the French
- Seize public lands – pastures held communally, or even religious land administered for charitable purposes
- Legal challenges to titled land (in Algiers alone 95,000 titles changed hands from Muslims to the French)

The Destruction of the Indigenous Society

The Assimilation “Option” was about eliminating the Islamic culture

- Muslim courts were closed
- Muslim schools were closed
- Native economy was disrupted
- Only Christians had the potential for full rights
- Nomadic groups were forcible discouraged

Collapsing agricultural prices and increased European Migration increased pressure on the indigenous traditions

Sporadic insurrections led to extended, disproportionate retaliations

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Collapsing agricultural prices and cholera epidemic from 1847 to 1851 accelerated the transition. Government polices encouraged European migration, and the end of nomadic behaviors (why be a nomad when you can be an indentured peasant?).

Along the way assimilation of Arabs became a goal, for some. The French Colons favored it much more than the Bureaux Arabes, who had some good reasons for not liking it.

- *Muslim courts were closed
- *Muslim schools were closed
- *Native economy was disrupted
- *Only Christians had the potential for full rights

The Colons also seized more ground, and the Arab insurrections were re-kindled. And they were put down.

So what did all this mean?

Pauperization of the Indigenous Population

- Decades of war
- Mass land appropriations
- Forced population relocations
- Disruption of local markets
- Fragmentation of farms (most were too small to support the farmers)
- Flat agricultural production
- Increased reliance on wage work
- Increased urbanization (proletariat)
- Population declined by 1/3rd between 1830 and 1872
- Destruction of Arab and Turkish elites
- Destruction of social and tribal structures (schools, courts, local political structures)

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Economic Impact- Pauperization of the indigenous population

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From 1830 to 1872, the population of Algeria declined by 1/3rd

Social, Political, and Cultural assault on religion – remember France was extremely secular, and this passed on to the Colons. They hated Islam and its traditions.

- *Multiple wife discouraged
- *Closure of mosques (and confiscation)
- *Closure of Islamic Schools
- *Desecration of cemeteries
- *Requirement to renounce Islam to gain certain rights and benefits
- *Impediments to training Imams

Through much of the 19th century we see every major Arab/Berber economic, social, political, and cultural assaulted, and the near complete erasure of the Old Societal Elites.

Towards a New Elite

Factors in the rise of a New Elite

- Urbanization
- Trading and Artisan classes emerged
- Growing Expatriate community working and learning in France
- Fully Bilingual

Most of the New Elite favored Assimilation and increased ties to France

Factors against Assimilation

- It was good to be a Colon! The living was easy...
- Increased Arab and Berber Birth rates and declining European immigration
- Underemployed, growing urban population
- World financial shocks

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By 1890 a new, secular elite began to emerge, to fill the void.

- 1,000 to 2,000 in number
- Urban
- Bilingual French-Arabic
- Predominantly assimilationist
- Confronted by Colons, who did not want Arabs assimilated

Their numbers would grow as more were working in France (300,000 by 1950)

Factors Working Against Assimilation: Initially the new modern Algerian urban elite sought assimilation into the broader French society, and believed they were the bridge to that assimilation. By enlightening the French in France to their condition and desires, they believed they could achieve equality with the Colons.

The Colons: Why did the Colons resist assimilation efforts by the Arabs/Berbers? Remember, they came to Algeria to improve their standard of living. The average Colon had an income 7 times that of the average Arab/Berber, and they wanted to keep it. To do this they engaged in classical colonial behaviors

- Expropriate the best Algerian resources
- Destroyed the pre-1830 social structure
- Re-oriented the native population towards the needs of a colonial economy
- Established a cheap urban labor pool

The Economy and Demographics: The 1920s and 1930s saw major changes to the global economy and the demographics of Algeria.

- Bad crop years
- Growing, under employed urban population
- World financial market gyrations
- Post World War I inflation
- Declining European immigration and birth rates
- Rising Arab and Berber birth rates

Early Modern Opposition

In 1927 the Etoile Nord-Afrique emerged demanding

- Independence for Algeria
- Withdrawal of French Army
- Creation of an Algerian Army
- Freedom of the Press
- Universal Suffrage

Again, they spoke for the minority in Algeria – most Arabs and Berbers favored assimilation.

Most Colons thought things were just fine the way they were.

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Early modern Opposition: The destruction of the common culture made it difficult for independence groups to coalesce into broader movements, but some did emerge.

In 1927 the Etoile Nord-Afrique emerged demanding

- Independence for Algeria
- Withdrawal of French Army
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- Freedom of the Press
- Universal Suffrage

Then it started to hit the fan...

Who was really fighting who?

- A colonial war for independence, with both Guerilla and Terror tactics employed
- A Civil War between those who wished to separate and those who favored assimilation
- A Civil War between the FLN and other rival independence groups.
- A civil strife in France as many thousands of Algerians and French Algerians in France would take to the streets in protest.
- Colon Agenda: The Colons had a very specific agenda that they would promote aggressively in both Algeria and in France, and if necessary at the expense of the French governments agenda.

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By the 1950's and influenced by the Atlantic Charter, and following the success of multiple other independence movement, the independence movement starts to gain some momentum, with the most significant emerging force being the National Liberation Front (FLN).

Algeria's unique role in France: It is very important to understand that Algeria was integrated in France as a department of France, and was largely seen not separable from France by the French in France, and the French (Colons) who had been born and raised for generations in Algeria, speaking and living a French life style. It is also important to note, not all Arab, Berber and Jewish indigenous Algerians wanted separation from France. Many favored assimilation. This was especially true among Algerians who had served in the Free French forces. There was also conflict between independence movements, with the Marxist FLN determined to emerge from the conflict in power in Algeria.

At the conclusion of the war, approximately 10% of the population of Algeria relocated to France. 90% were the Pied Noirs (Colons) who were French citizens, and about 10% were Hakis, Algerians who had fought alongside the Colons.

So when we look at the war keep in mind it is:

A colonial war for independence, with both Guerilla and Terror tactics employed

A Civil War between those who wished to separate and those who favored assimilation

A Civil War between the FLN and other rival independence groups.

A civil strife in France as many thousands of Algerians and French Algerians in France would take to the streets in protest.

Colon and French conflicts of interest: The Colons had a very specific agenda that they would promote aggressively in both Algeria and in France, and if necessary at the expense of the French governments agenda. This had been the pattern for over a century, and it did not change until Algeria achieved independence and the colons left.

1954 to 1956

Some Key points about this phase

- The Urban phase was designed to attract International attention
- Bombings were the primary tactic in Urban areas
- Civilians were targets by 1955
- It was a psychological attack in the enemy's stronghold
- It is consistent with Mao's strategy of Peoples War
- The employed the Lessons Learned from prior successful revolutions – this form of conflict evolves
- It was Nationalistic
- For the FLN, Politics trumped Nationalism

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The Main Course of Events Summarized

Teaching points – I tie back in some stuff early segment to create the illusion of flow or some grand intellectual vision.

Bruce Hoffman notes the sequence of events as follows:

1954-56 Algerian FLN is losing ground in rural areas to security forces, so switches to an urban strategy

-Strategy devised by Ramdane Abane with the intent of gaining international attention through increased media exposure.

-Bombings, involving mostly males but also including some notable female participation, were a primary tactic.

-1956 things deteriorated, the army was called out, brutal repression led to a shift in the political paradigm for both the international and French mainland communities.

-A psychological and political gain had been achieved in spite of a military defeat.

To Hoffman's points I would add:

-The war moved between stages in the classic People's war manner.

-Lessons were learned and used from other colonial conflicts.

-It was Nationalist and Political both

How the French won the Military Conflict

Start of Insurrection, November 1, 1954 All Saints Day

- Guerilla attacks against Administrative and Police and Military Targets
- Militarily unsuccessful

Phillipeville Massacre 123 civilians killed and subsequent retaliation (12,000 killed?)

- Drove many Colons out of rural areas
- Radicalized Arabs and Berbers

Café Wars in France between FLN and its rivals

Battle for Algiers

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So let's get into a little more detail on each bullet point. And for clarity, we will focus on the FLN. There were other groups, but the FLN eliminated most of its rivals. In fact, they killed far more Muslims than they did French, some estimates involving 3 times as many rivals eliminated as compared to Colons. It is worth noting that multiple parties had military wings, so some of the most intense fighting was between rebel units.

Ruedy outlines the FLN's early organizational structure and efforts as follows...

Initially, the FLN organized itself into first 5, then later 6 military districts. The districts had a colonel supported by 3 assistants, one each for political affairs, logistics, and information.

The insurrection was launched simultaneously across the country on All Saints Day (November 1) in 1954. The Guerillas had between 500 and 3,000 men, with about half of them being armed (I have seen different numbers – some confusion probably surrounds the number of armed men). Most of the attacks were launched against government targets, including telegraph lines and buildings, but some civilians were killed. The French and the Colon response was more successful though, and the FLN was pushed into the more remote regions of the country over the winter. One FLN district, Wilaya 4, saw its entire leadership captured in 10 days, while other districts saw some of their leaders killed.

At this point, most Algerians were thought to be relatively pro status quos, if not pro-French. The FLN policy was to avoid civilian attacks and this continued into 1955. The French at this point did not have a full grasp of the conflict and the hazards associated with the uprising, nor of their willingness to escalate. In August 1955, the FLN massacred 123 civilians near Phillipeville. The youngest victim was 5 days old, the oldest 73 years. In response, the French claim to have killed 1,273 "Guerillas", while the FLN and Time Magazine claimed they killed 12,000 civilians. The retaliation involved both a formal army response, but much independent activity by police and private citizens organized into paramilitary and mob structures. This in turn created a much broader pool of recruits for the FLN and its rivals to draw from.

Increasing attacks on Colons drove them into urban areas, and increased pressure on the French government to change tactics. The French started to lose what control they had on the Colons, so abolished the Algerian Assembly (dominated by the Colons) and started to rule by decree. Governor General Lacoste favored strong military action.

At the same time, the FLN accelerated its efforts to influence unions, student and women's organizations, and professional groups. The FLN and its rival MA also extended their war to the France, with bombings beginning in the cafés of France. Intriguingly, their main targets were each other as they sought to influence the expatriate community in France and set the political course for an independent Algeria. The Café Wars officially claimed 4,000 dead with 6,000+ wounded. In September 1956, the FLN went urban in its strategy and started calling for a nation-wide strike and bombings in Algiers and other major cities. In the Spring of 1957, the FLN was carrying out 800 hit and run attacks a month. General [Jacques Massu](#), a veteran of the Indochina wars was given the task of restoring order at any cost, and he did with a large veteran force of paratroopers taking control of the Algiers. With curfews, systematic raids, torture, and other very repressive methods, the military one the Battle of Algiers, but started the political defeat of France when reports reached the French public and international audiences. Political doubt had now entered the public mind.

The FLN kept up the pressure in the rural areas as well, but most of their targets were Algerians they suspected of supporting the MNA or the French. Murder, torture and mutilation will all practiced widely to control the population. It is estimated at this time the FLN had 40,000 troops, 30,000 of whom were stationed in neighboring countries.

Facing them were now 400,000 French troops, and up to 180,000 Algerian troops (Hakis) were usually organized into all Algerians units commended by the French. Villages were held to be collectively responsible for any infractions, and remote villages were bombed from the air. Destructive military sweeps and mass arrests on little to no evidence escalated. Armor and helicopters were also brought in to create a significant advantage in massed firepower.

By 1958, search and destroy missions became the main tactic, and FLN activity was effectively suppressed in most areas of Algeria.

Where this really gets interesting is the next bit. The French Military had lost complete confidence in the French Government, and wanted Charles De Gaulle installed as President. Starting with a Coup d'état in Algiers, the military seized all of Algeria, then landed a force in Corsica. Preparations were underway to seize Paris next, when Parliament decided to install De Gaulle as president in 1958, ending the fourth Republic.

