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Geopolitics of the Middle East

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Riyad



Shibam, Yemen



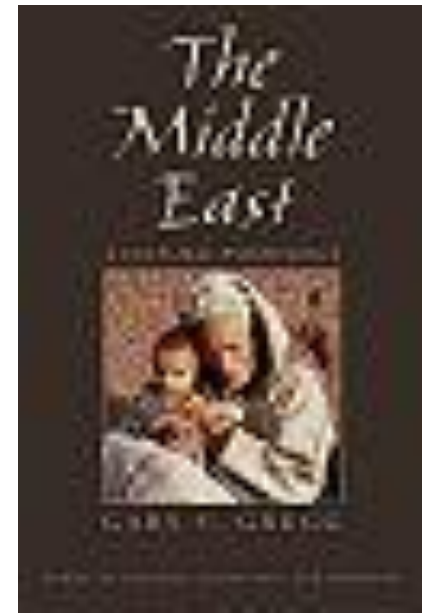
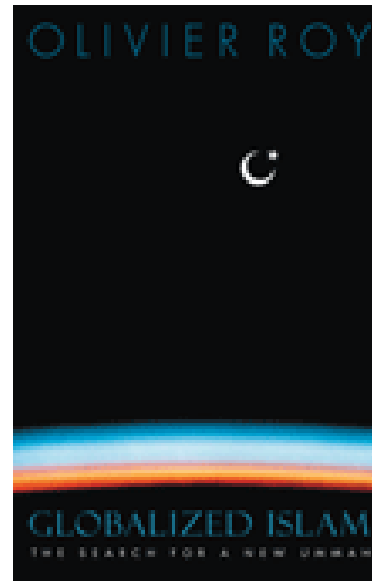
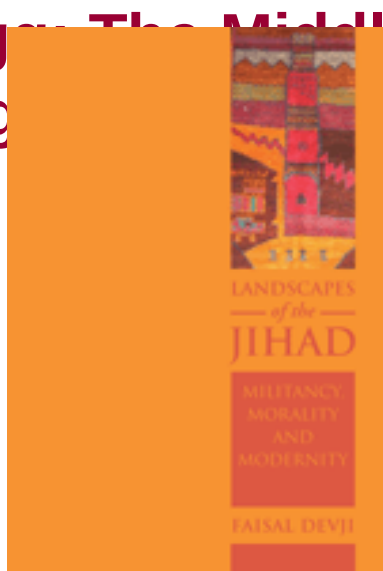
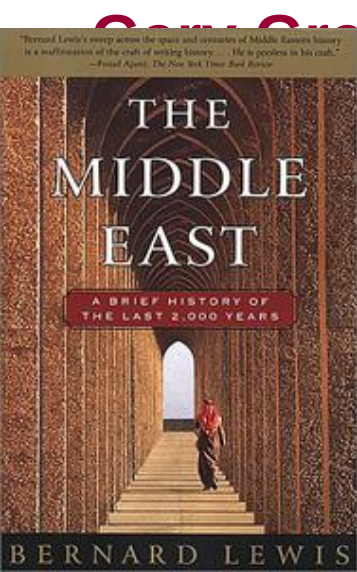
Dubai

Logos 10

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- **Olivier Roy: Globalized Islam - The Search for a New Ummah (2004)**



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 - **Pervez Hoodbhoy: Islam and Science - Religious Orthodoxy and the Battle for Rationality**

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 - **Fuad Khuri: Tents and Pyramids (1990)**
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The decline and fall

- **Renewal movement**
 - **Reaction to Christian empires in Islamic lands**
 - **1902: Abdul al-Aziz conquers Riyadh and unites Arabia under the puritanical Wahabi Islamic order**
 - **Jihad against foreign imperialism within the organizational framework of Sufi orders**
 - **Almost all of them formed after a pilgrimage to Mecca**
 - **Pilgrimage to Mecca plays the role of marketing for the renewal movements**

The Protagonists

- **Islam:** the religion founded by Mohammed and defined by the Quran
- **Arabs:** originally, the ethnic groups who lived in the Arabian peninsula; later, all speakers of the Arabic language from Morocco to Syria
- **Turks, Persians/Iranians, Pakistanis, Indonesians, etc:** NOT Arabs
- **Muslims:** anybody (Arab, Persian/Iranian, Turk, Pakistani, Indonesian, European, Indian, American...) who believes in Islam
- **Christians:** anybody (Arab, Persian/Iranian, Turk, ... European, Indian, American, ...) who believes in Christianity
- **Sunnis and Shiites:** different sects of Islam

Geopolitics of the Middle East

- **Three perspectives on the Middle East**
 - **Governments**
 - **Society**
 - **Terrorists**

The decline and fall

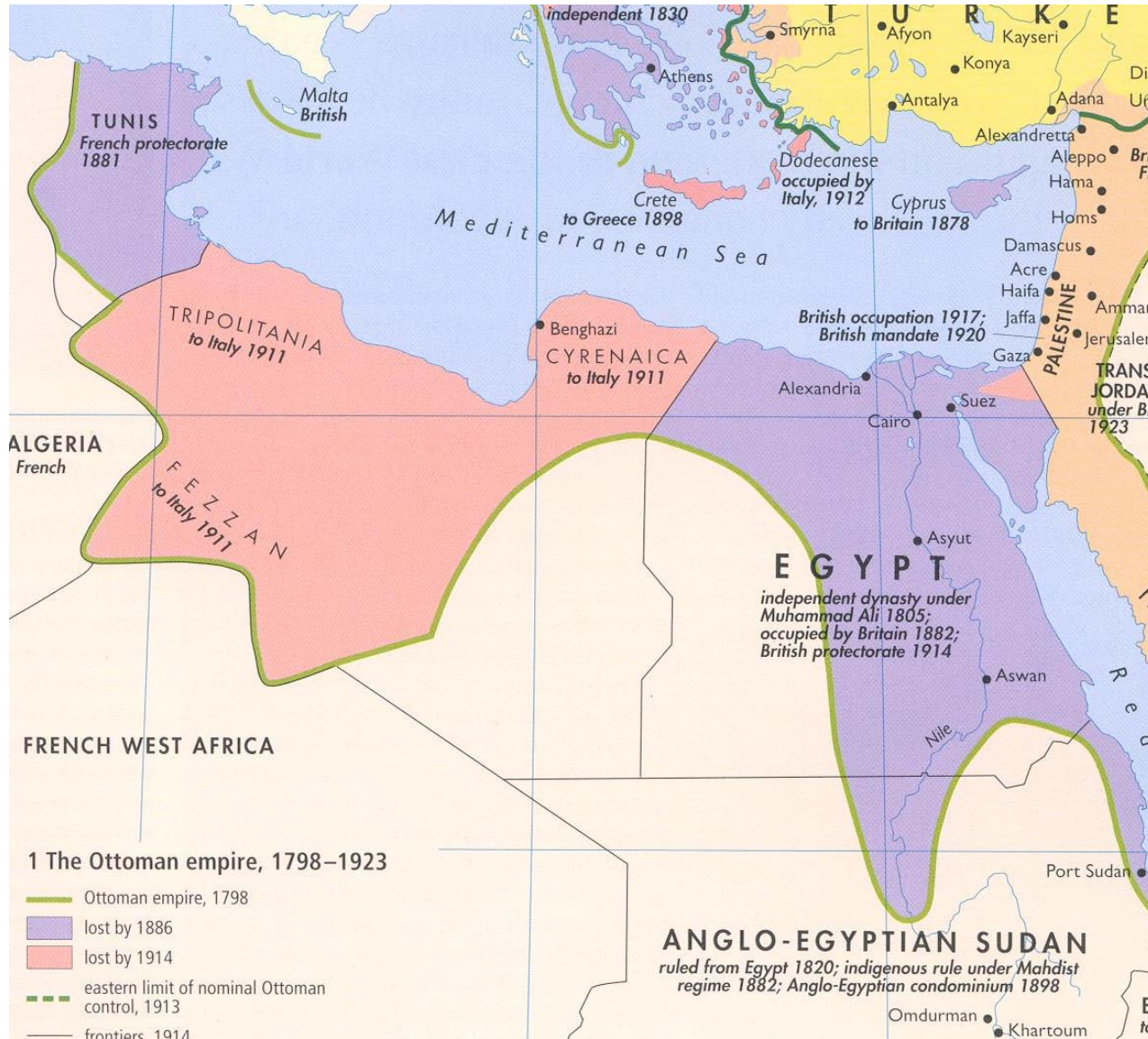
- **Renewal movement/ effects**
 - **18th-19th century: two overlapping phenomena**
 - **Massive political expansion of the Christian powers (and retreat of the Ulema's power)**
 - **Massive religious expansion of the Islamic faith**
 - **Reformist movement (either by colonial Europeans or European-inspired rulers) vs Renewal movement**
 - **Two tectonic plaques on a collision route**

