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Agenda for Course

1. What is the Middle East?
Who are the Arabs?
What is the source and role of ideology?
2. Competing Promises and Inter-War Problems
3. World War II and the State of Israel
- 4. Islamism**
5. America in the Middle East and Resolutions
6. The Management of Savagery and Conclusion

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Twenty Five + 1

<p>Competing Promises</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hussein-McMahon Correspondence Sykes-Picot Agreement Balfour Declaration <p>Inter-war Problems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dissolution of the Caliphate Increased Jewish Immigration Establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood Arab Uprisings and the 1939 White Paper <p>“Solutions”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Final Solution The State Solution <p>The State of Israel and State Responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948 War and al-Nakba Twin Pillars Policy 1967 War 1973 War and the Camp David Accords 	<p>Islamism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1979 Iranian Revolution Birth of Hezbollah Globalized Jihad and the birth of al-Qaeda Birth of Hamas Intifadas <p>America in the Middle East</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operation Desert Storm Al-Qaeda’s Declaration of War and GWOT <p>Resolutions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2006 Lebanon War Mowing the Grass Arab Spring The Abraham Accords ISIS and the Islamic Revolution <p>An Appropriate Theory for War</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Management of Savagery</i>
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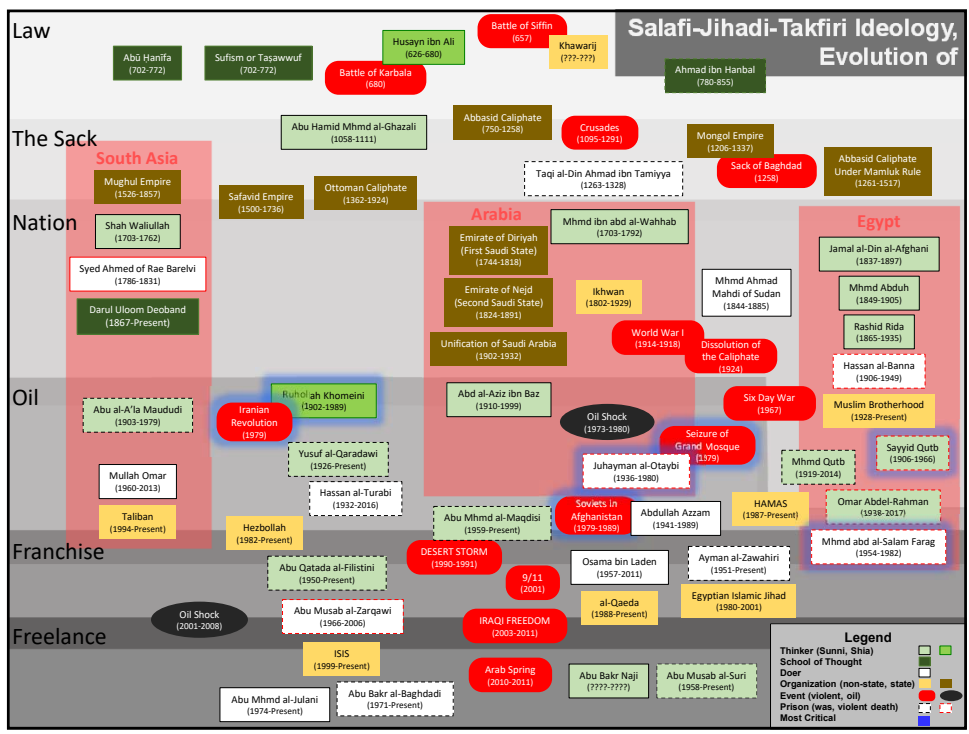
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Agenda for Today

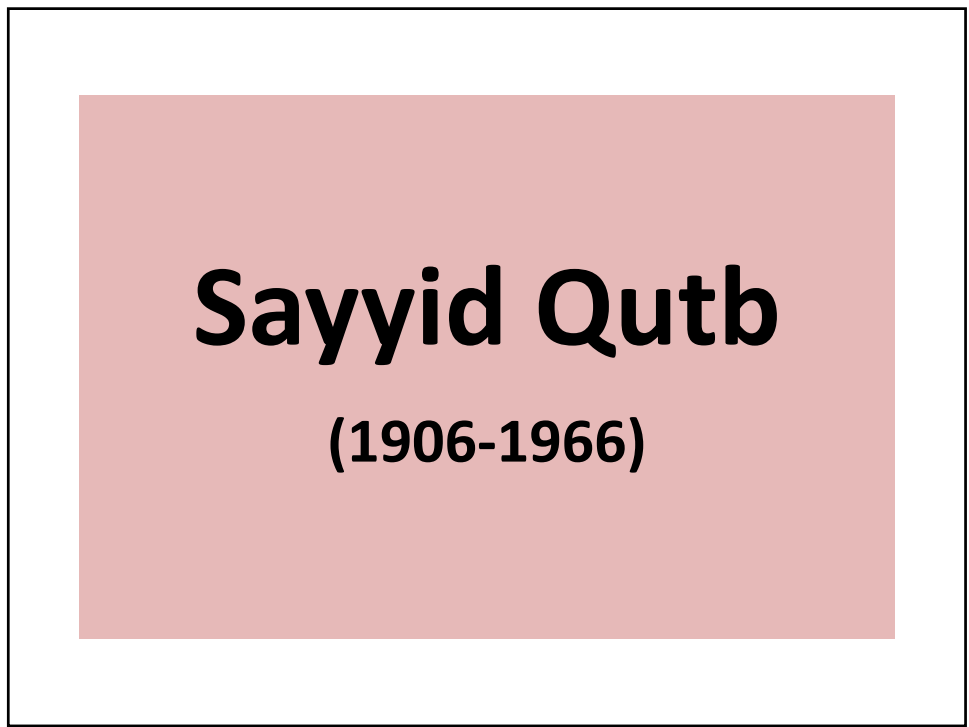
- Sayyid Qutb
- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)
- 1979
 - Islamic Revolution in Iran
 - Egyptian-Israeli Peace Deal
 - Soviet-Afghanistan Incursion
- Abdullah Azzam
- Osama bin Laden
- Hezbollah
- Intifada
- Hamas