How the French Lost the Political War

French Public was fatigued after Indochina

- Ghastly attacks from all sides

International Publicity increased the pressure

Massive Military Commitment

- 400,000 troops tied down (1% of population)

Political Outcome through the referendum

*Terrorism attacked the **Political Will** of the people through the **illegal use of Violence**, for a **Political purpose**, in an **indiscriminate** manner, to sow **psychological fear**, and to **gain publicity***

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Now begins a change in political environment:

First De Gaulle made statements such as "Vive l'[Algérie française](#)"

A new constitution was created discussing Algeria in the context of a "close association" with France, but not a department of France

All Algerians were organized and registered to vote, and 80% did desperate a FLN terror campaign to stop it.

The new constitution was approved.

The FLN organizes a government in exile

Opposition to the military in Algeria continued to grow in France

The words self determination were uttered by De Gaulle

The Colons feel betrayed and stage an insurrection of their own with the support of some military units

De Gaulle called on the army to stay loyal, and most did. Self determination became the policy.

A referendum on Algerian independence in France and Algeria came back with 75% in favor, and the transition began. Another attempted Coup failed. A Colon Terror group, the OAS, tried to break the cease fire the FLN through up to 120 bombings a day in March 1961, but they were ineffective. The FLN for its part decided to drive the Colons out of Algeria through attacks on civilians, including the Oran Massacre of anywhere from 100 to 1500 persons were killed as the FLN seized the city while both the Algerian Police and French Army (under orders to stand still) did nothing to prevent it. More than 250,000 Colons left the city in the weeks to follow, almost all for France.

So what are the lessons learned here for the class?

Successful Political Insurgency methods are shared and emulated.

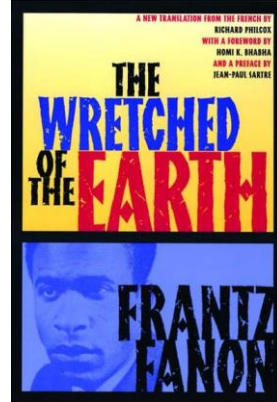
Terror is an integral part of a Guerilla Strategy.

Appendix

“The Battle For Algiers” is a good movie to show in class – reference that it was commissioned by the Algerian Government

My Battle for Algiers by Ted Morgan is a good read also.

And I would encourage students to at least Wiki Frantz Fanon, or perhaps read a segment of The Wretched of the Earth



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The Atlantic Charter

- *The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.*
- *First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;*
- *Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;*
- *Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;*
- *Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;*
- *Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;*
- *Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;*
- *Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;*
- *Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.*

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill

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Modern Middle East Survey Part 1: The Maghreb

The History of Terrorism as a Strategy of Political Insurgency

February 21, 2011

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Modern Middle East

Three areas of discussion

- The Maghreb –Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya
- The Arabian Peninsula – Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman and a bunch of little countries
- Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon

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Exciting Times are upon us!

How did we get here?

And how the heck are we going to talk about it

General Points About the Region

People

- Not all Muslims are Arabs
- Not all Arabs are Muslims
- Many states have substantial indigenous, or imported, minorities

All States discussed have serious demographic pressures

- High fertility rates mean explosive population growth
- Populations tend to be skewed towards youth, i.e. high percentage under 25 years of age
- Economic growth, meaning job growth, is critically important

They lack any real democratic behaviors

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The Maghreb

Think hot and sandy

Notice the little green stretches along the coast

Ottoman Possessions through 19th century

Libya was an Italian Colony

The rest are former French Colonies



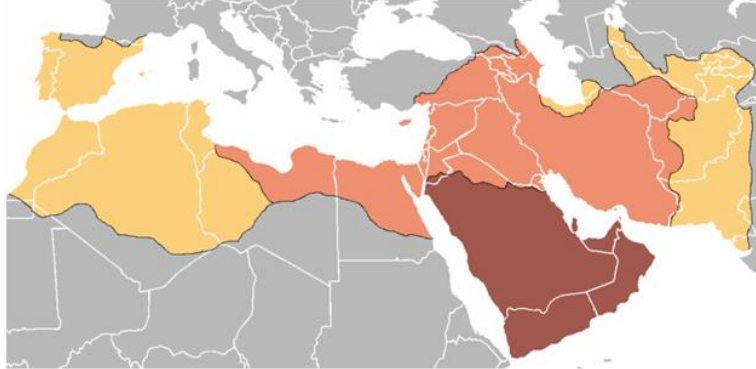
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The Maghreb is the cool, “in the know” name for the Countries associated with the Sahara Desert. If you said “Ma – Grib” with the “grib” pronounced like the English word Grip, but ending in a B sound, you could fool at least some people into believing you knew what you are talking about, which is a lot like what I am trying to do with this whole darn web site. But enough about me, on with the Power Point!

Some key points about the region:

- It is hot
- Mostly it is sandy
- Coastal areas have some green zones, but crops tend to be dry crops, such as cereals, some fruits (dates, etc.) and some colonial inspired crops such as grapes for wine. Camels and goats, which eat food humans can not, are common kebab choices.
- These countries have a long history involving the ancient Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans.
- Most of these countries were part of the early Arab empires, and introduced to Islam in or around the 8th century, replacing over the course of a few generations, Christianity, Judaism, and tribal religions.
- They were later dominated by the Turkish Ottoman empire

The Arab Expansion



Dark Brown shows the expansion by Mohammed from 622 to 632
The Orange shows the expansion under Rashidun from 632 to 661
The yellow shows the expansion of the Umayyad from 661 to 750

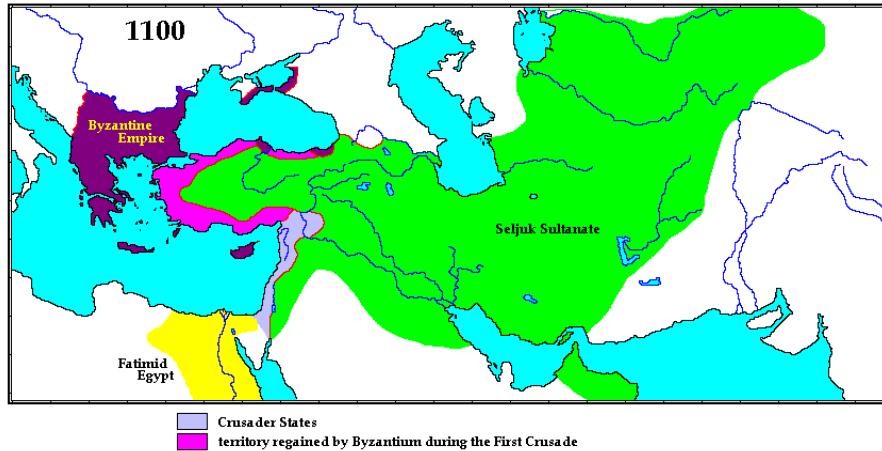
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The Arabs expanded quickly out of the Arab Peninsula and held sway over a vast region acquired from weak and ailing predecessor states.

Teaching Point – one of the main things I would emphasize on this slide is just how explosive the growth of Islam was. This is why I wanted to show the map. With this growth came a tremendous amount of exposure to other thoughts, ideas and influences. It also brought Islam to non-Arab peoples, such as the Berbers, Persians, and Turks, which had major implications for the political and religious landscape afterward.

Islamic power in the 11th through 13th centuries

1092 to 1265 A.D.



11th through 13th centuries

Some key events during this period:

- Islam had split into two major, competing branches, the Shiite and the Sunni.
- The Crusades began in 1095 and would continue until 1292.
- The Byzantine Empire was in accelerated decline, with Constantinople sacked by the Crusaders in 1204.
- Hellenistic culture and thought remained very strong philosophical influences.

At the time, the Ismailis were the largest branch of the Shiite practice. Shiites split from the Sunnis over the line of secession for the Caliphate, with the Shiites believing in a succession based on lineage from the Prophet Mohammed. This view centered on the cousin of Mohammed, Ali, and the contention that he should be both the political and spiritual leader of the community. The community in general favored a semi-democratic approach, and elected the successors to Mohammed as Caliph.

The split widened when the 3rd Caliph, a member of the Umayyad tribe, was martyred. Ali (a Hashemite) was selected as the 4th Caliph peacefully, but the situation deteriorated when the Umayyad tribe petitioned for blood retribution against those who martyred the 3rd Caliph and Ali sought a more peaceful resolution of the issue. After some fighting, the leadership of the Islamic Community was put before an arbitrator, who decided in Ali's favor.

The dynamics of the period were complicated by the Abbasid ascendancy (75- to 1258) in Baghdad, then again from (1261 to 1512 in Egypt), their movement of the Capitol to Baghdad, their use of Turks (Mamluks) as soldiers, their alienation of the Shiites, and the rise of the Fatimid Dynasty.

This led to a split within Ali's group, and the emergence of a rather violent sect called the Kharijites, who murdered Ali in 661 AD. Ali's son emerged as his successor (and it is a little unclear how directly this happened), but another political leader had a bigger army, so we see the separation of the Imamate from the Caliph role (spiritual and political roles became separate).

Later, Ali's family sought to regain some authority during a period when they saw rising persecution. It did not work out so well, and they were ultimately killed in battle at Karbala. It is this event that really split Islam, and reinforced the key Shiite belief that the political and spiritual leadership of the community rested with the Imam.

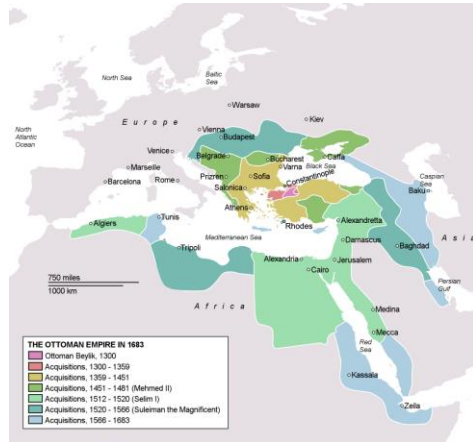
The Umayyad Dynasty lasted until 750 AD in the Middle East, and until 1031 in Spain.

The Ottomans

Turks, not Arabs
Able Administrators,
delegated control to
regional elites as
needed



Thank you
Ottoman Empire!



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The Ottomans were Turks (i.e. NOT ARABS), who arrived in Asia Minor after being pushed out by the various Hun and Mongol menaces. It had its capitol in Istanbul, the Byzantine capitol formerly known as Constantinople, and maintained a vigorous rate of expansion well into the 17th century.

The Turks were themselves a new ethnic group in the area, and would later become a minority in the emergent Arab states.

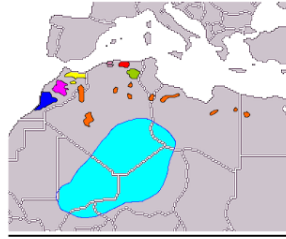
Where it is particularly relevant for the modern Middle East discussion is that they held loose control over the Maghreb portion of the empire, and these regions developed some fairly autonomous institutions, with sophisticated political, legal, and cultural practices, which the Europeans came along and demolished in the 19th century.

Fun Fact: We all owe the origin of that tasty treat, the Croissant, to our friends the Turks, or maybe the Arabs, but let's give the Turks credit for now. When they were in one of their expansionist moods, the story goes that the Croissant, shaped like the Muslim crescent, was baked to celebrate their failed attempt to take Vienna in 1683. Or you can go with the story about the Battle of Tours in 732 where the Franks held off the Arabs and kept them from expanding beyond Spain. Pick one, get riled up about contrary views, and go with it

Special Guests - The Berbers

Berbers

- In Africa since 3000 BC
- Scattered throughout the Maghreb
- Tribal and nomadic
- 3 main dialects
- Distinctive music and dress
- Major Empires in 11th through 13th centuries
- A darn fine looking bunch of people



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Algeria is majority Arab, but has about 20-25% Berber population. Morocco is close to 40% Berber. The division is at this point mostly a linguistic divide, and I have heard different views on the language origin, so I will only say it is not a Semitic language. The Berbers were dominant in the area at different points, but starting with the Punic Era (106 BC) they were gradually pushed off the coast and into the mountains where they retained or regained tribal social organization (depends on who you read). Bouts of Christianity, Judaism, and tribal religions were gradually replaced by Islam with its arrival in the 7th century.