Ottoman Empire before WWI



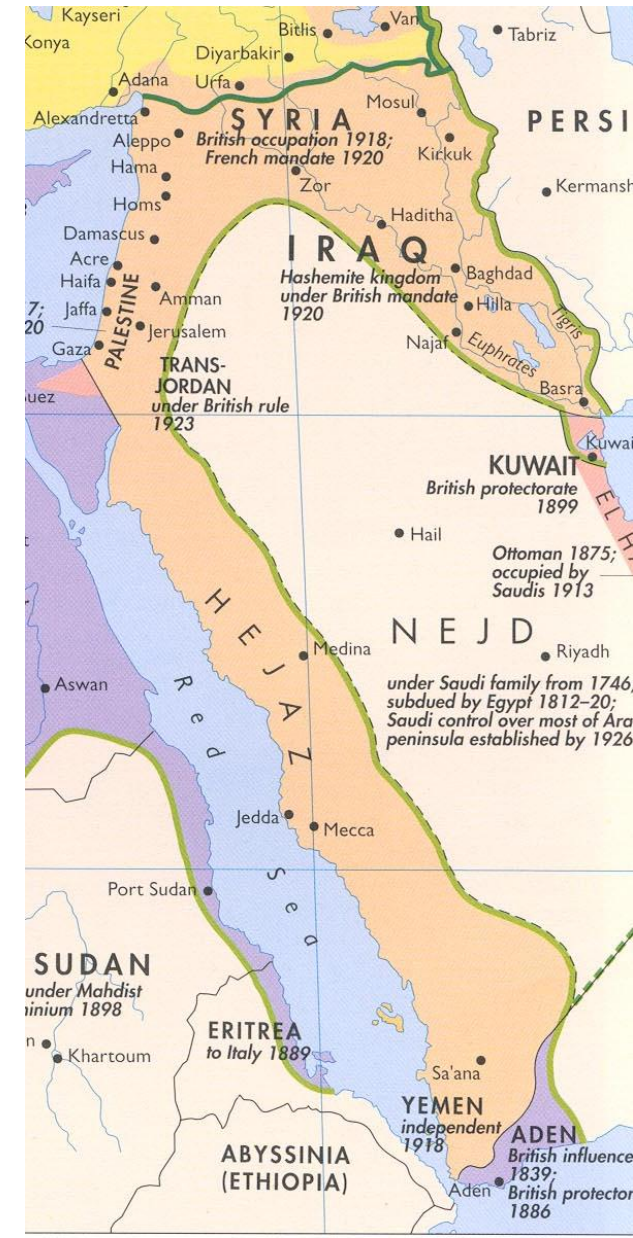
The decline and fall

Ottoman Empire before WWI



The decline and fall

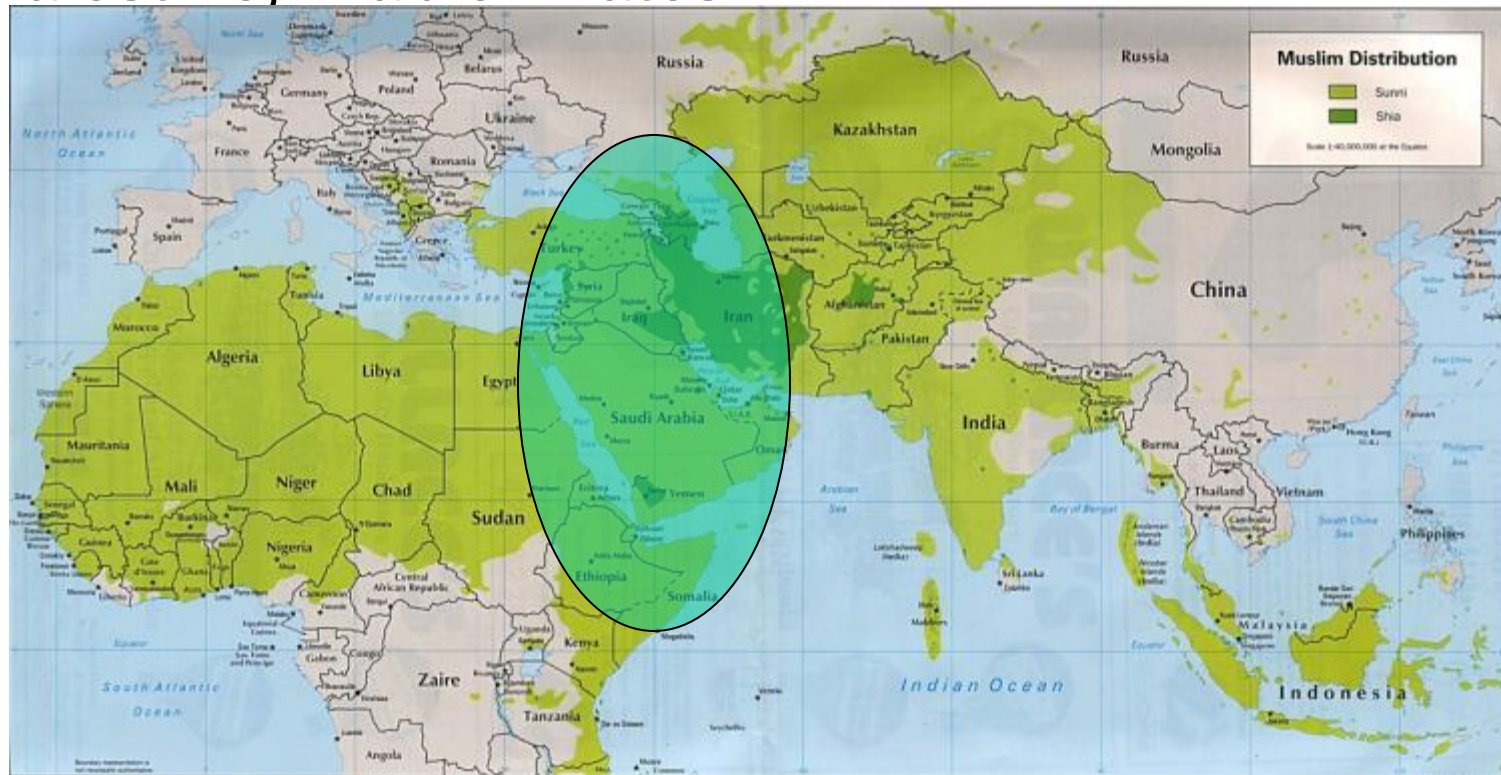
Ottoman Empire before WWI



The decline and fall

European colonialism

- **1811-1918: Disintegration of the Ottoman empire: Greece, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Yemen**
- **1882-1919: Britain conquers Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Palestine, Arab emirates**



The decline and fall

European colonialism

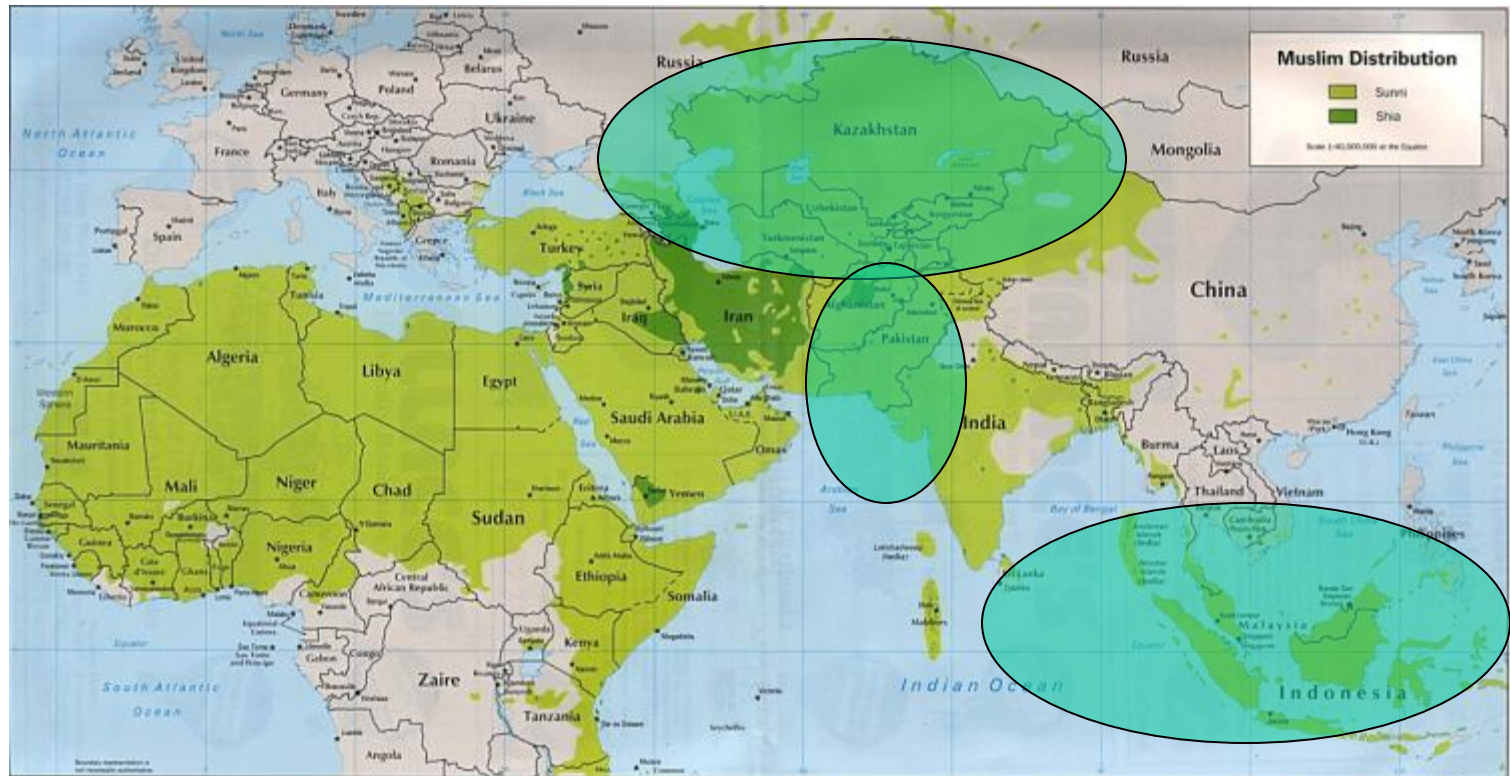
- 1830-1919: France conquers Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon, Syria



The decline and fall

European colonialism

- 1868-1919: Russia conquers Transoxania
- Holland and Portugal in Indonesia/Malaysia
- Maratha and then Britain in India



The decline and fall

European colonialism

- 1920: Only a tiny percentage of Muslims of the world are ruled by Muslims (Arabs, Indians, Indonesians, Africans, Central Asians are ruled by Europeans)**

The decline and fall

European colonialism

- 1885-now: Jews emigrate to Palestine (part of the Ottoman empire)
- Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916
- Balfour Declaration of November 1917
- Zionist centers: Constantinople, Berlin, Paris, London, New York
- Bolshevik Jews (“With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of leading figures are Jews”, Winston Churchill, February 1920)

Sykes-Picot Agreement



The Middle East

- **Between the wars**
 - **Britain, France, Italy, etc split the Ottoman Empire**
 - **Britain rules Egypt and Sudan**
 - **France and Italy rule the rest of Arab Africa**
 - **Britain and Russia “strangle” Iran**
 - **The Soviet Union annexes the Caucasus and Central Asia**
 - **Pakistan and Bangladesh are British**
 - **Indonesia is Dutch**
 - **The only truly independent Islamic country is Turkey**

The Middle East

- **Between the wars**
 - **Britain ignores Arab leaders who fought under Lawrence against the Ottomans**
 - **Western powers impose national boundaries**
 - **Urban immigration**
 - **Decline of nomadic tribes**
 - **Western education**
 - **Nationalist movements (aiming for both independence from the West and Western-style modernization)**
 - **1905-11 Constitutional revolution in Iran (put down by Russia)**

The Middle East

- **Between the wars**
 - **Independence of British colonies: Egypt 1922, Iraq 1932, Saudi Arabia 1932**
 - **1925-1979: Iranian republic (Reza Khan)**
 - **1923-now: Turkish republic (Mustafa “Ataturk” Kemal)**



Reza Khan



Creation of
Modern Turkey

The Middle East



- Between the wars
 - 1928: Muslim Brotherhood (Islamic republic)
 - Egypt (Hassan al-Banna), but inspired by Wahabi sect of Arabia
 - Islamic republic for the entire Islamic world
 - "The Quran is our constitution"
 - Rebellion against the colonial powers
 - Rebellion against westernized Arab governments
 - Lebanon (in 1936), Syria (1937), Transjordan (1946)
 - 1948: 500,000 members
 - 1954: assassination attempt against C Abdel Nasser
 - 1950s: Sayyid Qutb

Hassan al-Banna



The Middle East

- **Between the wars**
 - **1930 Mohammad Allama Iqbal calls for Indian Islamic separatism, unity of all Islamic nations**
 - **1931-1946: Jewish terrorism (against British rule)**
 - **1936: Palestinian intifada (against British rule)**
 - **1936: First military coup in an independent Arab state (Iraq)**
 - **1939: Arab countries supply 5% of the world's oil**
 - **1941: Britain and the Soviet Union engineer the succession of Reza Pahlevi as Shah of Iran**
 - **1943: Baath party founded in Syria (unify the whole Arab world)**

The Middle East

- Arab independence
 - Independence of British colonies: Jordan 1946, **Israel 1948**, Libya 1952, Sudan 1956, Kuwait 1961, UAE 1968, Oman 1971
 - Independence of French colonies: Syria 1943, Morocco 1956, Tunisia 1956, **Algeria 1962**

The Middle East

- **Arab independence**
 - **Programs of modernization**
 - **Anti-Western attitude**
 - **Pan-Arab unity**
 - **Forced settling of nomadic tribes**
 - **Mobilization of masses in political parties**
 - **Secular regimes emphasizing Arab nationalism**
 - **Post-independence elite turns to single-party rule**
 - **Arab socialism**
 - **Swelling public sectors**

The Middle East

- Israel

U.N. partition plan
of 1947

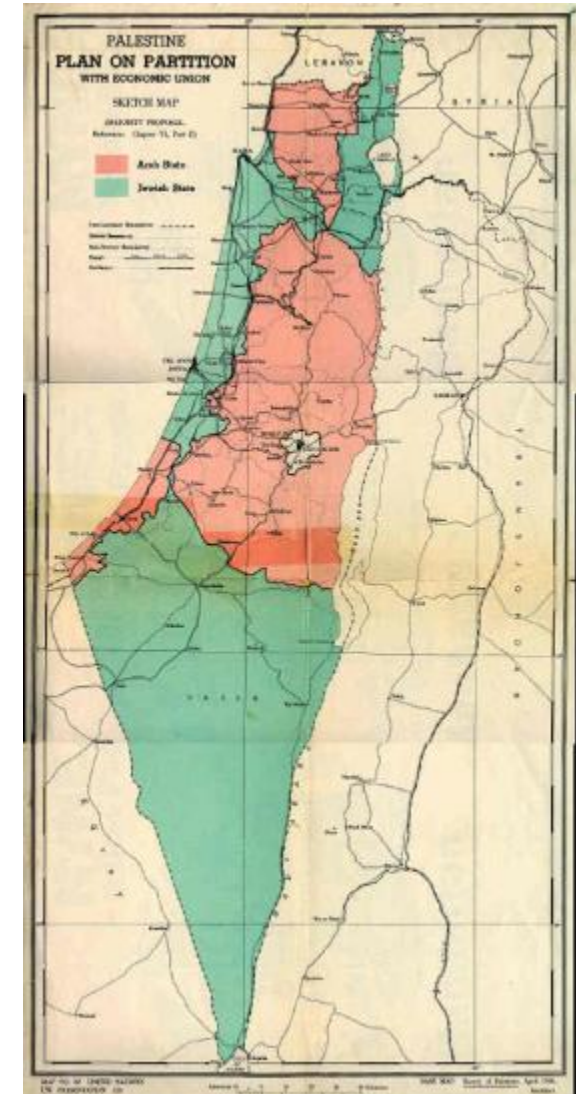
Abbasid province



British mandate of 1920



Area Allocated for Jewish National Home
San Remo Conference, 1920



Ottoman eyalet of Syria



The Middle East

The Big Game in the Middle East

- **1948: First Arab-Israeli war: Israel defeats Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and extends to 78% of Palestine**
- **1949 Pakistan (1956 Islamic republic)**
- **1950: Democratic elections in Turkey**
- **1951: Nationalist revolution in Iran (Mosaddeq)**
- **1952: Egyptian republic (Nasser)**