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Sayyid Qutb

(1906-1966)



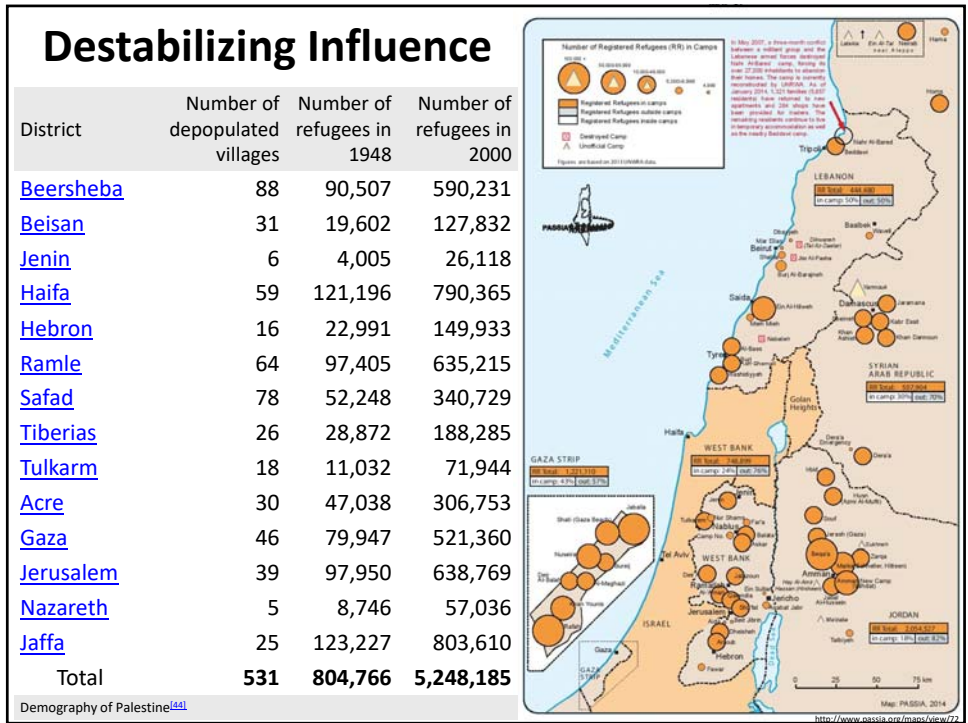
Major Contributions in Thinking

- Islam is in a state of ignorance similar to that experienced in the days before Mohamed
- The solutions for the problems in the Muslim world are contained in Islam
- The best qualified to rule are the best instructed in Islam
- Democracy is *shirk*
- Violence can and should be used to restore true Islam
- Rulers not following sharia are infidel and must be removed by violence, if necessary

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Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

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Palestinian Organizations

Present members include:

- **Fatah** – Largest faction, **secular**, left-wing nationalist.
- The **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** – Second largest, radical left militant and **communist**
- The **Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)** – Third largest, **communist**
- The **Palestinian People's Party (PPP)** – **Ex-communist, Social Democratic**, non-militant
- The **Palestine Liberation Front (PLF, Abu Abbas faction)** – Minor left-wing faction
- The **Arab Liberation Front (ALF)** – Minor faction, aligned to the **Iraqi Ba'ath Party**
- **As-Sa'iqa** – Syrian-controlled **Ba'athist** faction
- The **Palestine Democratic Union (Fida)** – Minor **democratic socialist**, 2 state solution, non militant faction
- The **Palestinian Popular Struggle Front (PPSF, Samir Ghawsha faction)** – minor **socialist** faction
- The **Palestinian Arab Front (PAF)** – minor pro-Fatah, former Iraqi **Ba'athists** faction

Former member groups of the PLO include:

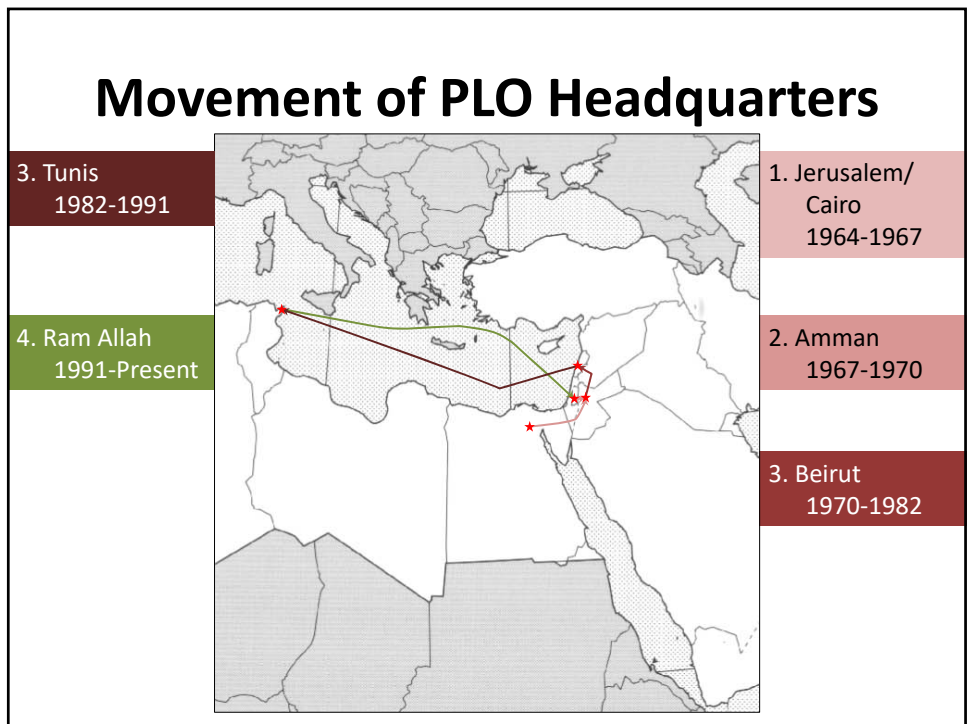
- The **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC)**

Not a Member

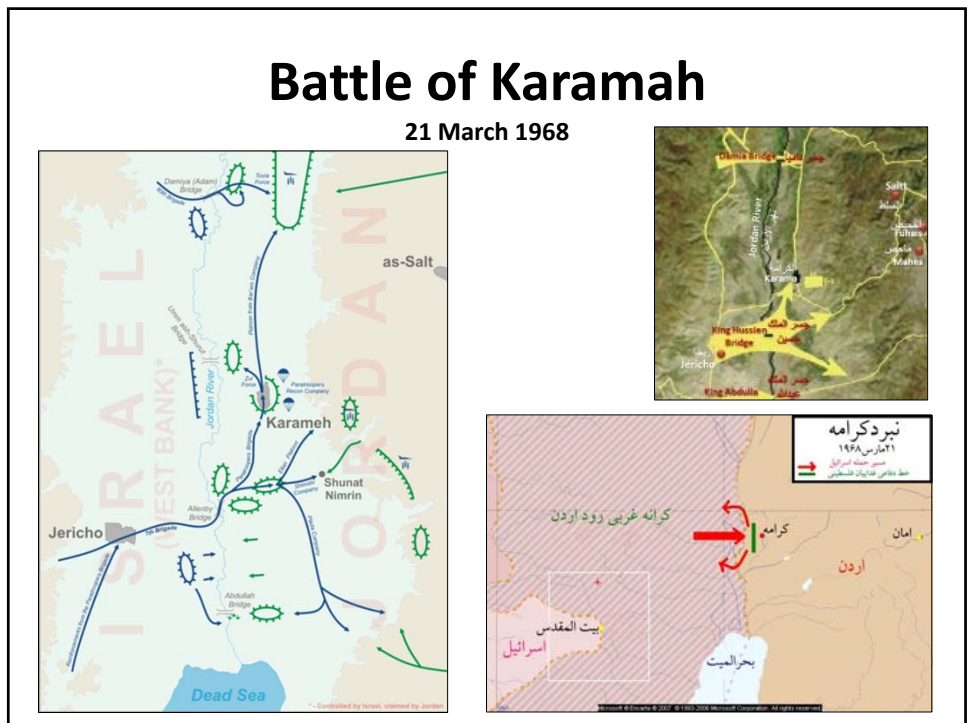
- **Hamas** (حركة المقاومة الإسلامية Islamic Resistance Movement)

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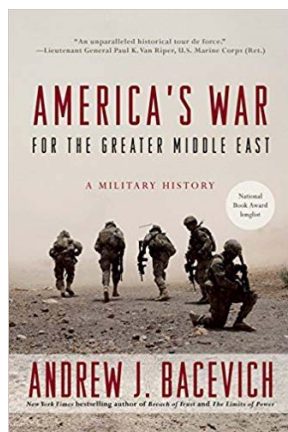


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1979

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The Importance of the Middle East to the US is a Recent Phenomena – About 40 Years



My Restatement

Before [1979] almost every American military casualty happened outside the Middle East. Since [1979], almost every American military casualty happened inside the Greater Middle East.

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1979



Islamic Revolution in Iran
February 1979



Egyptian-Israeli Peace Deal
26 March 1979



Soviet-Afghanistan Incursion
25 December 1979



American Hostages
4 November 1979



Grand Mosque Seizure
20 November 1979



Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq
4 April 1979



Hassan al-Turabi
1979



Saddam Hussein
16 July 1979

15

1979



Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq
4 April 1979



Saddam Hussein
16 July 1979



Hassan al-Turabi
1979

President of Pakistan
Islamist
Predecessor (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) executed on this date
Critical to the transfer of U.S. funding to Islamist mujahideen fighting in Afghanistan


President of Iraq
Formally replaced his predecessor (Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr) on this date
Responsible for initiating the Iran-Iraq War

Attorney general of Sudan
Islamist
Connected to Osama bin Laden while he was in Sudan (1991-1996)