<http://www.africaguide.com/culture/tribes/berber.htm>

BERBER:

Location: Berbers have lived in Africa since the earliest recorded time. References date back to 3000 BC. There are many scattered tribes of Berber across Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. Forty percent of the Moroccan population is Berber, 30% live in Algeria, and 1% in Tunisia. There are smaller numbers of Berbers in Mauritania, Mali, and Niger. They tend to live in desert regions like the Sahara and in the Atlas Mountains. They live there because the Arabs conquered North Africa in the 7th century AD, and pushed the Berbers out. The number of Berbers in North Africa has slowly declined because more and more Berbers are adopting the language and culture of the Arabs.

Language: Berber is derived from the Roman term for barbarians. Berbers are non-Arabic tribes. Throughout the centuries Berbers have mixed with many ethnic groups, mostly Arabs. Because of this, Berbers have come to be identified by linguistics instead of racial basis. The Berber language has 300 closely related dialects. A number of tribes have their own distinct language. Some of the largest Berber tribes are Rif, Kabyle, Shawia, Tuareg, Haratin, Shluh, and Berber. The written language is not commonly taught and is rarely used.

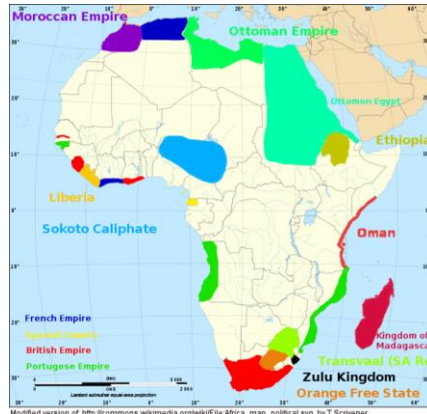
Daily Life: Berbers are traditionally Muslim, and societies are quite fragmented. Berbers have had a constant struggle for power in North Africa with Arab tribes for centuries. The Barbary Coast of North Africa was named after the word Berber, and was known as a place where Arab and Berber pirates would prey on ships on the Mediterranean Sea. Traditionally, Berbers raised sheep and cattle. However, some Berbers subsist by working in flourmills, doing woodcarving, quarrying millstones, and making pottery or jewelry. Women were generally involved with housework, weaving, and pottery. Berbers generally live in rural areas. Their housing is usually clay huts or tents made out of goat hair. In larger villages, however, houses are made of stone. Today, most Berbers are migrant workers who work in Spain or France.

The European Assault on the Maghreb

Algeria took the worst beating

Morocco became a French Protectorate in 1912

Tunisia and Libya were Ottoman until 1911



Map circa 1850

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Algeria took a ferocious beating from the French over course of its colonial period (1830 to 1962), while the other Arab States were not effectively under European control until 1911 and 1912. For Algeria, the extended colonial period extinguished most of the indigenous cultural institutions.

When Algeria gained its independence, its leadership was highly secular and authoritarian, and it remains that way today.

With the above map point out the Moroccan Empire and the Ottoman control of Libya and Tunisia in the 19th century, while Algeria was firmly in French control.

Also, go read the End of Colonies: Algeria section on the terrorism link to get a more in depth feel for the Algerian experience.

The preceding slides were set to get the introduction done for the next short slides on where we are now in the Maghreb.

Morocco –

Here's Looking at You Kid...



People

- 32 million people – 1.1% growth rate
- 28.7% under 15 years old
- 56% Urban
- 75.7 year life expectancy
- 53% literacy rate

Government

- Constitutional Monarchy
- Monarch King Mohammed VI
- Relatively free press



<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html>

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Point out the Map of Morocco here is from the CIA website, and notice it shows a country to the south of the Moroccan border called Western Sahara. It used to be the Spanish Sahara, but then Spain left in the 1970s, and Morocco invaded. They control most of it, but for political reasons the US has never recognized the annexation, so neither does the CIA map.

Also mention that 40% of the population is Berber, so what happens in Algeria, which is 25% Berber, should be of some interest to the Moroccan Government.

Relatively free press (do not talk about Islam, Status of Western Sahara, or the Monarchy)

More on Morocco!

Economy

- GDP \$4,900 per head
- 4-6% GDP growth rate

Industry by sector

- Agriculture 17% (45% of labor)
- Industry 32% (20% of labor)
- Services 51% (36% of labor)

Communication

- Internet users 13.2 million
- Cell Phones 25.3 million

Other Facts

- Bicameral system established in 1996
- Politically liberalizing
- Economy is growing
- The King is not unpopular



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Services is often a code word for public sector jobs in developing countries. Employment in these countries is weird. To avoid having too many unemployed people around, often Free universities are used to “bench” young people for four years, then possible a tour in the Military takes them out for another two years, then off to a government job.

Morocco is actually growing economically, and has liberalized politically. The state is still authoritarian, and elections certainly are rigged, but they seem to be going the right direction. Is it fast enough for the people however?

The King is not the issue here, although he seems to be sort of a tacky dresser, which I have a problem with. If you want to be a king, but wear modern suits, for heavens sake don't dress like a Russian mobster. And the five o'clock shadow does not look good on anyone, so spiff up a little!

Regardless, I give the King a pretty good shot at getting through this, but I do wonder about the Berbers if things get ugly in Algeria. He will have some tough choices then.

Algeria

People

- 35 million people – 1.2% growth rate
- 25.4% under 15 years old
- 66% Urban
- 74 year life expectancy
- 70% literacy rate

Government

- Republic

Economy – 9.9%

unemployment

- GDP \$7,400 per head
- 2 to 4% GDP growth rate

Industry by sector

- Agriculture 8.3% (14% of labor)
- Industry 61.5% (13.4% of labor)
- Services 30% (36% of labor)

Communication

- Internet users 4.7 million
- Cell Phones 33 million

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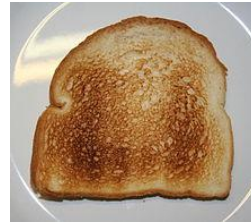
See the presentation on the Terror tab Marked “The End of Colonies: Algeria”

Government employs 32% of the population

Algeria

Why I think these guys are Toast

- 1988 Municipal Elections won by the Islamic Salvation Front
- Civil war followed, 150,000 Algerians Killed (1992 to 1998)
- Fraudulent election in 1999 put the military's man in power
- High unemployment
- Housing shortages
- Bad Utilities
- Corruption
- Nice suit not enough!



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The FLN was very autocratic, and ruthless during the war for independence. They killed most of their political rivals during the war for independence, and kept in the same theme after independence.

One of the downsides to always killing off the political opposition is that it forces the opposition to use other social or culturally acceptable organizations to gather and plan in. In Poland, Solidarity relied on the Catholics Church to a certain extent to speak for it. In Algeria, it is the mosque.

Making the Mosque very political in the Arab world is in at least part the radical nature of the Islamic movement that coalesced following the 1979 Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. Many Arab states saw the war as an opportunity to ship out young radicals who were causing them trouble at home. What they missed was that they would associate with other like minded people, learning even more radical thought, developing transnational support networks, and acquiring fighting skills that made them for more dangerous when they came home.

The Islamic Salvation Front won municipal elections they immediately went into Shari mode, closing cafes, putting women in eh veil, and all manner of very conservative Islamic controls. The secular government clamped down, and violence soon appeared.

While the FLN had been brutal in the war for independence, the Islamists were even more brutal, and get credit for the majority of the killings during this period, but the government certainly cracked won hard, and alienated their share of the population. The 20 year state of emergency continued until the new popular protests caused it to be lifted in February 2011.

Their president is a sharp dresser though. Still, I do not think it will be enough.

Tunisia

People

- 10.5 million people – .96% growth rate
- 22.7% under 15 years old
- 67% Urban
- 76 year life expectancy
- 74.3% literacy rate

Government

- Republic
- Ben Ali had served five consecutive five year terms before getting booted recently

Economy –

- GDP \$9,500 per head
- 3 to 4% GDP growth rate

Industry by sector

- Agriculture 11% (18% of labor)
- Industry 35% (32% of labor)
- Services 55% (50% of labor)

Communication

- Internet users 3.5 million
- Cell Phones 9.8 million

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Ben Ali replaced Habib Bourguiba, who had ruled Tunisia for 31 years with a one party state from 1956 to 1987. Repression of Islam, and solid women's rights, are traits of both regimes.

The fall of Ben Ali is what really brought all of this to a head.

Libya

People

- 5.5 million people – 2.1% growth rate
- 33% under 15 years old
- 78% Urban
- 77 year life expectancy
- 83% literacy rate

Government

- Republic (sort of)

Economy –

- GDP \$13,800 per head
- 0 to 3% GDP growth rate

Industry by sector

- Agriculture 3% (17% of labor)
- Industry 64% (23% of labor)
- Services 34% (59% of labor)

Communication

- Internet users 3.5 million
- Cell Phones 9.8 million

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Key facts to look at – 33% under 15? WOW!
78% Urban – that's a lot!
High Literacy rate – these folks are educated

Notes on the government- two branches, one being the Revolutionary Sector, which cannot be voted out of office. The other is as best I can tell a Soviet style of hierarchy. Local congresses of people elect leaders, who then go to a state level, who then elect leaders who then go the national level.

Very much a “cult of personality” around Gadaffi, and much dynastic activity behind the scenes. Gadaffi’s “third way” and his “Green book” are worth a short review if you have time and are interested.

Historically Libya has had a terrible record of Human Rights violations, and they do not seem interested in improving

Below is from the CIA's Web Sites located at

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

The Italians supplanted the Ottoman Turks in the area around Tripoli in 1911 and did not relinquish their hold until 1943 when defeated in World War II. Libya then passed to UN administration and achieved independence in 1951. Following a 1969 military coup, Col. Muammar Abu Minyar al-QADHAFI began to espouse his own political system, the Third Universal Theory. The system is a combination of socialism and Islam derived in part from tribal practices and is supposed to be implemented by the Libyan people themselves in a unique form of "direct democracy." QADHAFI has always seen himself as a revolutionary and visionary leader. He used oil funds during the 1970s and 1980s to promote his ideology outside Libya, supporting subversives and terrorists abroad to hasten the end of Marxism and capitalism. In addition, beginning in 1973, he engaged in military operations in northern Chad's Aozou Strip - to gain access to minerals and to use as a base of influence in Chadian politics - but was forced to retreat in 1987. UN sanctions in 1992 isolated QADHAFI politically following the downing of Pan AM Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. During the 1990s, QADHAFI began to rebuild his relationships with Europe. UN sanctions were suspended in April 1999 and finally lifted in September 2003 after Libya accepted responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing. In December 2003, Libya announced that it had agreed to reveal and end its programs to develop weapons of mass destruction and to renounce terrorism. QADHAFI has made significant strides in normalizing relations with Western nations since then. He has received various Western European leaders as well as many working-level and commercial delegations, and made his first trip to Western Europe in 15 years when he traveled to Brussels in April 2004. The US rescinded Libya's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism in June 2006. In January 2008, Libya assumed a nonpermanent seat on the UN Security Council for the 2008-09 term. In August 2008, the US and Libya signed a bilateral comprehensive claims settlement agreement to compensate claimants in both countries who allege injury or death at the hands of the other country, including the Lockerbie bombing, the LaBelle disco bombing, and the UTA 772 bombing. In October 2008, the US Government received \$1.5 billion pursuant to the agreement to distribute to US national claimants, and as a result effectively normalized its bilateral relationship with Libya. The two countries then exchanged ambassadors for the first time since 1973 in January 2009. Libya in May 2010 was elected to its first three-year seat on the UN Human Rights Council, prompting protests from international non-governmental organizations and human rights campaigners.