The Middle East

The Big Game in the Middle East

- **Mosaddeq: first Muslim leader to oppose Western exploitation of Islamic lands**
 - Nationalization of oil fields hurt Britain
 - USA views him as agent of Soviet Union
- **Nasser: first Arab leader in modern times to promote pan-Arab nationalism**
 - Nationalization of Suez canal hurts Britain (2/3rd of traffic is oil tankers to Europe and 1/3rd of them goes to Britain)
 - Internal enemies: Islamists (Muslim Brotherhood) and Communists
- **Unlike the puppets of the European powers, they are not corrupt and cannot be bribed. Their goal is to raise the living conditions of ordinary people.**

The Middle East

The Big Game in the Middle East

- **1952: Turkey joins NATO**
- **1953: Britain-sponsored coup in Iran**
- **1954: Algerian liberation war (1 million dead)**
- **1955: Baghdad Pact by Britain Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey (against the Soviet Union but also Nasser)**
- **1955: Egypt, Indonesia, China and India found the Non-Aligned Movement**
- **1956: Second Arab-Israeli war: France, Britain and Israel defeat Nasser's Egypt but forced to withdraw by the USA**
- **1956: France gives Israel the atomic bomb**
- **1958: Iraq revolution (anti-Western and pro-Nasser)**
- **1960: OPEC**

The Middle East

The Big Game in the Middle East

- **Monarchs overthrown by “republican” regimes**
- **Revolutions only superficially inspired by communism**
- **In reality, anti-Western revolutions driven by deeply-seeded anti-Crusade psychology**

The Middle East

- **Historical trends until 1961**
 - **No major popular revolution (popular uprising against own regime) in the entire history of the Islamic world, from Morocco to Indonesia**
 - **No major victory since 1683 by an Islamic country against a non-Islamic country**

The Middle East

- **Sayyid Qutb (1952)**
 - **Philosopher of militant Islam**
 - **Islamic holy war (jihad) as the duty of every Muslim**
 - **Civilization clash of Islam with the Western democracies is inevitable**
 - **Against Islamic regimes**
 - **Integralist view of society**
 - **Violent Muslim resistance to regimes that are not truly Islamic**
 - **Ibn Taymiyya's verdict of 1300: Jihad legitimate against Mongols even if they converted to Islam**
 - **A Muslim might justly assassinate an unjust Muslim ruler (he is not a Muslim anymore)**

The Middle East

- **Sayyid Qutb (1952)**
 - **Jahiliyya ("pagan ignorance") is the main evil in the world**
 - **Secular society violates God's sovereignty on Earth by creating new rules which override the wishes of God**
 - **Jahiliyya is rebellion against God's sovereignty on earth**
 - **Christians are all destined for hell**
 - **Jewish conspiracy against Muslims**
 - **America's separation of church and state is "the" problem**
 - **Capitalism is evil**

The Middle East

- **Sayyid Qutb (1952)**
 - **Dream of a purified world**
 - **“the worship of God alone,**
 - **the foundation of human relationships on the belief in the Unity of God,**
 - **the supremacy of the humanity of man over material things,**
 - **the development of human values and the control of animalistic desires,**
 - **respect for the family,**
 - **the assumption of the vice-regency of God on earth according to His guidance and instruction**
 - **the rule of God's law (Shari'a) “**

The Middle East

- **Algeria's independence war**
 - A blueprint for future anti-Western wars
 - Arab extremists launch a three-pronged campaign
 - **1. Genocide of Europeans (regardless of status, gender and age) to provoke French retaliations**
 - May 1945 massacre of 103 Europeans triggers a French retaliation that kills 1300 Arabs
 - The Philippeville massacre of 1955 triggers a French retaliation that kills 1273 Arabs
 - Mutilation (even of children and women) to increase the provocation
 - **2. Elimination of moderate Arabs**
 - In the first two years (1955-57) the FLN kills 1035 Europeans and 6352 Arabs

The Middle East

- **Algeria's independence war**
 - A blueprint for future anti-Western wars
 - Arab extremists launch a three-pronged campaign
 - **3. Communist-style propaganda that distorts the facts**
 - 45,000 Arabs killed in may 1945 according to Algerian insurgents
 - 12,000 Arabs killed in the Philippeville Incident according to the FLN
 - **Over-reaction by France**
 - Battle of Algiers (1957) won with nazist methods (torture, “disappearances”)
 - Paramilitary OAS (Organisation de l'Armee Secrete) kills 12,000 Arabs (1961)

The Middle East

- **Algeria's independence war**
 - **A blueprint for future anti-Western wars**
 - **Arab extremists launch a three-pronged campaign**
 - **Result: the rebels become national heroes even if at the beginning they did not have popular support, and they create a republic that is more tyrannical than the regime they fought**
- **Compare with Iraq 2003-07...**

The Middle East

The socialist era

- **1961: Nasser's "Arab socialism" (Syria 1963, Iraq 1963, Algeria 1965, Yemen 1966, Libya 1969)**
- **1962: Algeria becomes independent**
- **1962: White Revolution in Iran (democratic reforms by the Shah)**
- **1961-1991: Kurdish liberation war in Iraq (200,000 dead)**
- **1962-2002: Christian/animist war in Sudan (2 million dead)**
- **1965: India-Pakistan war over Kashmir**

The Middle East

- **The Arab-Israeli conflict**
 - **1967: Third Arab-Israeli war (“six-day war”): Israel defeats Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and doubles its territory (Golan Heights from Syria, Sinai and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan)**
 - **1968: Fatah defeats Israel at the battle of Karameh**
 - **1968-1972: International Palestinian terrorism**
 - **“We have always said that in our war with the Arabs we had a secret weapon: no alternative” (Golda Meir, 1969)**



Israel before June 1967



The Cold War



The Middle East

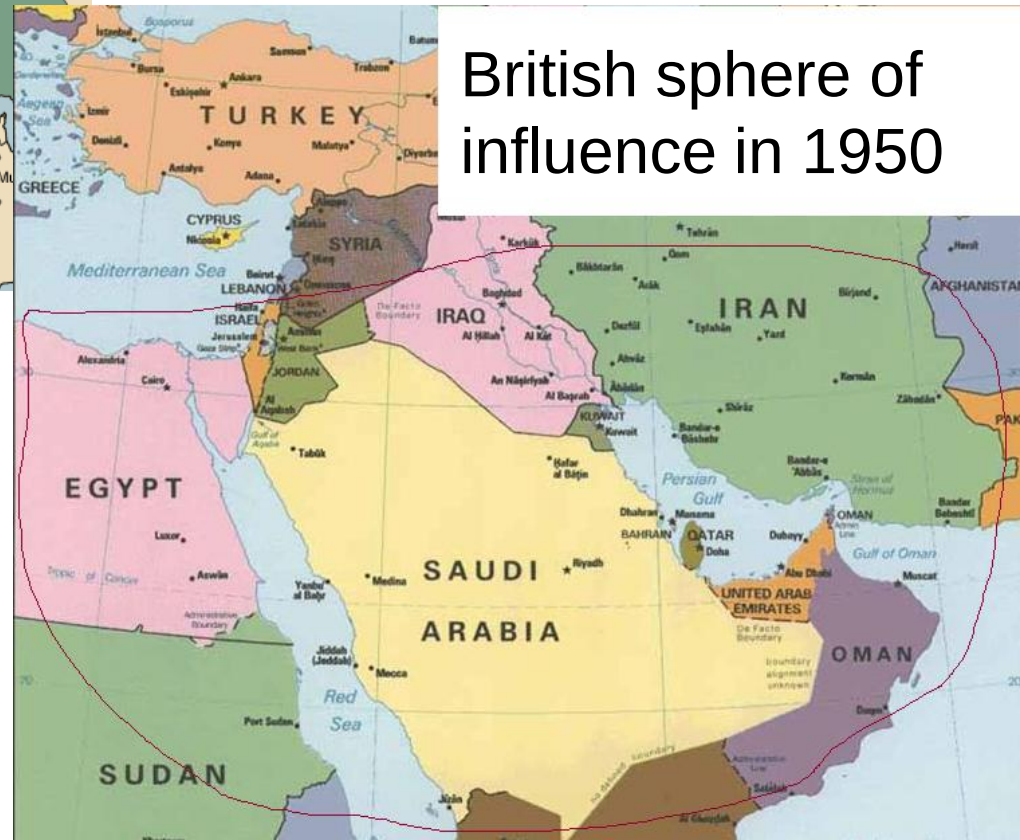
- **The British withdrawal**
 - **1849: Britain occupies Pakistan**
 - **1882: Britain occupies Egypt**
 - **1918: Britain defeats the Ottomans and inherits its Arab territories**
 - **1941: Britain invades Iran**
 - **1947: Independence of Pakistan**
 - **1952: Revolution in Egypt**
 - **1971: Britain leaves the Middle East**

The Middle East

- The British withdrawal



Ottoman Empire in 1850



British sphere of influence in 1950

The Middle East

- The oil era
 - The USA, ending the Bretton Woods system, devalues the dollar by 8% in 1971, and again in 1973, which de facto reduces the price of oil
 - 1973: Fourth Arab-Israeli war: Israel defeats Egypt and Syria (no territorial changes)
 - 1973: OPEC oil embargo

“You [Western nations] increased the price of wheat you sell us by 300%, and the same for sugar and cement... You buy our crude oil and sell it back to us, redefined as petrochemicals, at a hundred times the price you've paid to us” (Shah of Iran to the New York Times, 1973)



The Middle East

- The oil era
 - 1975-1990: Civil war in Lebanon (40,000 dead)
 - 1975: Morocco invades and annexes Western Sahara
 - **1979: Khomeini founds the Islamic republic of Iran**
 - 1979: Saddam Hussein
 - 1979: Peace between Israel and Egypt
 - 1979-1988: Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
 - 1980-1988: Iraq invades Iran (one million dead)
 - 1982: Hezbollah in Lebanon



The Middle East

- **The Islamic Republic**
 - **“Wilayet al-faqih,” or the rule of the jurisprudent**
 - **Main enemies: USA (“the great Satan”) and Britain**
 - **But no sympathy for the Soviet Union**
 - **Historical rivalry with the Arabs**



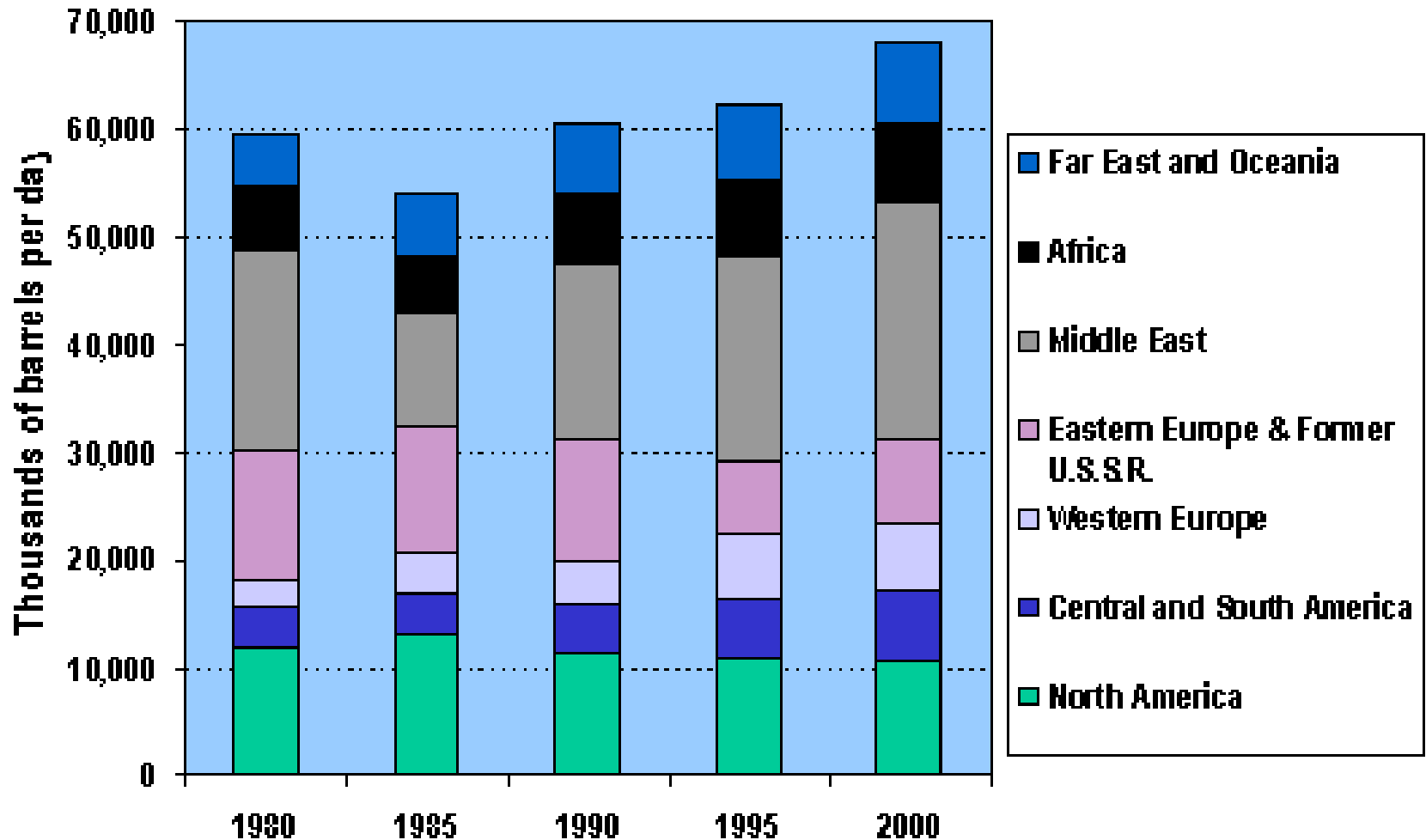
The Middle East

- **Peace between Egypt and Israel**
 - For centuries the Arab world has been united by language and religion
 - Egypt breaks that unity by placing its own interests before the interest of the Arab nation
 - Recognition of Israel that is not recognized by the Arabs
 - Alliance with the West in an Arab world that is largely anti-Western