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1979


American Hostages



4 November 1979

Transformed the relationship between the U.S. and Iran from possible partners to persistent opponents and enemies

Grand Mosque Seizure




20 November 1979


Islamists from the KSA attacked the government of the KSA
Islamic New Year: 1 Muharram 1400 (21 November 1979)

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1979




Islamic Revolution in Iran
February 1979




Egyptian-Israeli Peace Deal
26 March 1979




Soviet-Afghanistan Incursion
25 December 1979




American Hostages
4 November 1979




Grand Mosque Seizure
20 November 1979



Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq
4 April 1979

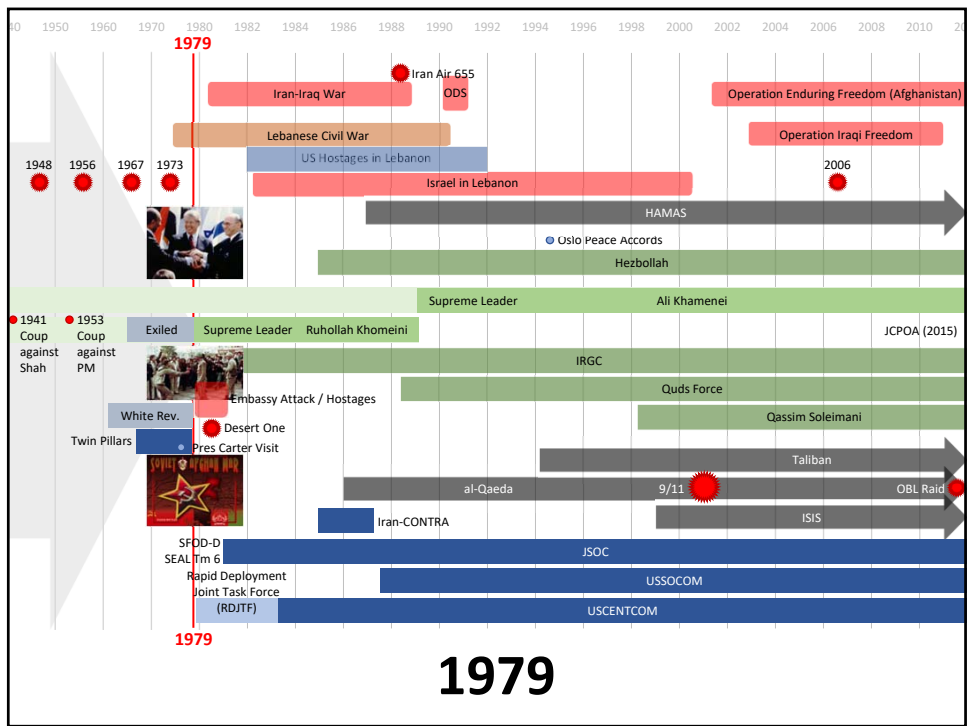


Hassan al-Turabi
1979

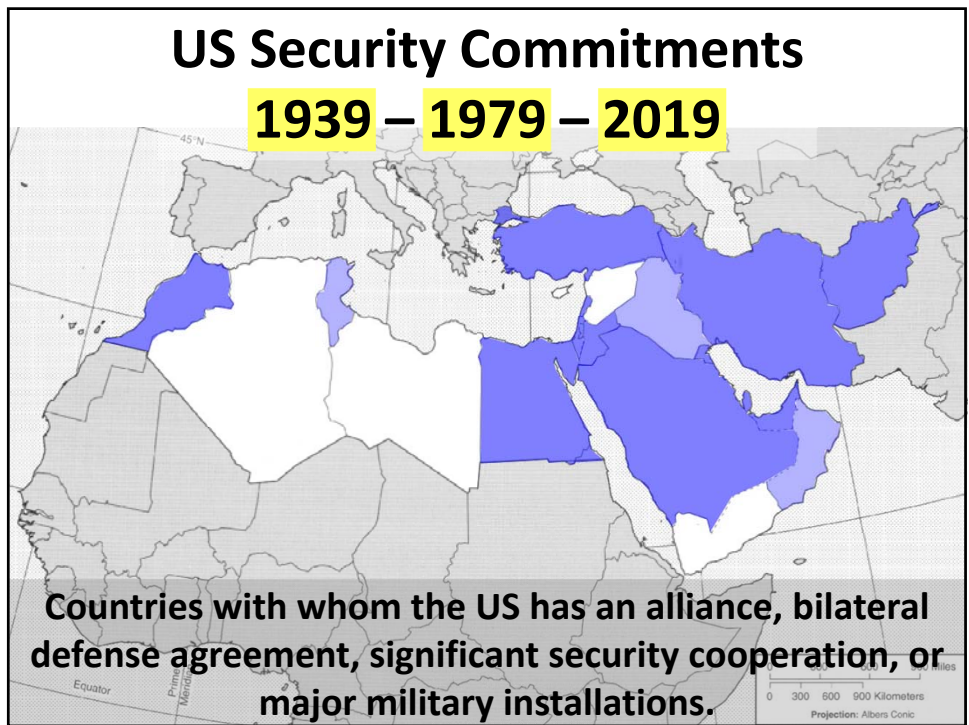


Saddam Hussein
16 July 1979

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US in the Middle East



Collapse of the Twin Pillars Policy

November 1979



State of the Union

January 1980



Operation Cyclone

1979 - 1989



Multinational Force in Lebanon (MNF)