Modern Middle East Survey Part 1: 1939 to 1968 General Background

The History of Terrorism as
a Strategy of Political
Insurgency

February 21, 2011

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Modern Middle East

Arabs rule the middle east from 7th century to around the 13th century

Turks rule from around 13th century to around 19th and 20th centuries

- Significant levels of regional autonomy

Europeans rule from 19th to 20th century

- Mixed bag at best, sucks if you are Algeria

Key Agreements

- Sykes-Picot
- Balfour
- Versailles Treat

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So we appear to have had some issues in the Middle East that became more relevant after WWII, the big one, so let's recap!

After World War I, France and Britain emerged as firmly entrenched, firmly in control imperial powers in the Middle East. Their ascendancy was based on military, economic, and cultural dominance. But then came WWII, and war, like a red hot raging inferno near the Petri dish of life, is a catalyst!

Key Agreements

- Sykes Picot basically divided the former Ottoman Middle East in French and British Zones in 1916, while accepting the principle of Arab independence
- The British Balfour Declaration in 1917 that stated Britain accepted the idea of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine (assuming no one else felt put upon by it)
- The Treaty of Versailles accepted the Arab states could be organized as independent, under the supervision of a state charged with a Mandate.

France gets defeated in 1940, and the administration of the colonies was in flux. Britain seized Syria and Lebanon from the Vichy French, while Italy entered the North African war (soon followed by the Germans). By 1942-43, when the Germans withdrew from Tunisia, the war was over for the Arabs, and they had a good couple of years to ponder the Atlantic Charter.

After the War, France restored Indochina and Algeria to its empire, but was done in Syria and Lebanon. Britain certainly facilitated the independence of these two countries, for its own purposes, but with the unintentional effect of setting the "gold" standard for independence – complete independence without conditions became the general expectation.

Expectations and a New World Order

The Atlantic Charter

- Promise of self determination
- Legal Frame work

The Decline of European Power

- Economic decline
- Perceptions of Invincibility and inevitability changed

The Rise of the Soviet Union

The Strategy of Peoples War

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The Atlantic Charter

Prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, the United States had entered into several very significant arrangements with Great Britain to facilitate their war effort including the Lend Lease arrangement. As part of this increased close cooperation, and in anticipation of the USA eventually entering the conflict directly, Roosevelt and Churchill met off the coast of Newfoundland to outline their post war international intentions. 8 key points were made and they became the Atlantic Charter.

Below is the joint proclamation issued by FDR and Winston Churchill. The 2nd and 3rd points would become very popular with ethnic nationalists in colonial territories, and would in many cases be interpreted as promise for independence at the conclusion of the war.

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

*Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill*

Well, now they had really done it. Later the declaration of the United Nations agreed to by Britain and US on January 1, 1942 would include these principles, and later efforts by the British to exclude their empire (we really only meant the German, Japanese, and Italian Empires) from the conversation did not go far. The cat was already out of the bag. Expectations had changed.

In addition to a legal framework coming into place, the defeat of the British by the Japanese (a non-European and non-Caucasian race) in Singapore in 1942 changed the perception of British and imperial invincibility. The Europeans could be engaged, and beaten. The defeat of the French in Indochina at the hands of the Japanese made it completely impossible for them to realistically reassert their rule after World War II with so much of their imperial authority gone. In other areas such as Africa and the Middle East, a return to pre-War Status quo was simply not acceptable to native populations.

Adding to the post war tumult was the rise of the Soviet Union as a Great Power, and their interest in helping liberate the workers of the world (specifically, the ones outside their territories). Seeing an ideological match in many of the young activist leaders, and a geo-political opportunity to undermine the Western states, the Soviets funneled advisors, doctrine, and supplies into the nationalist movements globally. The US did far less for the colonies trying to throw off their European rulers, and it was noticed.

With Mao's victory in 1949, a road map for the people's struggle was tested and accepted as the path for many young Marxist revolutionaries, and accelerated with the victories of revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa.

So for the next part of this discussion, let's focus in depth on Algeria first, and then we will look at similar events in Palestine and Cyprus for comparative purposes.

World War II

WWII changed the Power Structure of the World

- Defeat of France
- Financial burdens of the war
- Emergence of USSR and USA
- Expectations based on Atlantic Charter
- Public Opinion

Britain and France were Withdrawing

- 1956 Suez Crisis
- 1954 to 1962 Algerian War

1950 to 1968 Dominant Ideological view was Arab Nationalism

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This entire section, and beyond, is owed to Albert Hourani, who wrote a marvelously lucid book call [A History of the Arab Peoples](#). As usual, anything intelligent you read in these sections is the work of others, in particular Mr. Hourani. Get his book and enjoy!

For a number of reasons, the Power structure changed significantly after WWII. Certainly the myth of European Invincibility was irrevocably shattered, and the expectations of colonized peoples were changed by the Atlantic charter. Given Western Europe's Financial dependence on the United States for post war reconstruction and the dominance of the International Monetary Fund, the rise of the USA with its "friendly" occupation of Western Europe, while the Soviets occupied the East in their preferred style, the ability of France and Britain to hold on to the region was clearly destined to end (except Algeria in the French view), so it really started to come down to the terms of the separation.

Adding to all this was undoubtedly a National fatigue with war. Britain had exhausted itself, financially and in terms of human capital, and France had a desperate need to both reestablish a national "norm" while stabilizing its economy. I do think a fair amount of national pride was also trying to assert itself, and this explains in my view, a reluctance to extricate itself from Indochina in an organized way, and the military's fanatic efforts to hold onto Algeria.

But Britain and France did try and hang on, at least half-heartedly, with a few last gasps. In both countries situations, the political will quit before the government or army did, but in both cases, once the public was lost, so were the conflicts.

And contrasting this was a rising sense of expectation across the Middle East, as the Arabs started to see their way to independence. This independence would be characterized by close cooperation between Arab states, independence from the West or super power entanglements, and social reforms moving towards greater national equality. Gamal Nasr of Egypt would represent this idea to its fullest, and he would be a central figure for all Arab peoples, but the 1967 defeat at the hands of Israel (those darn Zionists) really stunted the growth of the idea. People still clung to it, but the vision lost its luster, and in fact, became questionable.

At the same time, increased movements of peoples across the Middle East driven by rapid economic growth, and improved communication such as telephone network expansion, media, theater and movies driven by Egypt's very active film industry, etc., were factors that continued to bring Arabs closer together beyond the 1967 defeat.

One note I would emphasize – for seven centuries these countries had been ruled by non-Arabs, at least nominally. There had to be a lot of pride and confidence in the streets as they saw a new future rising over their countries. The downside of course is that with independence, it becomes harder to explain why it is not your fault when things go bad. But for the time being at least, it was good to be moving towards independence, and it was still the other guys fault.

Changing Societies 1940's and 1950's

Population growth & Age Distribution

- Declining death rates
- By 1960 half the population was under 20 years of age

Changing composition of the population

- Ancient Jewish communities dwindled
- European workers halved

Urbanization

- major cities doubled and tripled in size in 25 years

Government Response

- Interventionist and Active in economy

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Mortality rates dropped significantly from the 1930's to 1960 through out the region.

-Infant mortality alone dropped from 160 per 1,000 live births to 109

- Population growth rates jumped from 1% to 2.5%-3% a year

By 1969, half of the Arabs were under the age of 20

Ancient Jewish communities, with their technical skills, dwindled as the Jews moved to Israel (often not by choice, and with some exceptions in Morocco).

Israel's Jewish population grew from 750,000 to 1.9 million.

Most major Arab cities saw close to a tripling of their populations, as the farm could not support all the people who were growing into adulthood. Amman, Jordan, saw a 10-fold increase in its population as they worked to absorb the Palestinian refugees.

There was also a significant Diaspora of Arabs to Europe, which would expose them to many different thoughts and experiences.

What is a government to do?

First off, there were some new realities, including control of the revenue and the need to grow the economy to accommodate the population growth. So governments were very active expanding all manner of infrastructure, such as roads, rail ways, irrigation, moil and mineral fields, education, ports, hydroelectricity and telecommunications. By the 1960s, Arabs were increasingly filling higher skilled positions in their industries, and a higher percentage of the revenue from oil as saying in the region

But they still had some core problems

– they were still mostly exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods.

-Their agriculture had switched form cereals for local consumption to cash crops for export, so they have become net food importers

-The State had emerged as dominant employer, and this would distort the markets and lead them generate too few technocrats, an too many bureaucrats

-Urbanization had left the rural areas more behind than before

National Culture 1940's and 1950's

Education

- Quantity over quality
- Arabization of a diverse system

Radios, books, and Theater

- Cairo as the center

Muslim Brotherhood

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With social change and the emergence of new elites education spread rapidly. National governments saw improvement of the human capital pool as critical towards competing as independent states and they had a long way to go.

Tunisia (1956) – 143 indigenous doctors, 41 engineer. 11% children in elementary school (65% ten years later)
Morocco (1956) – 19 Muslim doctors, 17 Jewish doctors, 15 each of Jewish and Muslim engineers. 12% of children in elementary school, ten years later 60%.

But there were some big issues

Quantity over quality in Education

- Rapid openings
- Class size too large
- Poorly trained teachers
- Poor secondary schools
- Less emphasis on technical training because many saw law and such the better path to a job with the Government

Arabization of Education in a diverse system – there were Islamic schools, Catholic schools, public schools, private schools, schools in French, schools in English, etc, and in some countries, there was a push to make them all under the Arabic, under a state umbrella. In Syria, where they actually banned foreign language training until after the age of 11, this led to all manner of issues, including the lack of text books in Arabic for technical topics, and created more problems for students who wanted to study outside the country or read the latest in the main languages of science.

The elites tended to remain multi-lingual though and this would help them stay on top.

Some of the other major changes included the proliferation of radios, books, and theater – in Egypt in 1960 alone 850,000 radios were bought, there were 60 Egyptian films produced, 3,000 new book titles were published.

And we also started to see the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood, with some particular increase in influence from 1945 to 1952 as the political situation deteriorated and they had a void to fill. Core philosophy

- all acts can be acts of worship
- Mutual responsibility of men in society
- Obligations existed at different levels for different members of society
- Just rulers were to be obeyed, unjust rulers deposed

The brotherhood Leaders tended to be educated and have some station in life, followers tended to be from lower economic stratum. They did have a falling out with the Egyptian government under Nasser (they tried to assassinate him) so he killed a few and they basically went underground, although they remain very active in daily Egyptian life.

National Independence 1945-1956

Massive change for the region

British Goals included Arab independence, and security ties

The Palestinian issues was born from Israel's independence

- The Arabs were defeated
- The British were seen as defeated as well by the Arabs
- The US was seen as pro-Israel

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The Arab World saw significant change in WWII

- movements of mass armies
- ears/Expectations around Occupation and Liberation
- competing ideologies
- European self destruction
- Declarations of high principles like the Atlantic Charter
- The USSR emerged as a World Power
- So did the USA
- The idea of Arab Unity, with Cairo as its center was percolating

The US moved to guarantee Greek and Turkish security after WWII, and the expectation was Britain would deal with the Arabs.

The British Goals were to help the Arab states emerge as independent states while retaining security ties and bases. They were in particularly helpful to the Syrians and Lebanese in their independence efforts from the French, perhaps to helpful. When Syria and Lebanon won independence in 1945, it was unconditional, and this became the "Gold" Standard to which all Arabs would now aspire.

At the same time, something funny was going on at the UN. A lot of the countries in the UN really did not see Britain's goals as their goals. And as more countries became independent, the more UN saw things differently.

When Britain proposed establishing some form of Trustee relationship over **Libya**, the UN said "Nope" and pushed for Libyan independence in 1948. Full independence came in 1951, under a monarchy.