The Middle East

- World Crude Oil Production, 1980-2000



The Middle East

Greatest Oil Reserves by Country, 2006

Rank	Country	Proved reserves (billion barrels)
1.	Saudi Arabia	264.3
2.	Canada	178.8
3.	Iran	132.5
4.	Iraq	115.0
5.	Kuwait	101.5
6.	United Arab Emirates	97.8
7.	Venezuela	79.7
8.	Russia	60.0
9.	Libya	39.1
10.	Nigeria	35.9
11.	United States	21.4
12.	China	18.3

The Middle East

- **Population boom**
 - **The population of the Arab world triples in four decades (fastest growth rate outside of sub-Saharan Africa)**
 - **GDP growth, but decline of per-capita income (worst performance of any region of the world between 1980 and 1993)**
 - **Overwhelmingly young (in many countries half the population is under 20)**
 - **Overwhelmingly urbanized (55% in 1990)**
 - **High unemployment rates, especially among the young**
 - **Public sector jobs account for 30-50% of all jobs**
 - **Franz Fanon: Arab middle class active in commerce and bureaucracy, not productive and not innovative**

The Middle East

- The oil era
 - USA Allies:
 - Israel
 - Turkey
 - Egypt
 - Jordan
 - Saudi Arabia
 - Morocco
 - USA Enemies:
 - Iran
 - Syria
 - Libya
 - Algeria
 - Iraq?



The Middle East

- **Inconsistent and indecisive USA policy**
 - **Eisenhower: idealistic (U.N. principles enforced on the 1956 crisis)**
 - **Kennedy: prudent (opposition to spread of nuclear weapons, i.e. to Israel's bomb)**
 - **Johnson: pragmatic (pro-Israel in 1967)**
 - **Nixon: biased (Jewish secretary of state Kissinger, massive armament of Israel, Cold War logic)**
 - **Carter: humanitarian (civil rights applied to Palestinians like to USA blacks, human rights as defined at the Helsinki conference, Camp David peace talk, Shah and Khomeini both undemocratic)**

The Middle East

- **Population boom**
 - **Saad Ibrahim (1977): “Rather than modernizing its traditional and rural inhabitants, the Arab city is itself being traditionalized and ruralized”**
 - **Patron-client relationship of the countryside becomes corruption in the city**
 - **Mass emigration to Europe and Gulf States**
 - **Emigrants send back Western goods that de facto disseminate the Western lifestyle in both the cities and the countryside**

The Middle East

- **Saudi Arabia**
 - **Islamic movements were curtailed by the republican revolutions (from Turkey 1920 to Egypt)**
 - **Except in Saudi Arabia**

The Middle East

- **Saudi Arabia**
 - Largely isolated and indifferent until the 1970s
 - Never involved in an armed conflict
 - Growing influence as oil revenues increase and share of oil reserves increase
 - Private funding of fundamentalist schools around the Islamic world
 - Saudi Arabia's ideological nightmares: Nasser's socialist pan-Arab nationalism, Khomeini's shiite republic
 - Traditional centers of Islamic orthodoxy: Damascus, Baghdad, Cordoba, even Istanbul, but not Mecca
 - First direct intervention in foreign policy: Afghanistan in the 1980s
 - First military intervention: Gulf War of 1991

The Middle East

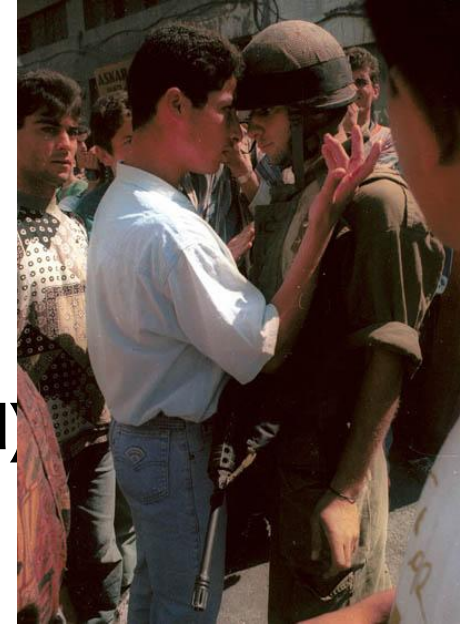
- **Saudi Arabia**
 - **Prince Bandar (ambassador to the USA, 1983-)**
 - **Goal: to replace Israel as the USA's main ally in the Middle East**
 - **Goal: to form an alliance against Iranian influence in the region (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine) and the Soviet Union's expansion in the region (Libya, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan)**
 - **Saudi Arabia has huge oil wealth but is surrounded by enemies**
 - **Saudi Arabia becomes the financial arm of the CIA to bypass the USA parliament (arms sales to Nicaragua's rebels, to Angola's rebels and to Afghanistan's rebels fighting communist regimes in three continents)**

The Middle East

- **Inconsistent and indecisive USA policy**
 - **Reagan: clueless (Alzheimer?)**
 - **The USA sells weapons to both Iraq (to counter Iran) and Iran (to win the release of hostages in Lebanon) and to Saudi Arabia (to fund civil wars against the communist regimes of Angola and Nicaragua)**
 - **Helps Islamic fundamentalism emerge as an international force**
 - **Bush: an Arab oilman in the White House**
 - **Bandar's influence (war against Saddam Hussein, negotiations with Arafat)**
 - **Diminished Israeli influence**
 - **Oil-centered foreign policy**

The Middle East

- **Islamic resurgence**
 - 1987-2006: Palestinian intifada (5,000 dead)
 - 1988-2004: Somalia's civil war (550,000 dead)
 - **1988: The Soviet Union withdraws from Afghanistan**
 - 1988: Al Qaeda (Osama bin Laden)
 - 1990-1991: Gulf War (85,000 dead)



The Middle East

- **Palestinian intifada (1987)**
 - Staged by youth that had been born under occupation
 - Stones against tanks
 - Steals the David-versus-Goliath metaphor from Israel
 - A grass-roots movement that bypasses the PLO leadership
 - Hamas is created in Gaza (Sheikh Ahmed Yassin), which is both a humanitarian organization and a military organization (modeled after the Muslim Brotherhood)

The Middle East

- **The Mujaheddin (1988)**
 - **International militant Islam wins against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan**
 - **Many of them return to their homes in the Middle East, bringing with them the ideal of jihad**
 - **Some of them move to the West, bringing with them the ideal of jihad**

The Middle East

- **Saddam Hussein**
 - **Across the Arab world: the hero who saved the Sunni world from the Shiite barbars**
 - **Within Iraq: the heir to Nebuchadnezzar (Babylonian empire builder)**
 - **At the end of the war against Iran, Iraq has the fourth largest army in the world**
 - **If Iraq takes Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, it would control 40% of the oil reserves in the world and a huge financial empire**
 - **Iraq-Kuwait War (1990-91)**
 - **Across the Arab world: sponsor of Palestinian “martyrs” and only Arab leader to stand up to Western colonialism**

The Middle East

- **Prince Bandar**
 - **Facilitates direct talks between the PLO and the USA (1988)**
 - **Prompts the USA to attack Saddam Hussein (1991)**
 - **Prompts the USA to remove Saddam Hussein from power (2003)**

The Middle East

- **Failure of modernization**
 - **Survival of the patron-client system (corruption)**
 - **Continuous rivalries among Arab regimes**
 - **Both Western-style capitalism and Soviet-style socialism discredited by the 1970s**
 - **Population boom creates poverty**
 - **Mustafa Hijazi: Regimes of fear that extend regimes of fear of the past (sultans, pashas, warlords, colonial regimes, post-colonial tyrants)**
 - **Islam as the alternative**

The Middle East

- **The Islamic world in the 1990s**
 - **Lots of oil and few people (Kuwait, Emirates)**
 - **Lots of oil but too many people (Iraq, Iran)**
 - **No oil and lots of people (Egypt, Morocco)**

The Middle East

- **Islamization of the West**
 - **Persecuted in their own countries, many radical Muslims emigrate to the West where they open Islamic centers that recruit young Muslims for jihad**
 - **The West welcomes young Muslims who want a modern education, thus facilitating their “infiltration” of Western society**
 - **Western governments try to secularize, democratize and modernize Islamic society, but instead Islamic fundamentalists infiltrate Western society to undo their secularization, democracy and modernity**

The Middle East

- **The era of Islamic independence movements**
 - **1992-1999: Civil war in Algeria (150,000 dead)**
 - **1993-2009: Civil war in Chechnya (Russia)**
 - **1996-2001: Taliban in Afghanistan**
 - **1996: Al Jazeera**

The Middle East

- **Inconsistent and indecisive USA policy**
 - **Clinton: emphatic**
 - **Palestine: Israel maneuvers to have the USA negotiate with the Palestinians (rather than negotiate directly)**
 - **Iraq: “So long as Saddam remains in power he will remain a threat to his people, his region and the world... The best way to end the threat that Saddam poses to his own people in the region is for Iraq to have a different government. “**

The Middle East

War on (Islamic) terrorism

- 2001: Al Qaeda attacks the USA
- 2001: The USA invades Afghanistan
- 2003: The USA invades Iraq
- Israel withdraws from Lebanon (2000) and Gaza (2005)
- 2005: Free elections in Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon
- 2006: Israel fights Hezbollah in Lebanon