25 August 1981 - 31 March 1984



Operation Earnest Will

24 July 1987 - 26 September 1988

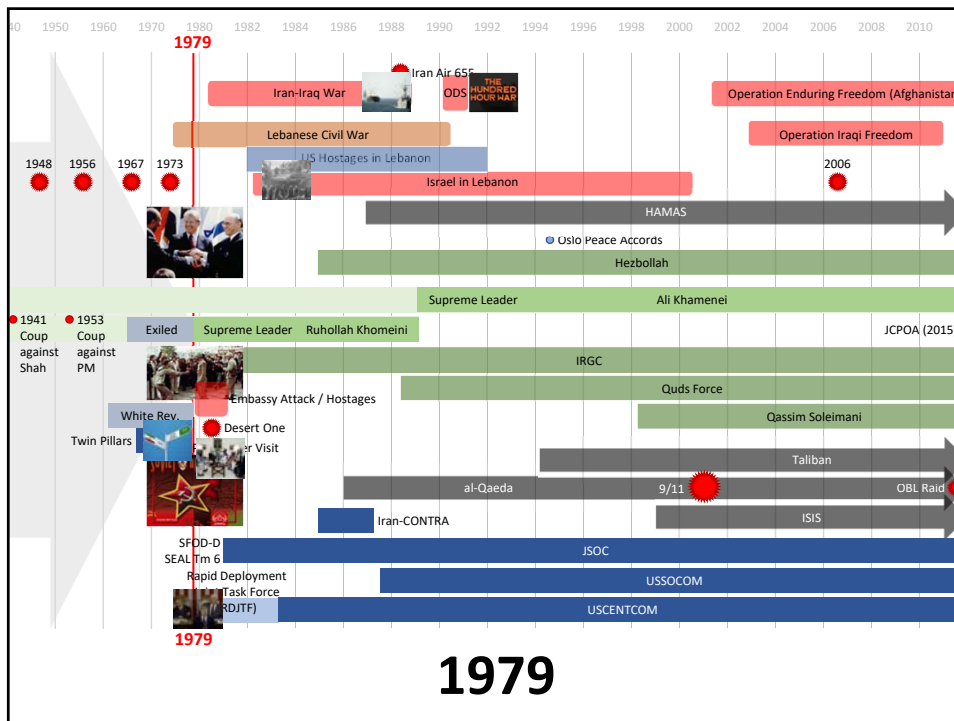


**Operations Desert Shield
Desert Storm**

THE HUNDRED HOUR WAR

2 August 1990 - 28 February 1991

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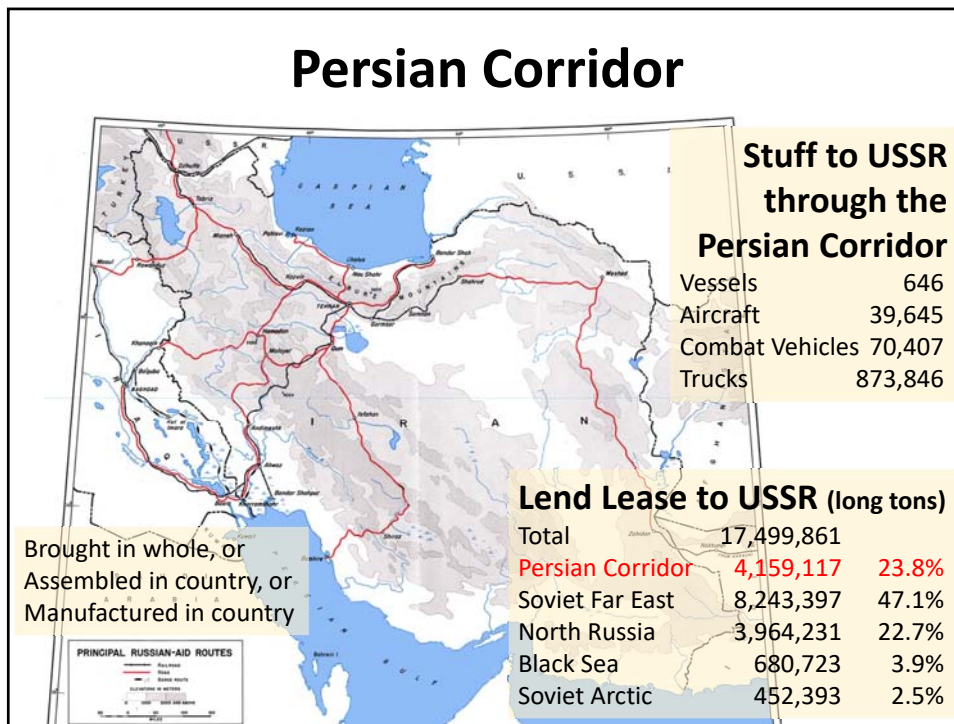
Persian Corridor

“It has been estimated that American deliveries through the Persian Corridor to the USSR were sufficient, by U.S. Army standards, to maintain sixty combat divisions in the line.”

PERSIAN GULF COMMAND
CAMPS - POSTS - STATIONS
SCHEMATIC

T. H. Vail Motter. *United States Army in World War II: The Middle East Theater: The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*. Washington DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2000, 6.