Palestine was a much tougher nut to crack, with endless debates about the Jews and the Arabs, and who should get what. While the debates went on, massive Jewish immigration continued. The Irgun, a Jewish Terror group, was making trouble as well. So Britain basically gave the problem to the UN, and said they were leaving. A fixed withdrawal date was set, fighting escalated between Jews and Arabs, the British left, and all heck broke loose.

In a series of four campaigns, interrupted by brief cease fires, the Jews ended up with about 75% of the land. The Gaza strip ended up under Egyptian Administration, and Transjordan took over the West Bank. The Palestinians received nothing.

Even worse, 2/3rds of them left their homes. Initially, this was to be a temporary evacuation until the Arab Armies routed the Jews, and it was encouraged by Jewish terror groups who engaged in some "ethnic cleansing" massacres, but it has become permanent. When you hear words about "The Right of Return" for Palestinians, it is this that they are referring to – they mostly left, and were not allowed back. Their properties would later be confiscated and given to the new Jewish settlers.

Public Opinion in Arab countries was:

- The Arabs were defeated
- The British were seen as defeated as well by the Arabs
- The US was seen as pro-Israel

In **Egypt** two big issues surrounded the independence discussion – Egypt wanted to annex Sudan, and Britain wanted security over the Suez Canal. Fighting broke out with Egyptian Guerrilla forces in 1951, and a popular uprising in January 1952 in Cairo led to a group of mid-level officers taking power, with Gamel Nasser at the center. By 1953, a deal had been reached over both. In 1954 the British withdrew from the canal zone, and in 1955 **Sudan** became independent.

Iraq went in 1955, and in 1957 **Jordan** was fully independent.

The French were tougher to convince, and in 1952 Tunisian Guerillas started targeting French civilians. In Morocco, the French tried to box the Sultan in by getting other tribal leaders agitated at the increased risk of central control of Morocco if independence was achieved. Along the way, they deposed the Sultan, who then became a symbol of national unity, and he was restored later as King. Both Tunisia and Morocco became independent in 1956, following some agreements set in place in 1954, when the French also withdrew from Indochina, and when things in Algeria were heating up. See Terrorism link if you want to read more on the Algerian War for independence.

The Suez Crisis

Egypt

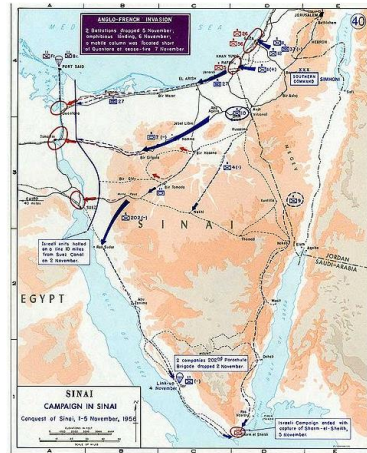
- Nationalizes the canal
- Recognizes communist China
- Plans to annex Sudan

France and Britain

- Just plain crabby

Israel

- Proxy War with Palestinian Guerilla
- Attacks on Israel
- Navigation rights through straits of Tiran



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The 1948-49 partition turned Palestinians into stateless refugees, crowded into refugee camps where they would live for decades, non-citizens of the lands which over time most of them would be born in.

In 1956 the US and Britain decided not to fund the Aswan Dam, and Nasser got a little rowdy over it. In May he recognized the People Republic of China over the Taiwan regime. It also became apparent he was going to pursue his plan to annex Sudan, then still associated with Britain, and he nationalized the Suez Canal.

A big part of this was the Pan Arabism approach Nasser to accomplish. He moved closer to Saudi Arabia, and sought to keep Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria out of the Cold War Military Association of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and the UK established by the Baghdad Pact in 1955 (Central Treaty Organization). Nasser viewed any military ties to the former colonial powers as really extensions or continuations of that colonial power.

Britain and France were losing their status in the region and in the world, and they were getting crabby about it. In particular, Nasser's activities made him look just like a big doo-doo head in their eyes. France was also recovering from the fall of Indochina, and fighting aggressively to retain Algeria.

From the conclusion of the 1948-49 war to the 1956 Sinai war Palestinian irregular forces, encouraged by their host countries, particularly Jordan and Egypt, made frequent cross border incursions in a low intensity but active Guerilla war. In 1956, the anticipated arrival and deployment of Czechoslovakian weapons, and a blockade of the Israeli Port of Eilat. There was a secret arrangement with the French and English, where Israel would engage the Egyptians, and then France and Britain would seize the canal to protect it. The key to the offensive was mobility, and in classic 3 G style, they campaigned successfully very quickly, with most fighting over in a week.

Israel had its own goals, which included giving the Palestinian a big thumping for cross border guerilla attacks, and gaining some navigation rights in the Straits of Tiran.

The US and USSR both needed this situation de-escalated, and forced everyone back to their starting lines. Hungary in 1956, and tensions between Taiwan and China were more pressing concerns for both states.

Pan Arabism

Pan Arabism is a
political ideology

- Unite Arabs from the Arabian Sea (Persian Gulf) to the Atlantic
- Socialist
- Opposed borrowing Western concepts
- Opposed Western colonial heritage
- Empower Arab states through integration



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Pan Arabism is a political ideology which would theoretically Unite Muslim Arabs from the Arabian Sea (Persian Gulf) to the Atlantic Ocean

-Socialist

-Opposed borrowing Western concepts (like socialism?) – in many ways it was the outcome of having competing philosophies, including fascism, sort of smeared together

-Opposed Western colonial heritage

-Empower Arab states through integration – certainly militarily and in some cases politically, but not so much economic for some reason

It sounded really good to the masses, creating a sense of higher purpose. It is well worth noting that the Arabs had not really run their own affair since the 13th century. First the Turks, then the Europeans for a 7 century stretch of not being in charge.

The ideology had elements that anticipated Arab independence after WWI, but the nasty Europeans fooled them, and occupied the administration and exploited the Arab lands after the Ottomans ceased to exist around 1918 to 1922.

After independence, power gravitated towards the local elites, who often liked the way things were. Both Nasser and the Ba'ath (Resurrection) movement challenged this status quos and the elites who benefited from it.

The 1967 Thumping

Nasser makes the wrong Bet

- Nasser asks UN troops to leave the border
- Nasser Closes the straits of 'Aghaba to Israeli Shipping
- Nasser believed his troops were superior to Israel's
- Nasser believed the US would prevent Israel from attacking

Israel was tired of Palestinian Guerrilla Attacks



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Clashes between Israelis and Syrian troops in Golan, and Israeli incursions into what was West Bank of the Jordan to deal with Palestinian guerillas, heightened regional tensions further. The movement of troops to borders, and the movement of Iraqi troops and Armor into Jordan in support of the Arab cause, continued the escalation. Closure of the straits of Tiran, in violation of the 1956 armistice, added even more fuel to the fire, and on June 5, 1967, Israel attacked its Arab neighbors. The first two days Israel focused on destroying her enemies' capacity to wage war with massive air strikes destroying the Arab air forces. From June 5th to the 9th, they seized Sinai and defeated the Egyptians. Between June 5th and June 7th seized the West Bank from Jordan. It was in the Golan Heights, which had been heavily fortified by the Syrians, fighting lasted until the 10th.

The defeat was a major calamity for the Arab States. A clear, total victory, by Israel, with no Western Troops backing them, simply humiliated the Arabs. The credibility of Arab leadership to their peoples was crushed. Conventional conflict with Israel seemed a failed strategy, and alternatives were sought by the Palestinians. It was this set of conditions that led to a reliance on terror, and the publicity associated with it, as the strategy of political insurgency, since it was really their only option.



The Palestinian Liberation Organization

The History of Terrorism
as a Strategy of Political
Insurgency

February 21, 2011

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This section is based on

Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin's work, specifically chapter 11 of [The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda](#)

Hammes, Thomas, [The Sling and the Stone](#), Chapter 7 and 8

Hourani, Albert, [A History of the Arab Peoples](#)

Chaliand, Gerard and Blin, Arnaud, eds., *The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda* Berkley: University of California Press, 2007

Also, although Wikipedia is not a suitable primary source, it sure can help fill in some blanks, so some Wiki information, especially the maps, is in here. All hail Wikipedia!

The Palestinians

Semitic and Arab

- Christian (6%) and Sunni Muslim
- 49% of the total population of Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza
- Palestinian Dialect of Arabic
- Never a fully Sovereign people
- 4.2 million hold refugee status
- More than half the citizens of Jordan are Palestinian (including the Queen)



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The Palestinians:

Levantine genetics, similar to Jews and other Arabs. Palestinian Arabs typically refers to those who speak Palestinian Arabic Dialect. Arrived in the area in 7th century Arab expansion.

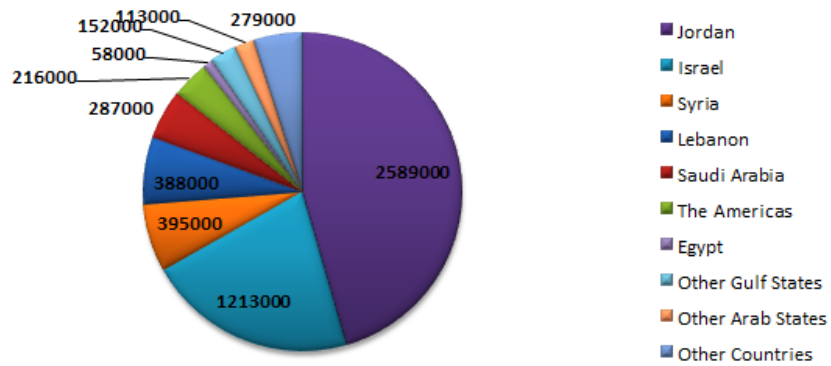
The Palestinians were unable to retain their space in the British Mandate territories that were to become part of modern Israel, simply because they were too weak Vis-a-vis the Israelis. They could not dislodge the Jewish colonists during the 1936 to 1939, and they were too weak to prevent the west bank from being absorbed into Transjordan (1948 to 1950), and never were in serious discussion to get the Egyptian-occupied piece of Gaza filled with Palestinians.

The 1948-49 partition turned 2/3rd of the Palestine based Palestinians into stateless refugees, crowded into refugee camps where they would live for decades, non-citizens of the lands which over time most of them would born in.

Refugees are grouped into camps based on their old villages and the camps are named after these villages. About half of the Palestinian people are listed as refugees.

- More than half the citizens of Jordan are Palestinian (including the Queen)
- The Hashemite King of Jordan is aware of the demographics
- So are the Israelis

Palestinian people living outside the West Bank and the Gaza strip



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Chart source wikipedia – data I circa 2006

The Balfour Declaration of 1917

His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a [national home for the Jewish people](#), and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country

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The Balfour declaration attempted made it known that following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, part of it would be carved out as a Jewish homeland. Since 1870 (or bit earlier depending on who you read), the world Zionist Movement had focused on returning Palestine to build a Jewish state, at least in part to get away from periodic European Pogroms. The Balfour Declaration accelerated the migration, which really exploded after WWII.

The Palestinians were unable to retain their space in the British Mandate territories that were to become part of modern Israel, simply because they were too weak Vis-a-vis the Israelis. They could not dislodge the Jewish colonists during the 1936 to 1939 war, and they were too weak to prevent the west bank from being absorbed into Transjordan (1948 to 1950), and never were in serious discussion to get the Egyptian-occupied piece of Gaza filled with Palestinians.

The Arabs were very confident in 1948 that they would win any possible war with the Jews so when it did come, many Arabs sought temporary refuge in the neighboring Arab states. Israeli irregular forces also committed some "Ethnic Cleansing" to speed the process up. The 1948-49 partition turned 2/3rd of the Palestine based Palestinians into stateless refugees, crowded into refugee camps where they would live for decades, non-citizens of the lands which over time most of them would born in.

From the conclusion of the 1948-49 war to the 1956 Sinai war Palestinian irregular forces, encouraged by the heir host countries, particularly Jordan and Egypt, made frequent cross border incursion in a low intensity but active Guerilla war. In 1956, the anticipated arrival and deployment of Czechoslovakian weapons, and a blockade of the Israeli Port of Eliat caused concerns for Israel.