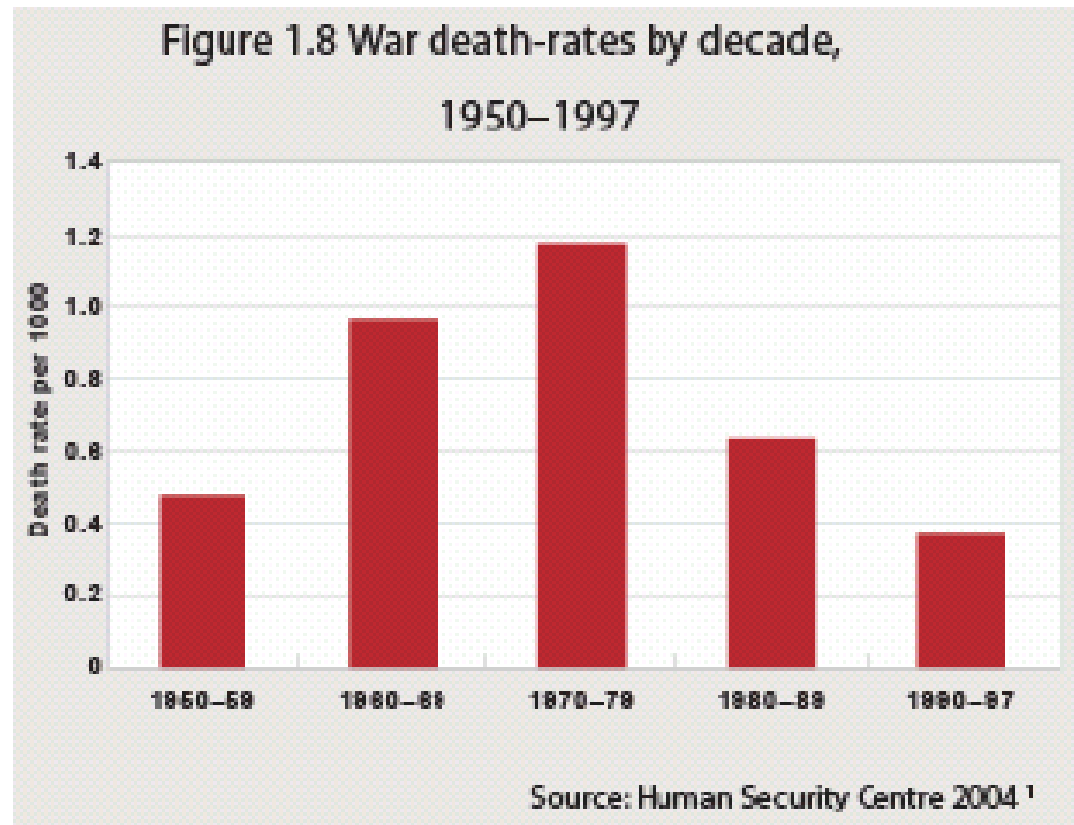
The Middle East



- **Hassan Nasrallah (Hezbollah, 1992)**
 - **Gamal Abdel Nasser (1967): “We will push the Jews into the sea”**
 - **Saddam Hussein (1991): “We will burn half of Israel”**
 - **Yasir Arafat (1980s): “The Palestinians will take Jerusalem back”**
 - **Hassan Nasrallah (2006): humility**
 - **A Shiite cleric (a "hojatolislam")**
 - **Inspired by the Islamic Revolution in Iran**
 - **Mohammed’s strategy: train fighters and motivate them with religion**
 - **Goal: one Palestine with equality for Muslims, Jews and Christians**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Why is it relevant**
 - **Because the world is at peace (first time in history)**



Islamic Terrorism

- **Renewal movement of the 18th c/ causes**
 - **New patterns of trade (seatrade vs land trade)**
 - **Rise of Christian empires in Islamic lands**
 - **Echoes of the scientific/industrial revolution**
- **Renewal movement of the 21th c/ causes**
 - **New patterns of trade (globalization)**
 - **Rise of Christian monopolies in Islamic lands**
 - **Echoes of the information revolution**
- **Clash not between civilizations but between the process of secularization and the revival of religion**

Islamic Terrorism

- Is it “Islamic”?
 - The vast majority of “Islamic terrorists” are Arabs, and Arabs only represent one third of all Muslims
 - The vast majority of fatalities of “Islamic terrorism” are Muslims
 - Thousands of people killed in Shiite-Sunni sectarian violence over the years



Terrorist
attacks
before
2001

Islamic Terrorism

- **A new weapon of mass destruction: suicide bombing**
- **Chronology of suicide bombers:**
 - **Khomeini (Shiite and not Arab)**
 - **Lebanon (Shiite and not Arab)**
 - **Sri Lanka (not Islamic at all)**
 - **Palestine (Sunni Arab)**
 - **Pakistan (Sunni Arab)**
 - **Chechnya (Sunni Arab)**
 - **Al Qaeda (Sunni Arab)**
 - **Iraq (Sunni Arab)**



"The Tree of Islam needs to be watered by the blood of martyrs" (Khomeini)

Islamic Terrorism

- **The superficial view: Salafi/Wahabi (Sunni Arab) groups exporting terrorism (historically unusual that non-Arab areas are inspired by Arabs)**
- **The alternative view: Sunni Arabs importing terrorism (historically usual that Arabs copy from non-Arabs) from their traditional sources of culture (Persia)**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Compare with the success rate of Anarchists**
 - **1882: Assassination of czar Alexander II**
 - **1886: Haymarket bombing in Chicago (7 dead)**
 - **1893: Teatro Liceo bombing in Barcelona (22 dead)**
 - **1894: Assassination of French president Sadi Carnot**
 - **1897: Assassination of Austrian empress Elizabeth and Spanish prime minister Antonio Canovas**
 - **1900: Assassination of Italian king Umberto I**
 - **1901: Assassination of USA president William McKinley**
 - **1920: Assassination of Spanish prime minister Eduardo Dato**

Islamic Terrorism

- **19th century terrorist**



Islamic Terrorism

- **False causes**
 - **Poverty causes terrorism (no terrorism in most African, Latin America, Asian countries)**
 - **Ignorance causes terrorism (ditto)**
 - **Colonialism causes terrorism (ditto)**
 - **What causes the abundance of suicide bombers in the Arab world?**
 - **Why are there so many Saudis and Palestinians willing to die taking with them as many civilians as possible, while there is not a single South African or Bolivian willing to do the same?**

Islamic Terrorism

- **A real cause**
 - **The rise of the Quran, i.e. of the ancestral Arabian cultural psychology**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Other causes**
 - **A sign of the collapse of the old order in the Middle East, based on client states and puppet regimes**
 - **A side effect of the failure of all attempts to build an Islamic state**
 - **International Jihad displacing old-style state-based Islamic ideology (Iran, Taliban)**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Other causes**
 - **Victories**
 - **Lebanon 1983 (USA withdrawal)**
 - **Afghanistan 1989 (Soviet defeat)**
 - **Somalia 1992 (USA withdrawal)**
 - **Kenya/Tanzania 1988 (USA embassies)**
 - **New York 2001 (first major attack on USA soil)**
 - **Spain 2004 (elections)**
 - **Palestine 2005 (Gaza withdrawal)**
 - **Iraq 2006 (civil war)**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Pre-Al Qaeda**
 - **Several countries in which Islamic terrorism already existed before it struck the USA (from the Philippines to India to Russia to several Islamic countries themselves)**
 - **PLO in Israel (1969)**
 - **Moro in the Philippines (1972)**
 - **Hezbollah in Lebanon (1982)**
 - **Abu Bakar Bashir's Jemaah Islamiyah in Malaysia/Indonesia (1983)**
 - **Maktab al-Khidamat in Afghanistan (1985)**
 - **Kashmiri separatists in India (1986)**
 - **Hamas in Israel (1987)**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Pre-Al Qaeda**
 - **Abu Musab Al Zarqawi in Jordan (1991)**
 - **Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines (1992)**
 - **Gama'a al-Islamiya in Egypt (1992)**
 - **Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda (1992)**
 - **Group Islamique Arme` in Algeria (1993)**
 - **Harakat al-Ansar in India (1993)**
 - **Chechnya in Russia (1999)**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Nature of terrorism/ primary**
 - **Liberation movement against the “occupier” (non-Islamic power)**
 - **Palestinians against Israel**
 - **Afghans against the Soviet Union**
 - **Al Qaeda against the USA**
 - **Chechnyan against Russia**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Nature of terrorism/ secondary**
 - **The terrorist organization is a puritan organization, inspired by Wahhabi principles**
 - **The goal is to reform the Islamic society**
 - **The target of the Islamic terrorist is not terror but the public opinion**
 - **Addressing a trans-national (and soon virtual) ummah**
 - **The importance of mass media**
 - **A war fought in the media**
 - **Al Jazeera “is” the enemy**
 - **The World-wide Web is going to be the next enemy**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Nature of terrorism/ tertiary**
 - **Muslims never blame Muslims**
 - **Infidels (Zionists, USA, Russians) are responsible for a terrorist attack (directly or indirectly)**
 - **Infinite loop: the more Muslims the terrorists kill the angrier the Muslims get against the “occupier”**
 - **The more damage the terrorists inflict on Islamic countries, the more confrontational those Muslims become against the non-Islamic powers**
 - **Instead of creating an alliance between Muslims and non-Muslims to fight terrorism, terrorism creates a wedge between Muslims (who refuse to admit who is doing the killing) and non-Muslims (for whom it is obvious who is doing the killing)** ⁸⁴

Islamic Terrorism

- **Evolution of terrorism: strategies for survival**
 - **Hamas and Hezbollah evolved into religious and political organization providing a safety net for the poor**
 - **Their social work legitimized them and made them part of the social fabric**
 - **Indestructible**

Islamic Terrorism

- **Western terrorists of the past**



Jefferson



Robespierre



Lenin



Mao

The State of the Islamic World

- **Islamic human development**
 - **Varies wildly**
 - **Turkey**
 - **Arab world**
 - **Iran**
 - **Indian subcontinent**
 - **Central Asia**

The Islamic World

- **Women**
 - **Central Asia (communist influence)**
 - **Turkey (women entitled to vote and veiling prohibited)**
 - **Indian subcontinent (Hindu-style rights, even female prime ministers and presidents)**
 - **Iran (highly educated)**
 - **Arab world (ancestral Arab concept of women as inferior beings)**
 - **Burka mandatory in Yemen**
 - **Women cannot drive in Saudi Arabia**
 - **Westernized women in Arab socialist countries (Syria, Iraq, Egypt)**

The Islamic World

- **Political system**
 - **Central Asia (communism or democracy)**
 - **Turkey (democracy)**
 - **Indian subcontinent (Indian style democracy)**
 - **Iran (Islamic republic)**
 - **Arab world (no democracy before 2003)**

The State of the Arab World



The Arab World

- **Arab Human Development Report 2002**
 - No major scientist or mathematician in the entire Islamic world (one billion people)
 - Only one Nobel prize in 100 years
 - One Arab in four is illiterate (the vast majority being women)
 - All the Arab countries together have a combined GDP that is half that of Spain alone (\$531.2 billion in 1999 versus Spain's \$595.5 billion)
 - Only 1% of Arabs own a computer

The Arab World

- **Arab Human Development Report 2002**
 - **Fewer foreign books translated in Arabic over the entire century than in one year in Spanish**
 - **Citizens of the Arab world have the least freedom of any region in the world**
 - **The Arab world has the highest percentage of religious believers (99.9%)**

The Arab World

- **UNESCO Science Report 2005**
 - **Arabs have the lowest knowledge of Science, History and Geography of any region of the world except central Africa**
 - **“In the Arab region the main sponsors and employers of technology are foreign multinationals”**
 - **Excluding Islamic studies, Arab universities produce fewer graduates per capita than any other region of the world**

The Arab World

- **OECD 2003**
 - **38% of Arabs are under 14**
 - **Excluding oil revenues, the Arab world has the slowest economic growth rate in the developing world**
 - **High level of corruption**
 - **Only region in the world with no democratic progress (before 2003)**

The Arab World

- **Average annual rate of growth of the 1990s (World Bank):**
 - **East Asia 7.4%**
 - **India: 5.2%**
 - **Latin America: 3%**
 - **Sub-Saharan Africa: 1%**
 - **Arab world: 0.7% (the “lost decade”)**

The Arab World

- **Population growth erases even that slim growth:**
 - **In 1975 real GDP per capita in the Arab world was 21.3% of the average OECD citizen**
 - **The per-capita income of the Middle East declined between 1980 and 1993, the worst performance of any region in the world.**
 - **By 1998 the real GDP per capita had fallen to 13.9% of the average OECD citizen.**

The Arab World

- **Why would anyone want to live there?**
 - **Low crime rate (safest countries in the world for males)**
 - **Relatively low consumption of drugs**
 - **Relatively low percentage of prostitutes**
 - **Strong families**
 - **Etc**

The Arab World

- **The Arab regression**
 - **Obliteration of pre-Islamic history**
 - **Mecca before Mohammed was a model of religious tolerance**
 - **Obliteration of early Islamic history**
 - **Mohammed killed**
 - **Mohammed prayed towards Jerusalem**
 - **Arabs invaded countries that had not attacked them**
 - **Muslims traded slaves**
 - **Obliteration of foreign culture**
 - **Obliteration of science**
 - **Emphasis on the Quran/Hadith in education**

The State of the Islamic World

- **What the Islamic world has in common**
 - **War**
 - Philippines
 - Indonesia (Aceh)
 - Afghanistan (Mujaheddin, Taliban)
 - Pakistan (Kashmir)
 - Palestine
 - Iraq (Iran, Kuwait, USA/UK)
 - Sudan (South, Darfur)
 - Algeria (Berbers)
 - Morocco (Sahrawis)
 - Turkey (Cyprus, Kurds)
 - Bosnia, Kosovo
 - Russia (Chechnya)
 - China (Turkestan)