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Political Changes

Elections for the 7th Knesset					
28 October 1969					
Party	Chairman	Votes	%	Seats	+/-
Alignment	Golda Meir	632,035	46.2%	56	+11
Gahal	Menachem Begin	296,294	21.7%	26	0
National Religious Party	Haim-Moshe Shapira	133,238	9.7%	12	+1

Elections for the 8th Knesset					
31 December 1973					
Party	Chairman	Votes	%	Seats	+/-
Alignment	Golda Meir	621,183	39.6%	51	-5
Likud	Menachem Begin	473,309	30.2%	39	+13
National Religious Party	Zevulun Hammer	130,349	8.3%	10	-2

Elections for the 9th Knesset					
17 May 1977					
Party	Chairman	Votes	%	Seats	+/-
Likud	Menachem Begin	583,968	33.4%	43	+4
Alignment	Shimon Peres	430,023	24.6%	32	-19
Dash	Yigael Yadin	202,265	11.6%	15	
National Religious Party	Zevulun Hammer	160,787	9.2%	12	+2

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Camp David



Anwar Sadat speaks in the Knesset
20 November 1977

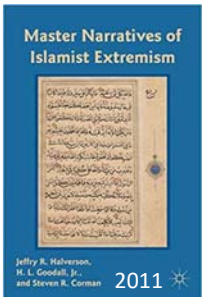


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Master Narratives

another way to look at this

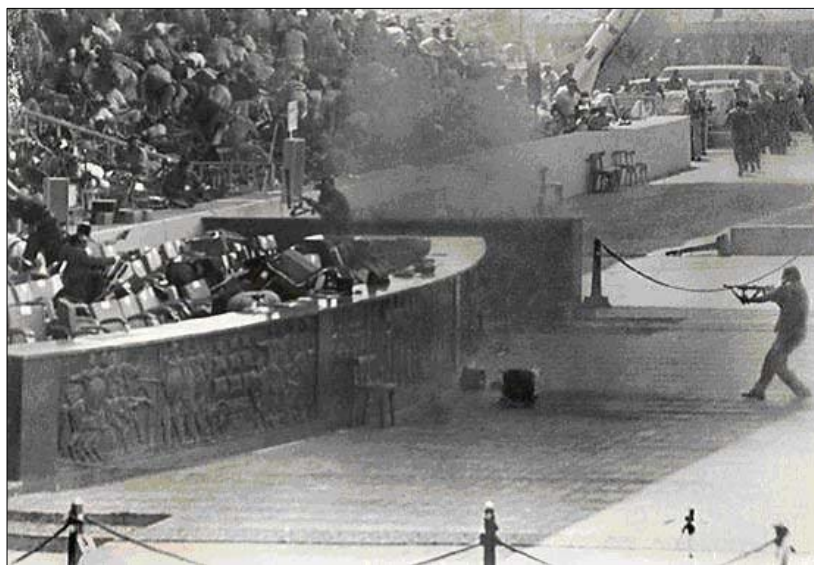
- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. The Pharaoh | Arrogant tyrant rejects word of God |
| 2. The <i>Jahiliyah</i> | Muslims are in a state of ignorance |
| 3. The Battle of Badr | Muslims can overcome any odds |
| 4. The Hypocrites | Insiders are a threat |
| 5. The Battle of Khaybar | Jews are oathbreakers |
| 6. The Battle of Karbala | Better to die than to live under tyranny |
| 7. The <i>Mahdi</i> | Pave the way |
| 8. The Infidel Invaders | Crusaders and Mongols |
| 9. <i>Shaytan's</i> Handiwork | Vices and Temptations |
| 10. 1924 | No longer unity |
| 11. The <i>Nakba</i> | Catastrophe to be rectified |
| 12. 72 Virgins | Rewards for the righteous |