Suez Crisis

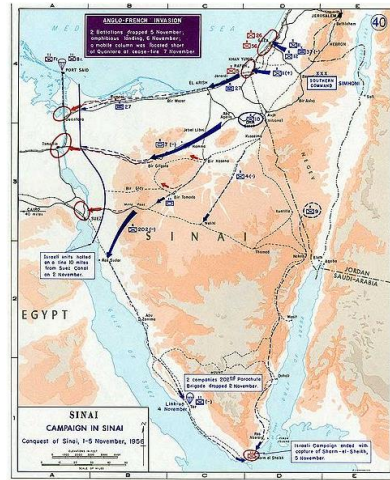
Regional Security interests

- Britain and France had indirect security goals contrary to Egypt's goals
- Israel had direct security goals

Nasser Overreached

- Nationalized the canal
- Recognized Communist China
- US withdrew aid for the Aswan Dam

The Egyptian defeat was viewed as the result of the colonial powers, not Israel, having the superior army



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France was irritated by the Egyptian support of the Algerian rebels.

Nationalizing the canal tanked the stock market.

Conservatives in Britain saw Munich in 1938 all over again

Britain had withdrawn from the canal zone in 1954, following an agreement with Egypt, but continued to view it as an area of specific security concern. Israel reached a secret arrangement with the French and English, where Israel would engage the Egyptians, and then France and Britain would seize the canal to protect it. The key to the offensive was mobility, and in classic 3 G style, they campaigned succeeded very quickly, with most fighting over in a week.

1967 Six Day War

Nasser reaches too far again

- Expels UN troops from the border
- Declares straits of Tiran closed
- Arab Armies mass on Israel's borders

Israeli Motivation

- Guerilla Attacks
- Arab armaments and air force

Major Factors

- Better soldiers, Better initiative
- Air superiority
- 3G vs. 2G conflict mode



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For a time, this reduced the Guerilla attacks on Israel, but through the 1960's they continued to escalate, particularly from Jordan, where the Palestinians were effectively a state within a state. Clashes between Israelis and Syrian troops in Golan, and Israeli incursions into what was West Bank of the Jordan to deal with Palestinian guerillas, heightened regional tensions further.

Egypt had 420 relatively modern aircraft, 416 of which were destroyed in Day 1.

Egypt had also dug in fortifications along main roads, in classic 2G configuration, so Israeli tanks just swung around them in a 3G attack style.

I have also heard that troops could not be resupplied due to a sell off of armaments by corrupt Egyptian generals.

The movement of troops to borders, and the movement of Iraqi troops and Armor into Jordan in support of the Arab cause, continued the escalation. Closure of the straits of Tiran, in violation of the 1956 armistice, added even more fuel to the fire, and on June 5, 1967, Israel attacked its Arab neighbors. The first two days Israel focused on destroying her enemies' capacity to wage war with massive air strikes destroying the Arab air forces. From June 5th to the 9th, they seized Sinai and defeated the Egyptians. Between June 5th and June 7th seized the West Bank from Jordan. It was in the Golan Heights, which had been heavily fortified by the Syrians, fighting lasted until the 10th.

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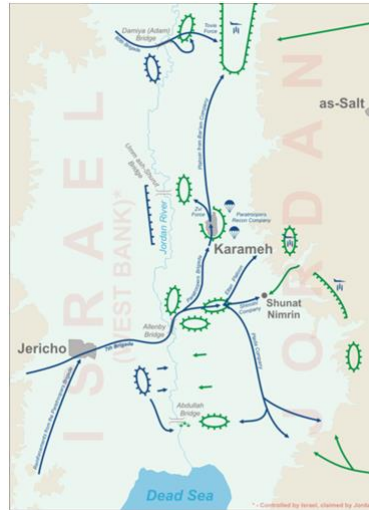
1968

Creating a “win” for the PLO

Alienating the Jordanians

Managing the Media

Perceptions and Hubris



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The PLO 1968 to the present: Refugee camps and Gaza need some discussion

In 1968, Palestinian Fatah Guerillas operating from refugee camps in Jordan were making hit and run raids and creating other unsettling events in Israel, such as setting land mines on roads. In early 1968, several cross border guerilla raids and supporting fire from Jordanian artillery, followed by raids and fire from Israeli forces, threatened to escalate. The US arranged a cease fire, and King of Jordan agreed to send troops to Karameh, among other camps, to shut down Fatah operations. This did not go well for the Jordanian, as they were outnumbered and outgunned. When asked to leave Karameh by the PLO/Fatah, they did quickly. At the time, there were 900 Fatah troops in the camp, and with Yasser Arafat headquartered there, it was an important center for the PLO, and an area of great interest.

With approximately 40 PLO incursions and attacks in the first 3 months of 1968, Israel was well into discussions on how to manage the border. With Jordan unable to assert control of the refugee camps, some form of military action was inevitable. When a school bus hit a land mine and killed 2 adults while wounding 10 children, Israel had a solid media-friendly reason to strike.

Israel launched the reprisal attack, planned against two refugee camps in Jordan (Karameh and Sifa), with the expectation that the Jordanians would stand down and they would face only PLO forces. At Karameh things did not go as planned. Jordan, suspecting an all out Israeli attack and invasion, moved its forces into defensive positions. Palestinian Commandos, estimated as high as 3,000, but perhaps as low as 1,200, moved into the country surrounding Karameh. When the Israelis crossed at 5:30 AM on March 21, they met far more resistance and far heavier weapons than they had anticipated. Moving along 4 lines, they had some difficulty linking up, but Israeli units were able to take the camp at Karameh by 8 AM, and spent the balance of the day blowing up 175 buildings. They did not succeed in their objective of capturing or killing the main concentration of PLO fighters though. When they moved to fall back into Israel, they had to fight their way back.

Tactical Outcome

Various estimates put the Israeli killed at around 30 soldiers, with around 70 wounded. Up to 10 armored vehicles (tanks, armored cars) were destroyed. Palestinian losses were estimated at between 100 and 200 killed, with 100 to 150 captured. Obviously the camp was a mess. Jordan suffered fewer than 100 killed, around 250 wounded, and 30 tanks destroyed.

Strategic Outcome

Israel took some heat internationally on the incursion – lost political points
The PLO gained prestige, and more importantly support, from major Arab states who saw clearly the opportunity to carry on a proxy war with Israel through the PLO
Jordan saw the rising prestige of the PLO, and the sharp increase in PLO paramilitary volunteers, as a potential risk to the Hashemite Kingdom, and this would become a problem very soon for the PLO

This instilled at least some perception in the minds of the PLO and Arab states that there would be at least a chance to drive the Israelis out in a manner similar to eviction of the Colons from Algeria. And the fact that the PLO opted to engage in a standing battle was also sort of ego boosting.

Major PLO Groups

Fatah

- Founded 1956 in Egypt
- Yasser Arafat
- Marxist-Leninist
- Largest Group

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

- Dr. George Habbash
- Iraq
- Marxist
- Loved to Fly!

Black September

- Off shoot of Fatah
- Extreme
- Anti Jordan
- Munich

Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

- Naif Hawatmeh
- Extreme Left wing
- Did not like anybody

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All

Leadership was from the intellectual class, predominantly leftist and Marxist
Actions were International in scope

Networked with other Marxist Leninist international organizations engaged in Terrorism (Japanese Red Army, etc.)

Fatah

Founded in 1956, with original ties to the Muslim Brotherhood
Marxist Leninist

Headed by Yasser Arafat

Fielded 7,000 to 9,000 guerillas during this period (up to 20,000 depending on time frame and how you count – specifically prior to Black September)

Black September

Fatah Controlled (but it is a secret)

Organized for more extreme and violent purposes

Named after the Black September problem in 1970 Jordan

Responsible for the Munich Olympics attack

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

Lead by Dr. George Habbash

Marxist views

Supported by Iraq

500 Members

Responsible for most of the sky jacking from 1968 to 1972

Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Led by Naif Hawatmeh

Extreme Marxist views

Rejected all Arab governments of the period, planned on replacing all of them with Peoples Democracies

The Friendly Sky

Skyjacking

- Limited liability and cost- few people needed
- Economic impact on targets could be significant – tourism (maybe I will go to Yosemite instead), disruption of airports, etc
- Excellent Media coverage, extended over multiple days
- Psychological impact on public
- Violent
- Victims of the random kind (woman and children on holiday)



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Skyjacking was a big time terror tactic from 1968 to 1975. Originally, it seemed to be a preferred transportation method of home sick Cubans, but it was the Palestinians who really accelerated the use of this terror tactic as part of the overall insurgency. It had all the classic elements a terror tactic wants:

- Limited liability and cost- few people needed
- Economic impact on targets could be significant – tourism (maybe I will go to Yosemite instead), disruption of airports, etc
- Excellent Media coverage, extended over multiple days
- Psychological impact on public
- Violent
- Victims of the random kind (woman and children on holiday)

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine really got on board with this tactic, and if you were on a plane hi-jacked during this period, there is a good chance that you met some of these people, and you probably did not like it at all.

First Hijacking was in July, 1968, on an El Al aircraft. Israel agreed to terms and released some Arab prisoners. After two more attacks, security on El Al tightened up, bullet proof and locked cockpits were installed, and the PFLP chose other carriers to target.

August 1969 Leila Khaled led a PFLP attack on TWA 707 to Damascus. Later in September 1970, she would get caught trying to hijack another plane (by the crew) during a mass hijacking attempt of 5 planes, and was handed over to British Police (another attempted hijacking was also foiled).

The PLFP took seized three planes and landed them at Dawson's Field in Jordan they held a total of 400 hostages. Multiple press conferences were held, and groups of hostages were released in a staggered schedule. The PLFP retained the crew and the Jewish passengers (56) total and would not release them at this point

It is also worth noting that when the three planes were blown up, one camera crew, from the BBC, did catch it all on film after being tipped off by a local resident, who had in turn been tipped off by the PFLP. Media attention is always useful when things are getting blown up, and this was no exception.

Tensions were high between the PLO and the Jordanian Government, with the PLO paramilitaries ignoring Jordanian authority, and openly threatening to seize the Hashemite kingdom. This required King Hussein to take action, and in September 16 of 1970, he did.

Teaching Tip - Emphasize the demographics of Jordan were 1/3rd of the population was Palestinian refugees, 1/3rd indigenous Palestinians, and 1/3rd Bedouin (Hashemite), so this was not an easy action.

Black September

Key Issues

- Most Jordanians are Palestinians
- The King is a Hashemite and seen as wimpy
- The PLO has 20,000 fighters acting independently in Jordan
- The PLO did not live up to a prior deal (pretext)
- The King was tired of Israelis pounding him



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From the King's perspective, there was a series of violations of the 1968 accord between Jordan and the Palestinians. The 7 Point accord was as follows

- Members of these organizations were forbidden from walking around cities armed and in uniform
- They were forbidden to stop and search civilian vehicles
- They were forbidden from competing with the Jordanian Army for recruits
- They were required to carry Jordanian identity papers
- Their vehicles were required to bear Jordanian license plates
- Crimes committed by members of the Palestinian organizations would be investigated by the Jordanian authorities
- Disputes between the Palestinian organizations and the government would be settled by a joint council of representatives of the king and of the PLO.

By 1970, poorly disciplined uniformed PLO militias were openly carrying weapons, setting up checkpoints, and as demonstrated at Karameh 2 years previously, more than willing to assert authority of Jordanian interests if it made sense to them. In the 18 months from mid 1968 through 1969 clashes between Jordanian authorities and PLO militias occurred over 500 times.