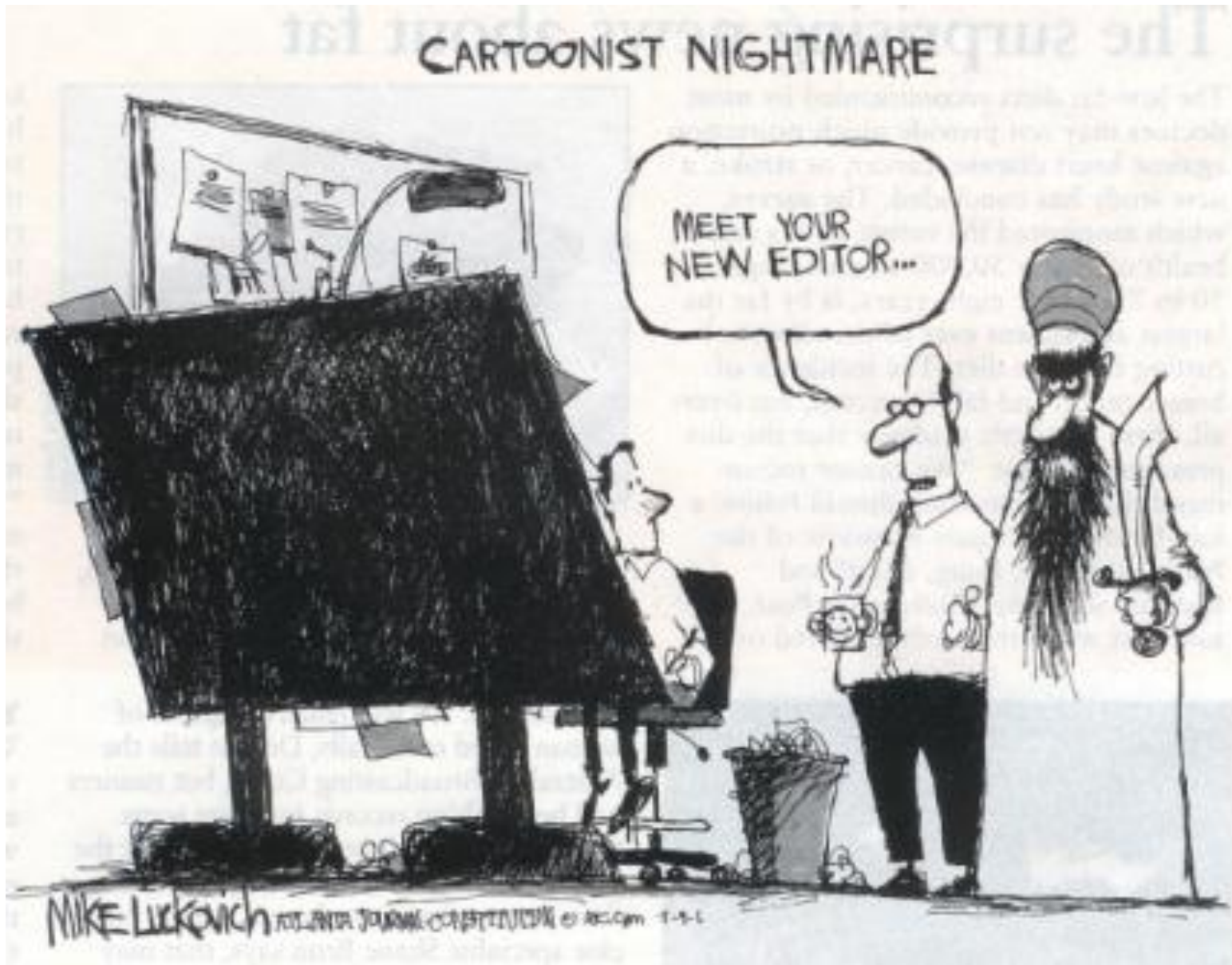
The Islamic World

- **What the Islamic world has in common**
 - **Religious cleansing**
 - **Widespread religious cleansing (Pakistan's hindu population declined from 24% to less than 1%, Jews in the Arab world declined from one million to less than 20,000, Afghanistan's Buddhist population has declined to 0%, only 20,000 Jews left in the entire Islamic world, etc)**

The Islamic World

- **What the Islamic world has in common**
 - **Religious cleansing**
 - **Arab universities have virtually no course for non-Islamic religious studies (British universities alone offer 426 degrees in non-Christian religious studies)**
 - **Persecution of Muslims who criticize Islam**
 - **Public expressions of non-Muslim religion in Saudi Arabia are banned**
 - **In Saudi Arabia churches and any other places of non-Muslim worship are banned, and foreign workers who try to hold secret non-Muslim services are jailed and flogged**
 - **Both the homelands of Christianity and Hinduism are under Muslim occupation**

The Islamic World



The Islamic World

- **What the Islamic world has in common**
 - **Islamic Conference 2005: The Islamic world is perfect**



The Rise of the Quran

- **Rise of the Quran**
 - **Collapse of the historical cradles of Islamic civilization (Ottomans, Persia, Egypt)**
 - **Envy and humiliation**
 - **Islamic way of life vs Christian way of life**
 - **Rise of Arab, Pakistani, Persian, etc nationalism (Nasser, Bella, Arafat, Khomeini)**
 - **Rise of the Arabian kingdoms (independent, oil)**
 - **Saudi Arabia pushed to the top tier of Islamic states for the first time since Mohammed**
 - **Rise of the Wahabi sect**
 - **Rise of the literal interpretation of the Quran**

The Rise of the Quran

- **Rise of the Quran**
 - **Instead of the advanced societies of Turkey and Iran influencing the backward society of Saudi Arabia, the opposite started happening**
 - **Failure of Arab socialism**
 - **Success of Iran's Islamic republic (1979)**
 - **Islam as the alternative to Western civilization**
 - **Islam as an alternative to (secular/socialist) Arab nationalism**

The Rise of the Quran

- **Rise of the Quran**
 - **Massive exodus of non-Muslims**
 - **Mass emigration of progressive Muslims**
 - **Islamic societies become more and more isolated**

The Rise of the Quran

- **Rise of the Quran/ Consequences**
 - **The rest of the world has moved towards increasing emancipation from religion**
 - **USA (1776) and French (1789) revolutions**
"demoted" the status of religion (separation of state and church)
 - **Russia (1917) and China (1911) via communism**
 - **India (1948) via Gandhi**
 - **West, Far East and India via capitalism**
 - **The Islamic world has moved in the opposite direction, towards stronger religious dominance**
 - **The Islamic world never had the equivalent of the USA/French/Russian/Chinese revolutions (except Turkey)**

The Rise of the Quran

- **Consequences**
 - The rest of the world has undergone a period of rapid development (society, science, arts, technology)
 - The Islamic world has undergone a period of stagnation
 - The rest of the world has embraced a different set of values
 - For the first time in history, the powers are not at war
 - Quranic groups are at war with everybody (USA, Russia, China, India, Europe, Far East)

The Rise of the Quran

- **New cultural psychology**
 - The Quran should be obeyed even by non-Muslims in Islamic lands
 - The Quran should be obeyed even in non-Islamic lands
 - Ignorance about and contempt towards other religions
 - Quran unknown to most Muslims (most Muslims do not read Arabic)



The Rise of the Quran

- The Quran was never so important for a Muslim

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The Financial Revolution

- **Islamic World in the 20th Century**
 - **Revolutions in the Islamic world**
 - **Turkey 1923 (anti-Islamic)**
 - **Iran 1979 (Islamic)**
 - **No revolutions in the Arab world**

The Financial Revolution

- **Islamic World in the 20th Century**
 - **No revolutions in the Arab world**
 - **Arab "revolutions" merely coups by brutal dictators**
 - **Drifting of the Arab world towards barbaric regimes**
 - **Secular dictators (Nasser, Qaddafi, Saddam Hussein, Hafez Assad...)**
 - **Medieval kings (Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia...)**
 - **1991 (end of Cold War) and 2001 (terrorist attacks on USA) bring USA influence to reverse the tide and bring democratic reforms**

The Financial Revolution

- **Islamic World in the 20th Century**
 - **Dubai 2004 (financial revolution)**
 - **First real revolution in the Arab world**



- **Dubai**



The Financial Revolution

- **Modern Arab eras**
 - **Independence struggle (1922-62)**
 - **Israeli wars (1948-73)**
 - **Oil wealth (1973-)**
 - **Financial empire (2004-)**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 1: Clash of civilizations as a worldwide trend**
 - **Clash due to two conflicting sets of values (Bernard Lewis 1957, Samuel Huntington 1996)**
 - **False: China, India, Russia, Latin America, Black Africa are evolving towards a common set of values (e.g., the Chinese have never been so similar to Europeans in their entire history)**
 - **To some extent, Europe, China, India, Russia and Black Africa have the same “clash of civilization” against Islam**
 - **The "clash of civilizations" mainly applies to Islam vs the rest of the world**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 2: The Islamic civil war**
 - **"There is indeed a war of civilization going on, but it is taking place inside Muslim society" (William Pfaff 2004). The West is "a detonator of explosions" which are actually meant for the Islamic world itself.**
 - **"Civilizations do not clash, they compete" (Wafa Sultan)**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 2: The Islamic civil war**
 - **A side-effect of European colonialism: Europe imported Islam**
 - **Between 1989 and 1998 the Muslim population throughout Europe grew 100% (to about 14m)**
 - **Creation of the mosque culture**
 - **Consequences of the European Ummah:**
 - **not that Europe is becoming Islamic**
 - **but that Muslims are becoming European**
 - **The Islamic diaspora**
 - **New generations of Muslims who only speak European languages and accept European customs**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 2: The Islamic civil war**
 - **Choice vs interpretation**
 - **The Western lifestyle is about choice (e.g., one can choose to be a Buddhist or a Christian)**
 - **The Islamic lifestyle is about interpretation: the only choice is Islam, and the Quran is always right, thus the only issue is what is the correct interpretation of the Quran (e.g., condition of women)**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 2: The Islamic civil war**
 - **Principle of indeterminacy**
 - The Quran can be interpreted any way one desires to, regardless of what it actually contains
 - E.g., “The Quran promotes same rights for women, opposes slavery, fosters peace and protects other religions from persecution” when in fact it states (is so many words) just the opposite
 - No other religious book has ever been interpreted in such arbitrary manner
 - A virtually infinite spectrum of what Islam implies
 - As long as one recognizes that there is only one god, and that Mohammed is his prophet, one can do virtually anything, from terrorism to feminism¹²¹

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 2: Islamic civil war**
 - **Progressive Muslims are more interested in building a prosperous, free and peaceful society than in what a prophet said (it can always be twisted)**
 - **Conservative Muslims are more interested in twisting the prophet's words to promote Islamic nationalism**
 - **The USA is calling the bluff on progressive Muslims: USA colonization as the no-brainer solution to all your problems**
 - **The Jihadists are calling the bluff on conservative Muslims: the international jihad as the no-brainer solution to all your problems**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 2: Islamic civil war**
 - **The Islamic masses feel trapped between two equally undesirable scenarios, USA colonization and international jihad, and cannot produce a third alternative: the popular uprising (Gilles Kepel)**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 3: The trauma of de-colonization**
 - **All former colonies went through similar turmoil**
 - **Affirmation of national identity**
 - **Economic crisis**
 - **Adoption of USA model**
 - **Every part of the world that postponed USA-style reforms has fallen behind, to an extent proportional to the extent that reforms have been postponed**
 - **Nasser and Khomeini (just like others) postponed the adoption of USA-style reforms**
 - **Communism was overthrown,, but nobody has overthrown Nasser and Khomeini (except Turkey, Dubai, Malaysia)**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 4: the wake of Iran's revolution:**
 - **First major popular uprising in Islamic history**
 - **First major victory (after Algeria) of an Islamic movement over the non-Islamic powers**
 - **Demonstration of both edges of the religious sword:**
 - **Inspiration for the jihadists to stage further uprising against the West**
 - **Disappointment for the progressists whose revolution was hijacked (the first major uprising and the first major victory resulted in an undesirable state)**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 5: the Jihadists are the future**
 - **Jihadists as the new “barbarians” who take advantage of the rivalry between the old powers (USA and Soviet Union) to defeat both and start a new civilization**
 - **The Arabs were the barbarians that successfully exploited the weakness of the Byzantines and Sassanids after many centuries of war (or like the USA that exploited the continuous warfare between Britain and Germany)**
 - **Jihadists as the founders of the future empire of the planet**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 5: the Jihadists are the future**
 - **Christians were the terrorists of Tacitus (Annals 15-44): “enemy of (Roman) civilization, wild beasts of hatred”**

