



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



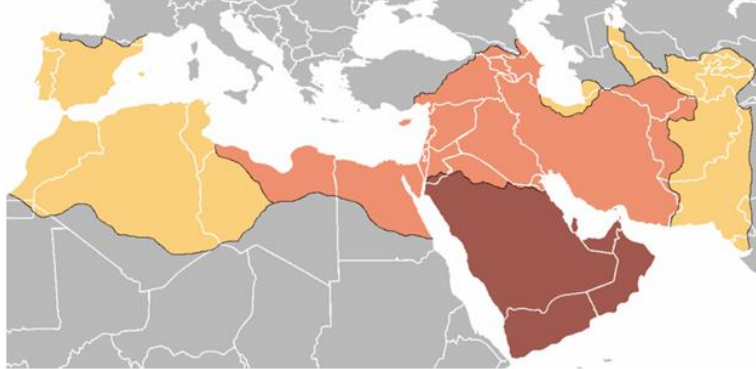
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The Maghreb is the cool, “in the know” name for the Countries associated with the Sahara Desert. If you said “Ma – Grib” with the “grib” pronounced like the English word Grip, but ending in a B sound, you could fool at least some people into believing 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

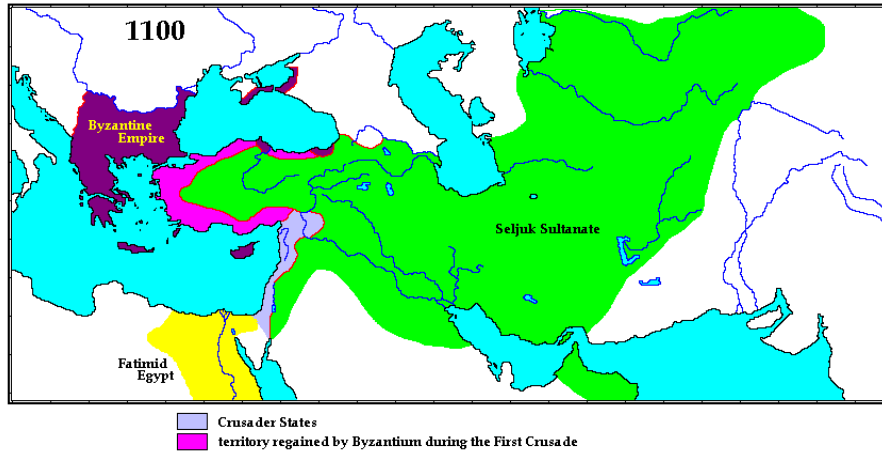
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The Arabs expanded quickly out of the Arab Peninsula and held sway over a vast region acquired from weak and ailing predecessor states.

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.

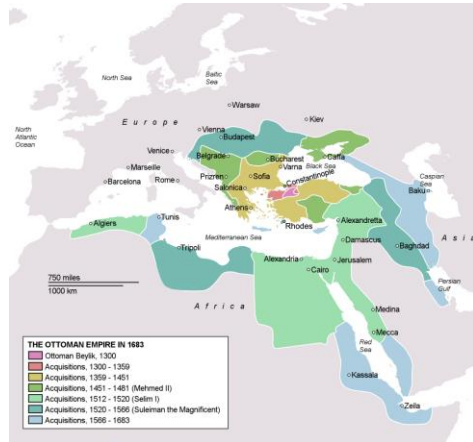
The Umayyad Dynasty lasted until 750 AD in the Middle East, and until 1031 in Spain.

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.

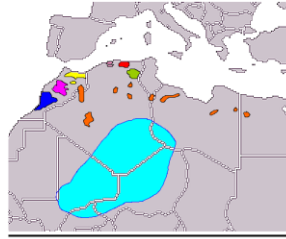
Where it is particularly relevant for the modern Middle East discussion is that they held loose control over the Maghreb portion of the empire, and these regions developed some fairly autonomous institutions, with sophisticated political, legal, and cultural practices, which the Europeans came along 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 Beraber. The written language is not commonly taught and is rarely used.

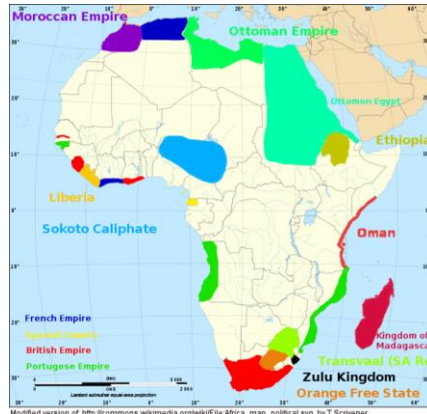
Daily Life: Berbers are traditionally Muslim, and societies are quite fragmented. Berbers have had a constant struggle for power in North Africa with Arab tribes for centuries. The Barbary Coast of North Africa was named after the word Berber, and was known as a place where Arab and Berber pirates would 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.

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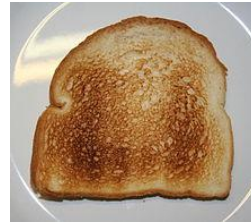
See the presentation on the Terror tab Marked “The End of Colonies: Algeria”

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 down 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.