Black September involved more than just Jordanian and Palestinian interests – it had the potential to bring multiple Arab States into a broader conflict within the region, as well as Israel. Martial Law was proclaimed by King Hussein on September 16, and the process of asserting control over the PLO, and kicking them out, was underway. Jordanian troops launched their attacks against major refugee centers and against PLO headquarters in Amman with tanks and troops. Meanwhile, the Jordanian Military also had to deploy troops to observe an Iraqi division that had been in country since the 1967 war. The Iraqis were openly sympathetic to the Palestinian cause and long time supporters of the PLFP, but did not intervene.

Syria did intervene with troops and armor, but not with air power, on behalf of the Palestinians. By September 21, the Syrians had broken through the Jordanian lines, but were then halted by the Jordanian air force. Prior to this Jordan had directly appealed for US intervention, and the US does appear to have planned to deploy troops to Amman to ready the airport for further troop insertions. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union increased its naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean, and planned to reinforce Syria. Whether it was the political pressure to deescalate the situation, or the Jordanian air force success against Syrian armor, the decision was made by Syria to withdraw back to its own side of the border. A general cease fire was forced on all parties at this point, and Hussein was forced by Egypt's Gamal Nasser to sign an agreement with PLO, treating them as equals in Jordan on September 27. When Nasser died the very next day, Jordan promptly declared "Game on" again, and went after the PLO.

Over the next 10 months, the Jordanians pushed the PLO out of major cities, then increasingly into a smaller and smaller geographic foot print until they were finally able to crush the last units of Fatah still holding out. What was left of the PLO left Jordan for a variety of destinations, the most significant one being Lebanon. The conflict had a number of outcomes, but one certainly relevant to terrorism is that the eviction of the PLO from Jordan again sharply reduced its capability to wage Guerilla war, leaving terrorism as essentially the only option.

Terrorism on the Road The victims of Munich

Media
Propaganda
Indiscriminate
Violent
Political
International
Networked



Moshe Weisberg, 33 Wrestling Referee Yusef Romano, 31 Weightlifter Yusef Gutfreund, 40 Wrestling Referee David Berger, 28 Weightlifter



Mark Slavin, 18 Wrestler Yakov Springer, 51 Weightlifting Coach Zvi'ev Friedman, 28 Weightlifter Amirzur Shapiro, 40 Track Coach



Eliyzer Haffin, 24 Wrestler Kabat Shos, 53 Shotput Coach Andre Spitzler, 27 Exercise Referee



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The PLO and its friends went international again in their work, and hijackings continued, with the PFLP and a Fatah splinter group (perhaps sanctioned by Fatah) calling itself the Black September Organization targeting Jordanian planes in particular, but with little success. So working with other terror networks, particularly the Japanese Red Army, who had trained in North Korea, Syria, and Lebanon, they started targeting other national airlines. Some success with payments were followed by a set back where Israeli agents foiled an attack in Tel Aviv, which was in turn followed by a retaliation by the Japanese Red Army a few months later in the same Airport (Lod). The JRA using forged papers travelled with suitcase filled with armaments, and upon arrival, opened fire on tourists in the terminal, killing 24 and wounding 72 others. 2 terrorists were killed, but one was captured, tried, and sentence to life.

On September 5, 1972, Black September wrote its place in history with the hostage taking at the Olympics of 11 Israeli athletes. With a television audience of 500 million, the entire world knew now who the Palestinians were. The mission ended badly from a tactical perspective, with all the athletes/coaches killed and 5 of the 8 terrorists killed.

Complete tactical failure, but a publicity success of enormous proportions for Palestinians.

Repeating the strategy of taking hostages on planes, trains and embassies continued to be effective for generating publicity, but may have started to fatigue the Arab states. Certainly after the victory in the October 1973 war with Israel, the Arabs were feeling more confident. Use of the oil weapon had proven effective as well, and given the Arabs a new avenue for opening dialogue with the west. 33 Airline passengers were killed in Rome and Athens during one hijacking in 1973, and the subsequent escape of the hijackers with the plane resulted in all Arab countries refusing them landing rights, until finally arrangements were made to release the last hostages.

The PLO then changed its focus to targets within Israel for 1974-75, taking heavy casualties and losing much sympathy with actions such as the killing of 20 schoolchildren at Ma'a lot in May 1974. Massive Israelie attacks on refugee camps in Lebanon, piled up dead Palestinian women and children, short circuiting the sympathy gain Israel stood to make following Ma'a lot. This particular attack was from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, with its very extreme Marxist-Leninist views. Below is one of their posters with the prominent hammer and sickle symbol, in case you missed it.

In spite of these awful terror attacks, the PLO was recognized as the official representative of the Palestinian People and given observer status at the UN on November 22, 1974. Combined with PLO's 10 Point Program, which basically opened an alternate channel toward peace in the region, some of these more radical elements openly disagreed with the Fatah oriented center, and acted more independently.

Teaching Tip: I found a link to a hijacking article from a 1973 Time Magazine that is worth a look at for flavor of the time. This link is interesting due to the almost fatigued "Here we go again" feel to the reporting, and due to joint mission of PLO and Japanese Red Army members.

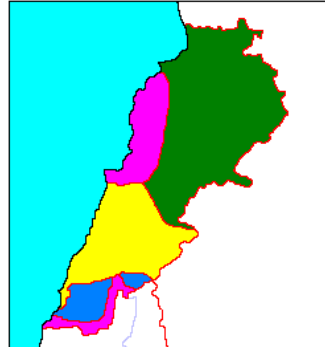
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,907619,00.html>

PLO in Lebanon

Sucks to be a Lebanese person
The PLO were not good guests
Existing ethnic tensions erupted, and
the PLO joined in!

- 1/4 of the population wounded
- 5% killed

Then come the Israelis and the ever
charming Ariel Sharon



- Map showing power balance in Lebanon, 1983:
- Green - controlled by Syria
- purple - controlled by Christian groups
- yellow - controlled by Israel
- blue - controlled by the United Nations



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The PLO in Lebanon

Many Palestinian refugees ended up in Lebanon following the 1967 war. Lebanon agreed in 1969 to allow the PLO to handle the matters of the Palestinians in the camps as internal Palestinian affairs. The arrival of up to 20,000 PLO fighters from Jordan following Black September increased the PLO's sense of independence and at a minimum seems to have encouraged other groups inside Lebanon to gear up, with the PLO actually training groups sympathetic to their goals.

Lebanon had at independence been set up with a political system designed to insure its religious and ethnic groups had some guaranteed participation in the government. With changing demographics caused by higher birth rates among Muslim and Druze populations, and different economic conditions with the Christians controlling much of the financial and economic wealth of the nation, the country had some serious stability issues. When the PLO arrived, and everyone started to militarize, the situation was primed for an explosion.

From 1975 to 1990 the Lebanese Civil War tore apart the country. With about 4 million citizens at the start of the conflict, between 130,000 and 250,000 were killed, with up to 1 million wounded, and approximately the same number displaced. The PLO was an active participant in the civil war, and with its leftist allies, committed some significant atrocities such as at Damour in 1976 where the Christian community was massacred. The Christian Falangists would later return the favor against the Palestinian refugee camps. Meanwhile, the PLO was continuing border attacks and shelling of Northern Israeli towns, including one barrage in July of 1981 that lasted for 10 days.

Following an assassination attempt by the Abu Nidal Group against the Israeli ambassador, the Israelis escalated from air strikes to a full blown invasion of Southern Lebanon. Establishing a security perimeter in the South, with the aid of the Christians was the sated goal, but as the Israelis advanced they soon had the PLO holed up in Beirut. Faced with international pressures on both sides, it was agreed the PLO would be allowed to evacuate to Tunisia. It is important to note that the Syrians had occupied northern Lebanon, and in the conflict, the Israelis shot down between 80 and 90 Syrian planes, with no Israeli losses in air combat.

Ariel Sharon, noted Israeli Hawk, is widely considered responsible for the massacres at Sabra and Shatila of Palestinians by Christian Phalangists in camps surrounded by Israeli troops.

Intifada

PLO

- Lost day to day contact with the territories

PLO and Israel both Failed to understand the conditions

- Hamas would emerge the winner in the streets
- Politically world sided with the rock throwers
- Oslo Peace accords would follow



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Things were quiet in Tunis, although a terror attack in Cyprus did result in an Israeli air attack on PLO headquarters in Tunis. The PLO had lost its ability to do much more than agitate politically, and carry out the periodic terror attack. It also had lost the day to day routine contact with the majority of the Palestinian refugees, and in some ways was becoming increasingly irrelevant.

The First Intifada occurred from 1987 to 1993, and the increased PLO detachment from the territories caused them to completely misunderstand the nature of the insurrection, in spite of early efforts to take credit for it.

This discussion draws on Colonel Hammes book, [The Sling and the Stone](#).

On December 8, 1987, an Israeli truck hit a car filled with Palestinian day laborers. For whatever reason, a riot broke out, and expanded spontaneously through the Gaza Strip. Throwing rocks and some Molotov cocktails, an Israeli patrol was pushed back to its compound. The riots started again the next day and for the next 11 days. ON December 18, the Israeli Defense Force sent in reinforcements, and on December 19, the PLO in Tunis started to notice. Two local, low level PLO member took the initiative and organized action in Jerusalem on the 19th, and the 150 Israeli police lost control to the riots. On December 21, Israeli Arabs joined the protests with a "Peace Day" strike, blocking roads and throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails as well.

The PLO was still slow to respond, finally issuing a pamphlet to encourage the civil action after the New Year, but it was clear they were not in control of the events on the ground. Later, the PLO would decide to have its fighters engage the Israelis, but this strategy was dismissed by the local leaders of the Intifada who had switched to a strategy of rocks throwing and media. More Palestinians than Israelis were being injured by the Molotov cocktails, and the media image of a Palestinian youth facing down a tank with nothing but a rock was very powerful indeed. A few weeks later, the PLO issued another pamphlet stating "Let's use rocks only".

The local leaders also were doing a good job driving the foreign media to events, and maximizing all the coverage they could get. International Press coverage was high, the outgunned Palestinian youth was sympathetic, and even the Israeli Jews were starting to doubt their overall occupation.

The intifada eventually lost some steam, but it gets credit for pushing the PLO and Israel into more negotiation in Madrid in 1991, and the 1993 Oslo Declaration of Principles that outlined the plan for the creation of a Palestinian National Authority to govern the Gaza Strip and West Bank

Key Points:

- The locals lacked the military means to fight a conventional conflict
- The Political Win was what the Intifada Leaders were after
- Media was critical to staging the political debate
- The disruption lasted for several years
- Leadership was decentralized and networked
- The discussion on merging the Palestinians into Jordan ended

Oslo Peace Accord

Israeli withdrawal from West Bank and Gaza

Interim Palestinian Authority (5 years) followed by a permanent solution (statehood)

Mutual Recognition

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SOURCE IS THE BBC

Text: 1993 Declaration of Principles

The Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements is the main agreement signed between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. It was signed on White House lawn amid much fanfare in September 1993. Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements:

The Government of the State of Israel and the PLO team (in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East Peace Conference (the "Palestinian Delegation"), representing the Palestinian people, agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, to recognise their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to achieve peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process. Accordingly, the two sides agree to the following principles:

Article I:

Aim of negotiations:

The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the "Council"), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on secure recognised State 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

Article II:

Framework for the interim period:

The agreed framework for the interim period is set forth in this Declaration of Principles.