Clash of Civilizations

- **Scenario 6: The rise of the Quran**

Islamic Reformism

- **Western Reformism**



Jefferson



Robespierre



Lenin



Mao

Islamic Reformism

- **Characters of religious reformism**
 - **Autonomy of the individual in interpreting the religious scriptures**
 - **Critical examination of the religious dogmas (including authenticity of the scriptures)**
 - **Recognition of religious relativism (one's religious beliefs depend on the birthplace, not on absolute truth)**
 - **Sense of humour!**
 - **Political activism**
 - **Separation of church and state**
 - **Human rights**
 - **Gender equality**

Islamic Reformism

- **Islamic Reformism**
 - **Amina Wadud : Quran and Woman**
 - **Omid Safi: Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism**
 - **Farid Esack: Quran, Liberation and Pluralism**
 - **Fazlur Rahman: Revival and Reform in Islam**
 - **Mohammed Arkoun: The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought**
 - **Anouar Majid: Unveiling Traditions - Postcolonial Islam in a Polycentric World**
 - **Pervez Hoodbhoy: Islam and Science - Religious Orthodoxy and the Battle for Rationality**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- The holy connection: Islamic renewal and the worldwide spiritual revival

XXII World Religions Conference



Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Jihadism**
 - Ethical, not political, movement
 - No coherent political program
 - Suicide bombing (martyrdom) is an end in itself
 - Similarity with environmentalism: ethical call, but no coherent political program
 - Similarity with anti-globalization movement: demonstrations are an end in itself

Genoa 2002



Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- Jihadism
 - Indifference towards social issues (unlike Islamist movements of the 1940s-80s)
 - Politics as a means to embed moral values in the law (abortion, euthanasia, gay marriage, shari'a)
 - Similarity with Christian fundamentalists of the USA



Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Jihadism**
 - New forms of spirituality are becoming increasingly detached from traditional cultures and societies and tend to create new, global, purely religious communities
 - The us ("we know the truth") vs them ("they don't want to see the light") paradigm
 - Similarity with the new-age movement of the West Coast



Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- Jihadism
 - Religious hate against the USA is widespread...
 - ... even in the USA



Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Jihadism**
 - **The second slowest developing region in the world after the Islamic region is Latin America, which happens to be the most Catholic region in the world, with the second highest % of believers in God after the Islamic region**



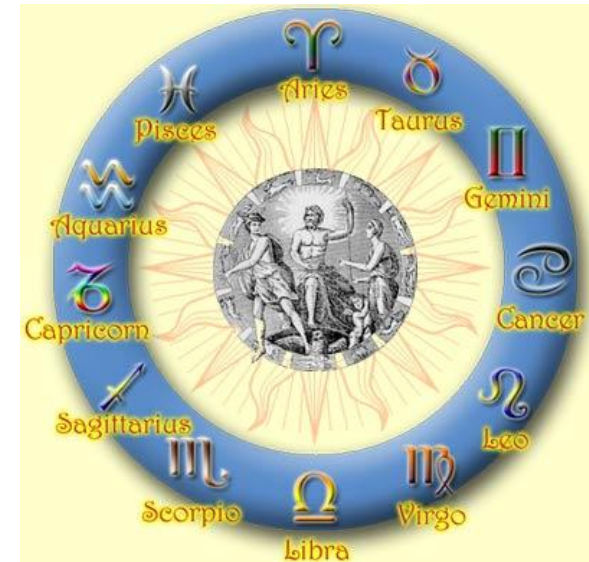
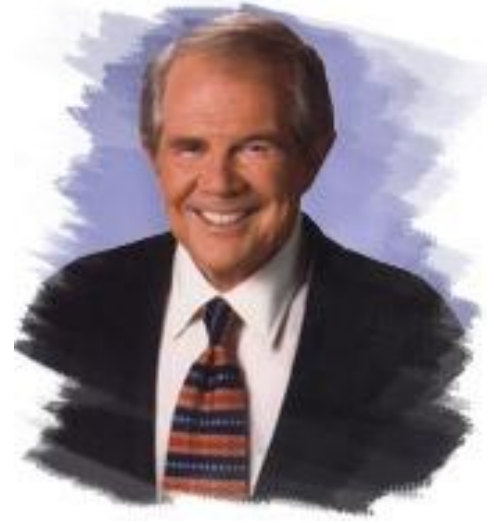
Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Jihadism**
 - **The 2004 elections in the USA were largely decided by the Christian churches**
 - **The 2005 elections in Iraq were largely decided by ayatollah Al Sistani**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **The Islamic world may be more integrated with trends of the Western world than the Western world (or the Islamic world) would like to admit**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival



Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Western and Islamic trends**
 - **Hippies (to change the world)**
 - **to 1968 student riots (Marxist-Leninist program)**
 - **to 1970s terrorism (Trotzkyist permanent revolution)**
 - **to international terrorism (the internationale recast as a universal struggle against imperialism)**
 - **to Palestinian terrorism (zionism = imperialism)**
 - **to Al Qaeda**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Western and Islamic trends**
 - **Vietnam (containment of the Soviet Union)**
 - **to regional wars (Africa, Latin America)**
 - **to Western state support for terrorist groups (Renamo, Contras)**
 - **to Arabian state support for Arab terrorists**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Western and Islamic trends**
 - French revolution
 - to terror (Robespierre)
 - to exporting "irredentist" movements
 - to national identities
 - Iranian revolution
 - to terror (Khomeini)
 - to exporting Islamist movements
 - to Islamic identity

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **Western and Islamic trends**
 - **Nazist propaganda (anti-British rhetoric):
Germany is the victim of British imperialism**
 - **to Soviet propaganda (anti-Western rhetoric):
the proletariat is the victim of capitalist imperialism**
 - **to Al Jazeera (anti-everybody rhetoric): the
Islamic world is guilty of nothing, the rest of
the world is guilty of everything**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **History repeats itself?**
 - **Christian demand for spices caused the Islamic world to get wealthy, and the Islamic world used that wealth to wage war against the Christian world and attack its moral capital, Constantinople (Istanbul)**
 - **Christian demand for oil caused the Muslims to get wealthy, and the Islamic world is again using that wealth to wage war against the Christian world (even attacking its moral capital, New York)**

Jihad and the Spiritual Revival

- **A paradox of "civilization": it took centuries to evolve a generation of people who are engaging in self-immolation at a rate perhaps never witnessed before.**

Democratic Islam

- **Arab regimes tolerate**
 - **Islamic social movements (Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, Hezbollah) that theoretically are antidemocratic but indirectly promote democratic values at the lowest levels of society**
 - **Western NGOs that explicitly promote democratic values at the highest levels of society (a small but very effective percentage of the money invested by the West to change the Middle East)**
 - **Satellite television that changes public attitudes towards taboo subjects at all levels of society**
 - **Social networking on the Internet that enables self-reflection on the nature of discontent, defines the political values and creates a much broader public sphere**

Democratic Islam

- **Arab regimes tolerate**
 - **Islamic social movements and independent media erode old regime's legitimacy**
 - **Western NGOs and Internet-based social networking “train” democratic movements**

Democratic Islam

- **Catalyst**
 - **Demographics: more than 50% of people in Islamic countries is under 35**

Democratic Islam

- **Prodromes of the revolution**
 - **September 2003: Fall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq**
 - **Color revolutions in the former Soviet block**
 - **February 2005: Pro-democracy movement in Lebanon following Rafik Hariri's assassination**
 - **August 2008: Lawyers force Musharraf to resign in Pakistan**
 - **June 2009: Mass protests in Iran against the Islamic regime**
 - **Emergence of Turkey (an Islamic democracy) as a regional power whose economy is growing faster than the West**
 - **Al Jazeera**
 - **Satirical cartoonists**

Democratic Islam

- **The Arab Spring**
 - **December 2010: Mass protests in Tunisia against the dictator (deposed)**
 - **January 2011: Mass protests in Egypt against the dictator (deposed)**
 - **January 2011: Protests in Yemen, Algeria and Sudan**
 - **March 2011: Protests in Syria and Bahrein**
 - **August 2011: Fall of Qaddafi in Libya**

Democratic Islam

- **The revolution is**
 - **Young (mostly students, who don't identify with the old image of the Arab person)**
 - **Digital (smartphones and Internet)**
 - **Secular (rule of law, representation, dignity)**
 - **Peaceful (Gandhi, not Osama)**
 - **Domestic (targeting corruption, injustice and unemployment, not colonialism or capitalism)**

Democratic Islam

- **The Arab Spring**
 - **Monarchies are more in touch with ordinary people than republican tyrants**
 - **Republican regimes overthrown while monarchs thrive (Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, emirates) despite predictions that the anachronistic monarchies would fall soon**

Democratic Islam

- **The Arab Spring**
 - **Weak states**
 - **Intra-Islamic sectarian strife: Sunnis, Shiites, Kurds, Alawites, ...**
 - **Non-state actors: Palestinian factions, Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Shiite militias in Iraq, rebel factions in Syria,...**
 - **French intervention to stop contagion to Sub-Saharan Africa (Mali, Niger)**

Democratic Islam

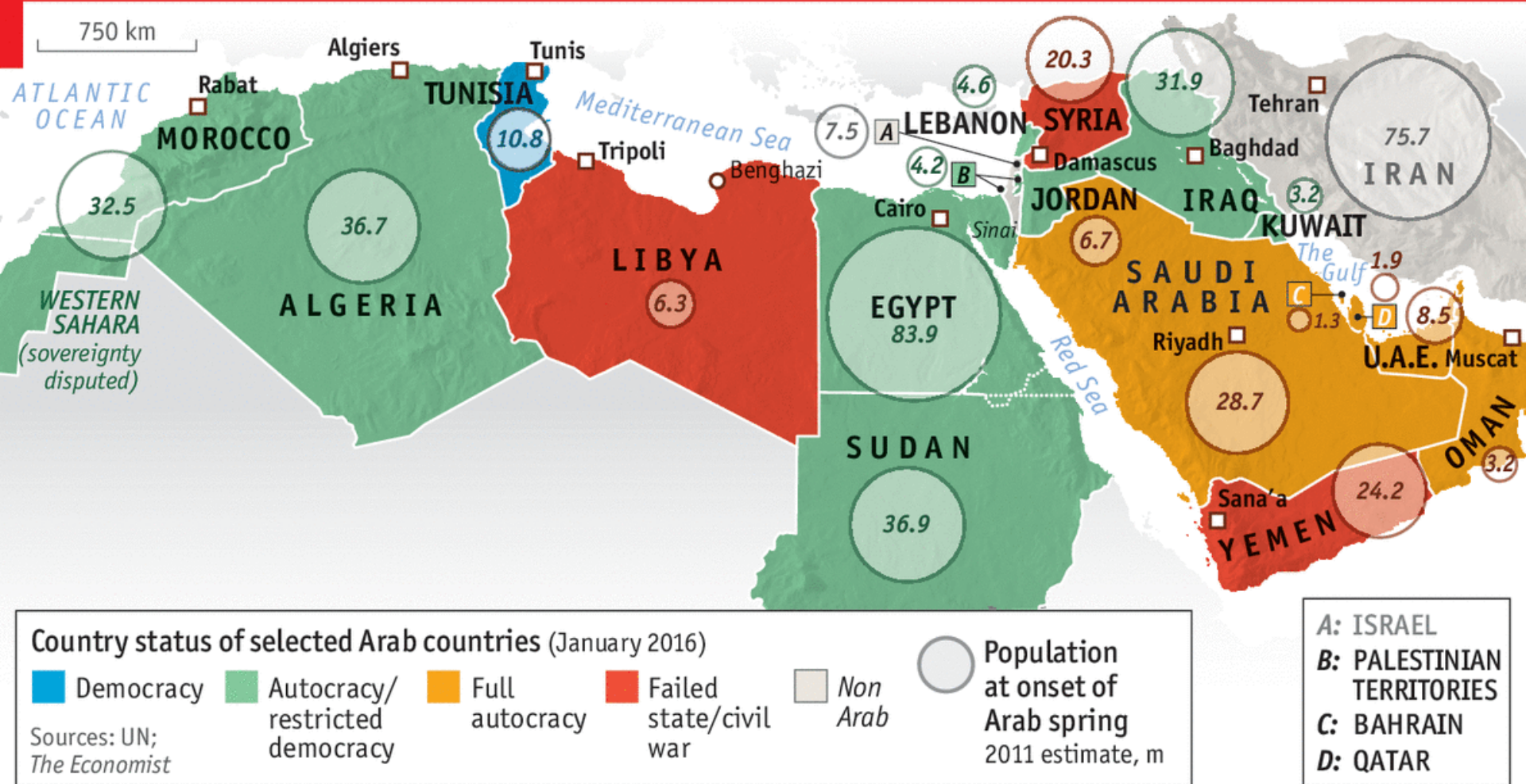
- **Sunni Islam does not have a theocratic hierarchy (no charismatic religious leader like in Shiite Islam or in Catholic Christianity)**
- **Sunni Islam is inherently “democratic”**
- **Evolution of “hurriya”**
 - **Freedom to worship Allah**
 - **20th century: Freedom from European colonialism**
 - **21st century: Democracy**