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Assassination

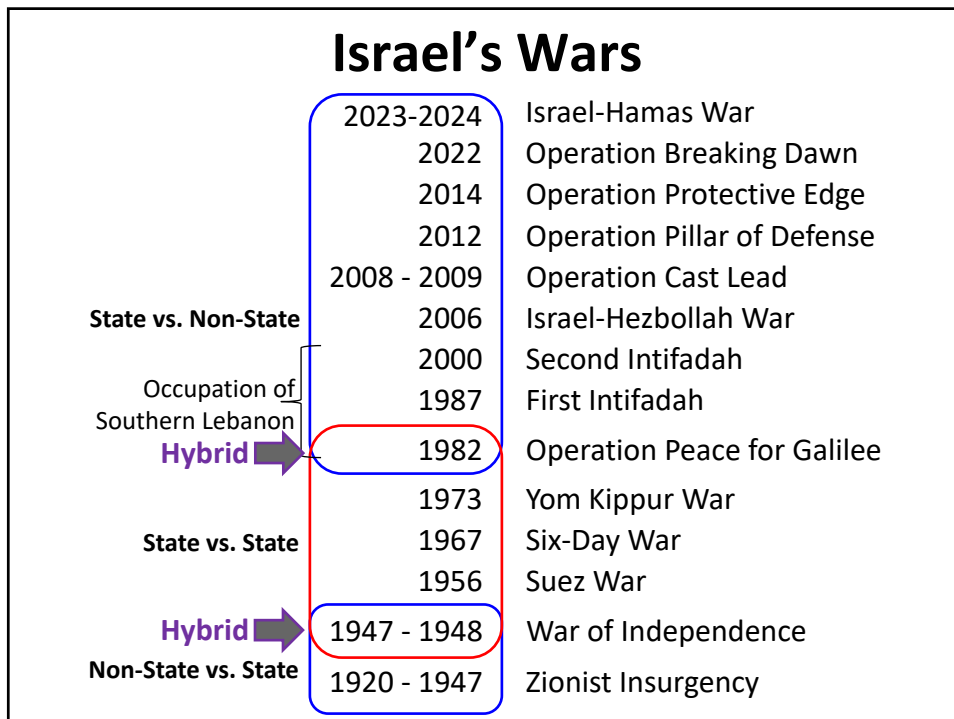
6 October 1981



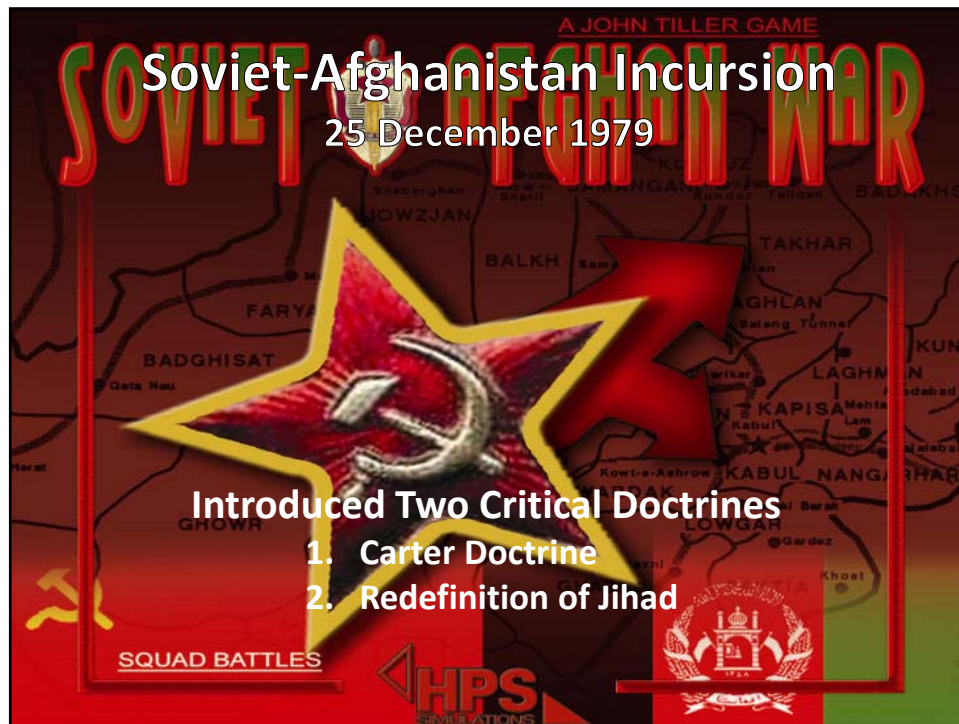
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Carter Doctrine

State of the Union Address – 23 January 1980

- Excerpt
- Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the **vital interests** of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

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Carter Doctrine

State of the Union Address – 23 January 1980

- Longer Excerpt
- The region which is now threatened by Soviet troops in Afghanistan is of great strategic importance: It contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. The Soviet effort to dominate Afghanistan has brought Soviet military forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to **the Straits of Hormuz, a waterway through which most of the world's oil must flow**. The Soviet Union is now attempting to consolidate a strategic position, therefore, that poses a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil.

This situation demands careful thought, steady nerves, and resolute action, not only for this year but for many years to come. It demands collective efforts to meet this new threat to security in the Persian Gulf and in Southwest Asia. It demands the participation of all those who rely on oil from the Middle East and who are concerned with global peace and stability. And it demands consultation and close cooperation with countries in the area which might be threatened.

Meeting this challenge will take national will, diplomatic and political wisdom, economic sacrifice, and, of course, military capability. We must call on the best that is in us to preserve the security of this crucial region.

Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the **vital interests** of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

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Abdullah Azzam
(1941-1989)

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Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

(1941-1989)

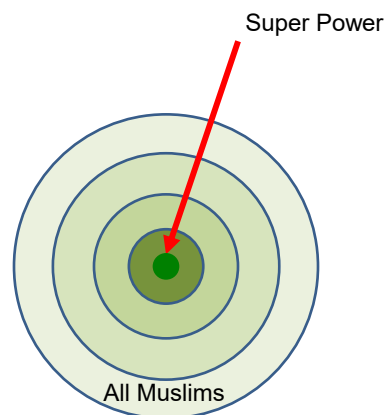


Major Contributions in Thinking

- J: Redefined jihad as entirely militant and necessary
- J: A requirement for all Muslims – the global message.