Article III:

Elections:

1. In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while the Palestinian police will ensure public order.

Article IV:

Article V:

Article VI:

Article VII:

Article VIII:

Article IX:

Article X:

Article XI:

Article XII:

Article XIII:

Article XIV:

Article XV:

Article XVI:

Article XVII:

Article XVIII:

Article XIX:

Article XX:

Article XXI:

Article XXII:

Article XXIII:

Article XXIV:

Article XXV:

Article XXVI:

Article XXVII:

Article XXVIII:

Article XXIX:

Article XXX:

Article XXXI:

Article XXXII:

Article XXXIII:

Article XXXIV:

Article XXXV:

Article XXXVI:

Article XXXVII:

Article XXXVIII:

Article XXXIX:

Article XL:

Article XLI:

Article XLII:

Article XLIII:

Article XLIV:

Article XLV:

Article XLVI:

Article XLVII:

Article XLVIII:

Article XLIX:

Article L:

Article LI:

Article LII:

Article LIII:

Article LIV:

Article LV:

Article LVI:

Article LVII:

Article LVIII:

Article LIX:

Article LX:

Article LXI:

Article LXII:

Article LXIII:

Article LXIV:

Article LXV:

Article LXVI:

Article LXVII:

Article LXVIII:

Article LXIX:

Article LXX:

Article LXXI:

Article LXXII:

Article LXXIII:

Article LXXIV:

Article LXXV:

Article LXXVI:

Article LXXVII:

Article LXXVIII:

Article LXXIX:

Article LXXX:

Article LXXXI:

Article LXXXII:

Article LXXXIII:

Article LXXXIV:

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Article LXXXXXIII:

Article LXXXXXIV:

Article LXXXXXV:

Article LXXXXXVI:

Article LXXXXXVII:

Article LXXXXXVIII:

Article LXXXXXIX:

Article LXXXXXX:

Article LXXXXXXI:

Article LXXXXXXII:

Article LXXXXXXIII:

Article LXXXXXXIV:

Article LXXXXXXV:

5. The offices responsible for carrying out the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority under this Annex II and Article VI of the Declaration of Principles will be located in the Gaza Strip and in the Jericho area pending the inauguration of the Council.

6. Other than these agreed arrangements, the status of the Gaza Strip and Jericho area will continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will not be changed in the interim period.

Annex III:

Protocol on Israeli-Palestinian co-operation in economic and development programmes:

The two sides agree to establish an Israeli-Palestinian continuing committee for economic co-operation, focusing, among other things, on the following:

1. Co-operation in the field of water, including a water development programme prepared by experts from both sides, which will also specify the mode of co-operation in the management of water resources in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will include proposals for studies and plans on water rights of each party, as well as on the equitable utilization of joint water resources for implementation in and beyond the interim period.
2. Co-operation in the field of electricity, including an Electricity Development Programme, which will also specify the mode of co-operation for the production, maintenance, purchase and sale of electricity resources.
3. Co-operation in the field of energy, including an energy development programme, which will provide for the exploitation of oil and gas for industrial purposes, particularly in the Gaza Strip and in the Negev, and will encourage further joint exploitation of other energy resources. This Programme may also provide for the construction of a petrochemical industrial complex in the Gaza Strip and the construction of oil and gas pipelines.
4. Co-operation in the field of finance, including a financial development and action programme for the encouragement of international investment in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and in Israel, as well as the establishment of a Palestinian Development Bank.
5. Co-operation in the field of transport and communications, including a programme, which will define guidelines for the establishment of a Gaza sea port area, and will provide for the establishing of transport and communications lines to and from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Israel and to other countries. In addition, this Programme will provide for carrying out the necessary construction of roads, railways, communications lines, etc.
6. Co-operation in the field of trade, including studies, and trade promotion programmes, which will encourage local, regional and interregional trade, as well as a feasibility study of creating free trade zones in the Gaza Strip and in Israel, mutual access to these zones and co-operation in other areas related to trade and

commerce.

7. Co-operation in the field of industry, including industrial development programmes, which will provide for the establishment of joint Israeli-Palestinian industrial research and development centres, will promote Palestinian-Israeli joint ventures, and provide guidelines for co-operation in the textile, food, pharmaceutical, electronics, diamonds, computer and science-based industries.

8. A Programme for co-operation in, and regulation of, labour relations and co-operation in social welfare issues.

9. A human resource development and co-operation plan, providing for joint Israeli-Palestinian workshops and seminars, and for the establishment of joint vocational training centres, research institutes and data banks.

10. An environmental protection plan, providing for joint and/or co-ordinated measures in this sphere.

11. A Programme for developing co-ordination and co-operation in the field of communications and media.

12. Any other programmes of mutual interest.

Annex IV:

Protocol on Israeli-Palestinian co-operation concerning regional development Programmes:

1. The two sides will co-operate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in promoting a development programme for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the Group of Seven. The parties will request the Group of Seven to seek the participation in this programme of other interested states, such as members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, regional Arab states and institutions, as well as members of the private sector.

2. The Development Programme will consist of two elements:

- (a) An Economic Development Programme for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip
- (b) A Regional Economic Development Programme.

The economic development programme for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will consist of the following elements:

- (1) A Social Rehabilitation Programme, including a Housing and Construction Programme
- (2) A Small and Medium Business Development Plan
- (3) An Infrastructure Development Programme (water, electricity, transportation and communications, etc)
- (4) A Human Resources Plan
- (5) Other programmes.

The regional economic development programme may consist of the following elements:

- (1) The establishment of a Middle East Development Fund, as a first step, and a

Middle East Development Bank, as a second step

(2) The development of a joint Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian Plan for co-ordinated exploitation of the Dead Sea area

(3) The Mediterranean Sea (Gaza) - Dead Sea Canal

(4) Regional desalinisation and other water development projects

(5) A regional plan for agricultural development, including a coordinated regional effort for the prevention of desertification

(6) Interconnection of electricity grids

(7) Regional co-operation for the transfer, distribution and industrial exploitation of gas, oil and other energy resources

(8) A regional tourism, transportation and telecommunications development plan

(9) Regional co-operation in other spheres.

3. The two sides will encourage the multilateral working groups and will co-ordinate towards their success. The two parties will encourage inter-sessional activities, as well as pre-feasibility and feasibility studies, within the various multilateral working groups. Agreed minutes to the Declaration of Principles on interim self-government arrangements:

A. General understandings and agreements:

Any powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinians pursuant to the Declaration of Principles prior to the inauguration of the Council will be subject to the same principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these agreed minutes below. B. Specific understandings and agreements:

Article IV:

It is understood that:

1. Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations: Jerusalem, settlements, military locations and Israelis.

2. The Council's jurisdiction will apply with regard to the agreed powers, responsibilities, spheres and authorities transferred to it.

Article VI (2):

It is agreed that the transfer of authority will be as follows:

1. The Palestinian side will inform the Israeli side of the names of the authorised Palestinians who will assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that will be transferred to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, tourism and any other authorities agreed upon.

2. It is understood that the rights and obligations of these offices will not be affected.

3. Each of the spheres described above will continue to enjoy existing budgetary allocations in accordance with arrangements to be mutually agreed upon. These arrangements also will provide for the necessary adjustments required in order to take into account the taxes collected by the direct taxation office.

4. Upon the execution of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will immediately commence negotiations on a detailed plan for the transfer of authority on the above offices in accordance with the above understandings.

Article VII (2):

The Interim Agreement will also include arrangements for co-ordination and co-operation.

Article VII (5):

The withdrawal of the military government will not prevent Israel from exercising the powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.

Article VIII:

It is understood that the Interim Agreement will include arrangements for co-operation and co-ordination between the two parties in this regard. It is also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police will be accomplished in a phased manner, as agreed in the Interim Agreement.

Article X:

It is agreed that, upon the entry into force of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will exchange the names of the individuals designated by them as members of the joint Israeli-Palestinian liaison committee. It is further agreed that each side will have an equal number of members in the joint committee. The joint committee will reach decisions by agreement. The Joint committee may add other technicians and experts, as necessary. The Joint committee will decide on the frequency and place or places of its meetings.

Annex II:

It is understood that, subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel will continue to be responsible for external security, and for internal security and public order of settlements and Israelis. Israeli military forces and civilians may continue to use roads freely within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.

Agreed in Washington DC, on 13 September 1993. For the Government of Israel: (Signed) Shimon Peres For the PLO: (Signed) Mahmud Abbas Witnessed by: The United States of America, (Signed) Warren Christopher and The Russian Federation, (Signed) Andrei V Kozyrev.

Intifada II

Israel

- Conservative Likud Control government
- Opposed to Oslo
- Expansion of Jewish Settlements

Palestinians

- Corruption in Fatah and Government
- Islamic Fundamentalist
- Suicide Bombers

Loss of world opinion

Hardening Israeli Paradigm

Palestinian Split

Apartheid for the West Bank

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The Al Aqsa Intifada (2nd Intifada)

After the Oslo accord, Muslim fundamentalist engaged in a series of Suicide Bombings that resulted in the more conservative Likud Party getting elected. Basically, the Palestinians could not control their own extremist groups, so Israel elected their extremists.

Ariel Sharon was the Prime Minister of Israel, and an extreme nationalist. As housing minister, and then Foreign Minister in 2000, he was bitterly opposed to the Oslo Accords. He worked to fill West Bank Settlements and to expand them in the occupied territories, which were theoretically destined to be part of the Palestinian state.

Binyamin Netanyahu was Prime Minister in 2000, and had plans to open a tourist gate near the Al Aqsa Mosque that seemed designed to provoke the Arabs, and it did. Ariel Sharon going down to the Mosque flanked by hundreds of IDF troops did not help either. The 2nd Intifada was launched, but this time the rocks only strategy was abandoned and things escalated out of control. Two brutal actions, one involving the beatings, lynching, and disembowelment of two Israeli Reservists who wandered into the wrong neighborhood, and the killing of an Israeli teenager, froze the Israeli view, and did not give the Palestinians good media coverage at all.

More suicide bombings driven by Hamas, and direct fire fights between IDF and PLO fighters worsened the situation, and the PLO's control of the territories worsened, and led to the split of the Palestinians into Hamas controlled Gaza and Fatah controlled West Bank.

Outcomes were

Loss of Public support in the international community – suicide bombers are creepy
Israelis just went hard to war- they now seem to accept it as a permanent life style feature
Palestinians split into Fatah and Hamas
De facto apartheid of the West Bank

Ringo Starr and the PLO – *the Truth Revealed*



Although many people might find this shocking, I have strong reasons to believe that Ringo Starr is in fact Yasser Arafat, the Head of the PLO.

I know it may seem shocking, but let's look at the evidence.

In the early sixties, the Beatles were seen everywhere. But then in 1966, they gave their last live concert and were seen in the public less frequently – certainly Ringo seems to have faded a bit, even though John was still fairly visible. In 1967, the PLO started to be much more visible, and by 1968, Yasser Arafat was constantly in the news...but not Ringo... coincidence?

Both Ringo and Yasser made the cover of Time Magazine, in an illustration, not picture image. PLUS both made the cover as part of a GROUP.

They both make the peace sign with their fingers! look at all that gesticulation!

While Yasser has long loved guns, we only recently have noted Ringo's gun fetish. See above image!

Consider this – despite an extensive search, I can find exactly ZERO PHOTOS OF RINGO AND YASSER TOGETHER! Go ahead, Google it – there are NONE.

In 1970, the PLO got kicked out of Jordan into exile and is basically out of sight for awhile. But in 1971, Ringo resurfaces with a hit song called "It Don't come Easy", clearly a veiled reference to the struggle for Palestinian Statehood.

Lastly, consider all of the above, and then look at the picture images. Their physical similarities, and their peculiar beard style, look remarkably similar, as though they were almost clones of each other. Since cloning was not possible until recently, it would seem to mean that only one conclusion is possible...they must be the same person!

And since Walrus's don't live in Palestine, and neither did Yasser and most Palestinians, we all now know who the Walrus really was - it was Yasser/Ringo!

Teaching Tip - At this point, I hope to God all your students know you are messing with them. If not, as a nation, we really are doomed. I would make some comments to them about the changes to media in the last 20 years, about the movement away from proper investigative reporting to OP ED style "journalism", where a loosely knit series of anecdotes gets pulled together into a conclusion that is really not supportable, but often repeated.

You can have some more fun, and ask your students if they believe Obama was really born in the US, see if some are suspicious. Then you can spring it on them that you know he was in fact not born in the US, but born in HAWAII. See if any of them are aware that Hawaii is part of the US.