Democratic Islam

- **Consequences**
 - **Redistribution of power among ethnic/religious groups (Sunni/Shiite/minorities, tribes) and regional powers (Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia)**
 - **Isolation of Israel**
 - **Resurgence of the old imperial powers: Turkey and Iran**

Democratic Islam

- Failure of the Arab Spring



Cultural Psychology



Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **The tribal structure**
 - **Sandra Mackey: “Arab society is tribal... The Arabs came to nationhood late, and they came with their tribalism intact. And it is as tribes that they largely manage their countries”**
 - **David Pryce-Jones: “The Arab order in its post-1945 independence has been reverting to basic tribal and kinship structures... as they were in precolonial days”**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **The tribal structure**
 - **Marriages with close relatives (e.g., cousins) is traditionally encouraged**
 - **Endogamy builds intense family loyalties at the expense of societal integration**
 - **Gary Gregg: Endogamy builds patriarchal but matrifocal families**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **The honor-shame code**
 - **Sandra Mackey and David Pryce-Jones: the honor code provides society's predominant ethical system and psychological orientation.**
 - **Raphael Patai: the Arab psyche is governed by fear of public censure (shame) rather than fear of breaking the rules (guilt)**
 - **In Japan the honor-shame system did not hinder technological progress. In the Arab world it did**
 - **The geographic distribution of the honor-shame code does not coincide with the one of Islam**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **The Republic of Cousins**
 - **Jane Schneider: The struggle for scarce resources creates competition among men of the group, but the sacrality of women cements men's loyalty to the group**
 - **Germaine Tillion: The Republic of Cousins of the Neolithic glorifies virile brutality and feminine virtue; the industrial revolution brings about a Republic of Citizens in the cities, which urban immigration spreads to the countryside too**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **The Republic of Cousins**
 - **There was no industrial revolution in the Arab lands, therefore no Republic of Citizens, and urban immigration spreads the Republic of Cousins to the cities too (instead of the Republic of Citizens to the countryside)**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **Patron-client system**
 - **Fuad Khuri: Arab societies resemble a Bedouin encampment of many tents scattered around the landscape (the “society of tents”), as opposed to Western/ Chinese hierarchies**
 - **Arab societies are therefore more “egalitarian”**
 - **But equality offers more pretexts for competition than a hierarchy**
 - **“There are no pyramids and therefore no standardized rules of succession”**
 - **“Power rests in the control of solidarities”**
 - **Rise of patron-clientage networks**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **The state**
 - **Culture of terror (Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Egypt, Algeria, Afghanistan)**
 - **The state manages the public sector as a vast patronage system**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **Sling culture**
 - **John Whiting: communication between mother and child**
 - **Sling culture: sling maximizes bodily contact and thus nonverbal kinesthetic communication, minimizes symbiosis with father**
 - **Cradle culture: cradle introduces physical separation but enables facial communication, maximizes symbiosis with father**
 - **Sling culture: dependence on mother**
 - **Cradle culture: independence and self-reliance**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **Children's education**
 - **Education of children (practical, not verbal) is tailored towards an apprentice role**
 - **Children grow up in a vast patronage system and in a culture of fear**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **Gary Gregg: the agro-pastoral-urban mix**
 - **Fusion of Nomadism, Settled agriculture and Urban commerce**
 - **Fusion of honor code and Islam**

Cultural Psychology

- **Middle Eastern and North African societies**
 - **Collision and fusion of the psychologies of**
 - **Tyranny/fear**
 - **Underdevelopment**
 - **Modernization (whether European, USA or Marxist)**
 - **Traditional honor code**
 - **Islam**

Cultural Psychology

- **Religion**
 - A religion is never the same over the centuries
 - At any point in time a religion is a set of memes
 - Terrorists "hijack a religion" because a religion is designed to be hijacked

Cultural Psychology

- **Religion**
 - Religions are metaphors
 - They were written as metaphors and they were understood as metaphors
 - After the rational/scientific revolution, the world lives in the age of the literal
 - Religions are understood as literal
 - Therefore rational Westerners repudiate the Bible, which is difficult to believe literally
 - Muslims live in the same age of the literal but most of them have not lived through the rational (scientific) revolution

Cultural Psychology

- **Religion**
 - Religion can always be interpreted in many different ways
 - The individual prevails over the religion
 - It is the individual who decides what the religion means
 - A peaceful man will look for a peaceful interpretation of his religion
 - A violent man will look for a violent interpretation of his religion

Cultural Psychology

- **The holistic meme**
 - **One can't judge isolated episodes of Islam, but only the whole, and the whole has only positive attributes**
 - **E.g., Mohammed killed (improper to stop here)**
 - **E.g., Islam is the first religion to build an empire (improper to stop here)**
 - **E.g., condition of women, slavery, etc**
 - **E.g., Islamic terrorism**
 - **In each case one has to look at the broader picture, not judge the episode in itself**

Cultural Psychology

- **The eternal meme**
 - **Once Islamic, forever Islamic (e.g., Israel is the homeland of the Palestinians not of the Jews, Turkey is the homeland of the Turks not of the Greeks, etc)**
 - **History begins with Mohammed**

Cultural Psychology

- **The “Islam is peace” meme**
 - **”The world has a misconception of Islam”**
 - **Fact: there are more classes on non-Christian religions in one British university than classes on non-Islamic religion in the entire Islamic world**
 - **Fact: religious books of other religions are virtually impossible to find in most Islamic countries**
 - **It is the Islamic world that has a misconception about the other religions**

Cultural Psychology

- **The “Muslims are good Infidels are bad” meme**
 - **Aberrations of the non-Islamic world are norms (e.g. torture at Abu Gabhri)**
 - **Norms of the Islamic world are aberrations (e.g., widespread torture, media censorship)**
 - **Muslims are always right**
 - **The concept of "invasion" depends on the religion of the invader (Osama bin Laden and his Arab brigade were not perceived as "invading" Afghanistan, Zarqawi is not perceived as invading Iraq)**

Cultural Psychology

- The insurgent meme
 - Opposing the infidel is always right
 - **“Most Muslims recognize the Iraqi insurgents, not the democratically elected Iraqi government, as the sole legitimate representatives of the Iraqi people” (AlJazeera.net, 2005)**

Cultural Psychology

- **The (Muslim) superiority meme**
 - **What offends Islam should be forbidden not only in Islamic lands but all over the world**
 - **What offends the rest of the world is ok**

Cultural Psychology

- **The (Western) inferiority meme**
 - **Western democracy is the enemy of Arab nationalism**
 - **Humanitarian aid unwelcome (If Allah wants Muslims to starve to death, who is the non-Muslim to interfere?)**



Cultural Psychology

- **The apocalyptic meme**
 - **The very same Muslim who condemns the September 11 attack says: "If the USA (or the West or India or whatever), does not change its attitude, this will happen again"**
 - **The terrorist (himself a bad man) was sent by Allah to punish you for your sins**
 - **If a Muslim harms an infidel, ultimately, it is because the infidel deserved it**

Cultural Psychology

- The humiliation meme



**Muslim
Extremist**



**Christian
Freedom Fighter**

Cultural Psychology

- **The martyrdom meme**
 - **A Christian meme: martyrdom as the highest privilege of the “witness” (in Greek and Arabic “witness” and “martyr” are the same word)**
 - **Mohammed was not a martyr**
 - **Shiites: Karbala**

Cultural Psychology

- The truth meme
 - The difference between fact, opinion and lie is blurred
 - A bigger lie makes a stronger argument
 - Hollywood movies are accepted as fact
 - News reports are considered the product of USA/Zionist conspiracies

"The size of the lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed"
(Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf")



Cultural Psychology

- **The conspiracy meme**
 - **Muslims are always innocent**
 - **If they are accused of terrible crimes, that is a conspiracy by Israel or the USA**
 - **All Muslims should be released from all jails**
 - **If Muslims released from jails are found to be plotting again, that is either totally justified or it is false (again a conspiracy by Israel or the USA)**

Cultural Psychology

- **The tribal meme**
 - **If one Italian offends one Arab, than it is ok for all Arabs to kill all Italians (eg, Palestinian suicide bombers, Danish cartoons)**



Cultural Psychology

- **The “religious war” meme**
 - **Muslims invented "religious war" and their culture is very much oriented towards interpreting everything as a religious war**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Zionist meme**
 - **Israel is the cause of all evil**
 - **It was not Arafat who stole money, it was Israel that starved the Palestinians**
 - **It is not devout Muslims who are killing each other in Iraq, it is the USA**
 - **It is not the Arab governments that failed to provide for their people**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Jewish meme**
 - **When the Jewish state declines, Jews become more religious**
 - **Political defeat leads to religious revival**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Great Leader meme**
 - **A great leader is a leader who fights wars (whether he wins them or not, e.g. Nasser)**
 - **A leader who makes peace (e.g., Sadat) is not a great leader: he is a traitor**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Interference meme**
 - **The Islamic world (both leaders and masses) tend to be reactive rather than proactive: little initiative, but strong reactions to the initiatives of other nations**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Quranic meme**
 - **The morality of a Muslim (whether moderate or fundamentalist) rests on the Quran**
 - **The rest of the world can win the hearts and minds of Muslims only by appealing to the Quran (#1 reason why suicide bombers are bad: suicide is forbidden in the Quran; #2 reason is that the victims are often Muslims; #3 is that the correct interpretation of “jihad” is peaceful)**
 - **In a sense, we all have to become Muslims, and then hope that our (moderate, peaceful) interpretation of Islam will prevail over the interpretation of the extremists**

Cultural Psychology

- **The mother of all Quranic memes: the Muslim double standard**
 - **Embedded in the memes of Islam is the confrontation with the infidel and the solidarity with fellow Muslims no matter who has done what**
 - **Muslims are always the victims, never the culprits**
 - **Muslims are entitled to the very privileges that are criminal if non-Muslims enjoy them**
 - **Ditto for the past (e.g., Arab expansion vs Crusades, Arab invasion of the Western world vs the "occupied territories")**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Muslim double standard**
 - **Muslims are occupying the homelands of at least four major religions**
 - **Judaism (e.g., Jericho in Palestine)**
 - **Christianity (from Bethlehem in Palestine to Antioch and Syria to Byzantium/Istanbul)**
 - **Zoroastrianism (Iran)**
 - **Hinduism (Indus Valley in Pakistan)**
 - **How would Muslims feel if non-Muslims occupied Mecca and Medina?**

Cultural Psychology

- **The Muslim double standard**
 - **Islam is welcome in the capitals of other religions (eg, Rome), where mosques have been built.**
 - **No religion is tolerated in Saudi Arabia other than Islam. No cathedrals or Buddhist temples are allowed, despite the huge foreign population.**
 - **Converting out of a religion to Islam is not only ok but inevitable. Converting out of Islam to another religion is punished by death.**

Cultural Psychology

- **The denial meme**
 - **If Mohammed killed, how many of the one billion Muslims are willing to call him a killer?**
 - **If Islam was at war from the moment it was born, how many Muslims are willing to call Islam an ideology of war?**
 - **If the political establishment massacred Mohammed's family, who are Sunnis obeying, the Prophet or his enemies?**
 - **If Mohammed fell into the three temptations of Satan (that Jesus resisted), who sent Mohammed: God or Satan?**

Cultural Psychology

- **The denial meme**
 - **Muslims never traded slaves**
 - **Muslims never attacked non-Muslim countries**
 - **Mohammed was a man of peace**
 - **Islam means peace**

Cultural Psychology

- **The USA meme**
 - **What the USA does is not terribly relevant**
 - **The USA is guilty whether it does X or the opposite of X.**
 - **Changing that the USA does will not change the Arab opinion of the USA**
 - **What has to change is the Arab mind, so that they can understand and appreciate the difference between X and the opposite of X.**

Cultural Psychology

- **Love/hate relationship for the USA**
 - **"How can such a great country like the USA have such a stupid president?" (Saddam Hussein's representative at the United Nations, Aldouri)**
 - **"First, I thank the United States that they have given us this weapon of democracy." (Hamas spokesman Farhat Asaad)**

Cultural Psychology

- **The body meme**
 - **"Palestinians only have their bodies to use as weapons" (an Al Jazeera commentator justifying suicide bombers)**
 - **"Jews only had their minds to use as weapons" (A Jewish friend explaining why so many Jews became scientists, artists, philosophers and writers)**