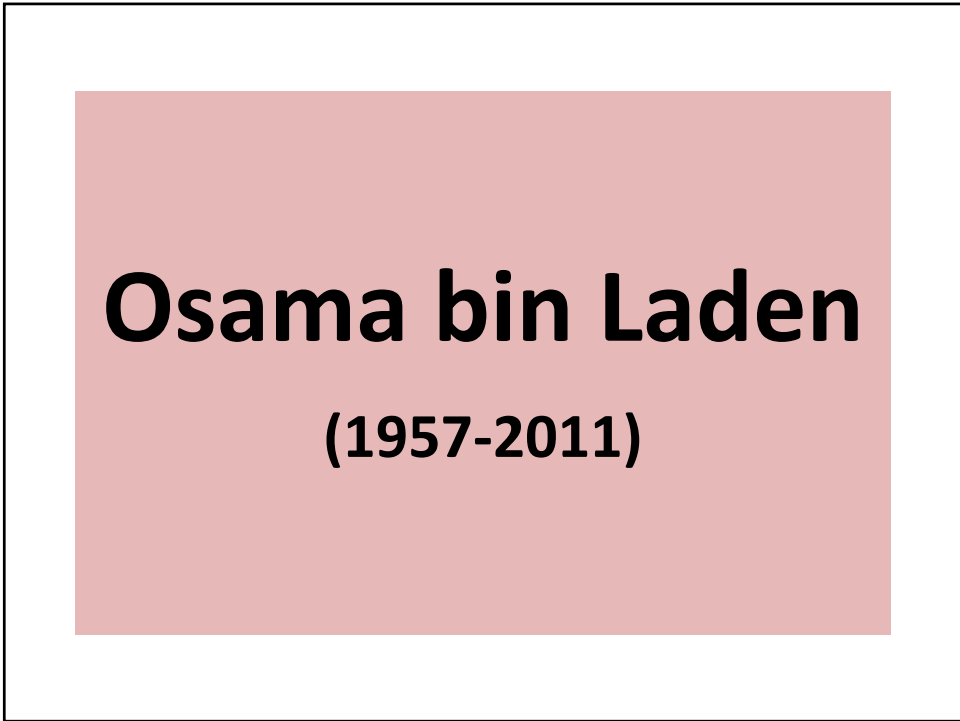
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Azzam's Logic for Jihad Being a Requirement for All Muslims



Islam = submission to the will of God
Muslim = one who has submitted to the will of God

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Osama bin Laden


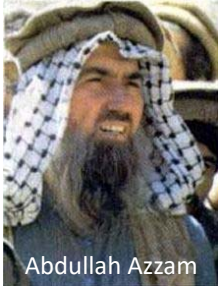

(1957-2011)

- Family
 - Married five to six times.
 - Between 20-26 children
- Chronology
 - 1969: Father died in a helicopter crash
 - 1984: Traveled to Afghanistan
 - 1988: Founded Al-Qaeda (the base)
 - 1992: Returned to Saudi Arabia and then expelled
 - 1999: Placed on FBI "10 most wanted" list
 - 2002: Various reports to be in Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan - or dead
 - 2011: Killed in Abbottabad, Pakistan
- Sign

Major Contributions in Thinking




 - U.S. is inherently weak
 - Three Big Ideas
 1. Need to fight America
 2. Beat America through economy
 3. Fight America to overthrow local governments
 - Initially, drive the U.S. out – then drag the U.S. in

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Near Enemy	to	Far Enemy
 <p>Sayyid Qutb</p>	 <p>Abdullah Azzam</p>	 <p>Osama bin Laden</p>
<p>Egypt (local regimes) Israel Britain France United States USSR</p>	<p>Israel USSR United States Local Regimes The West</p>	<p>United States Israel Local Regimes The West USSR</p>

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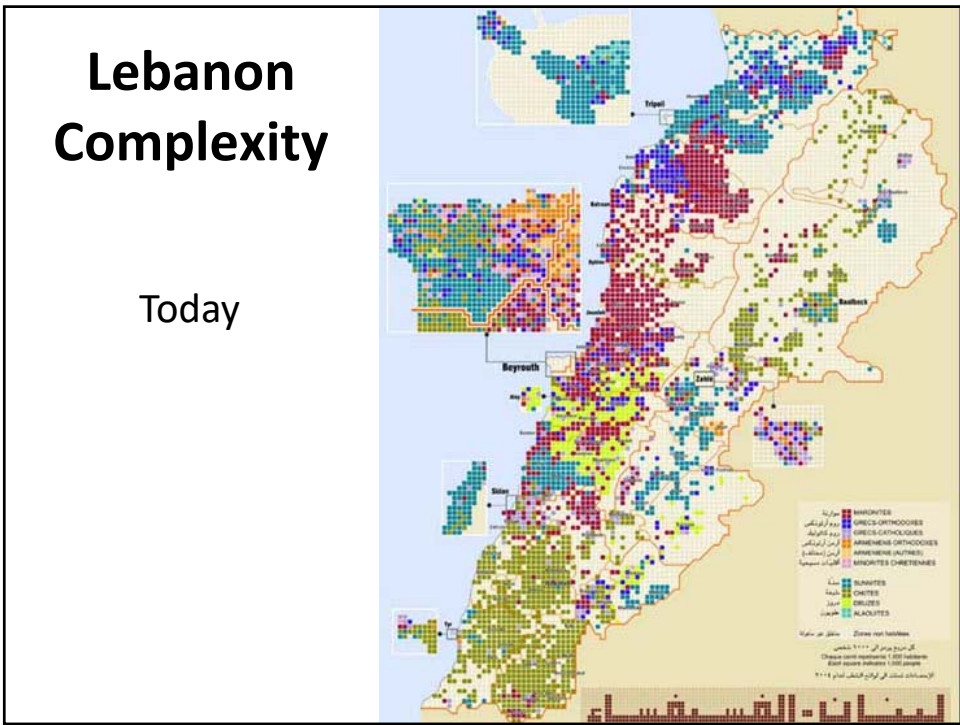
Two Helicopters + Beirut

 <p>US withdrew Forces 29 March 1975 22 Gia Long Street, Saigon, South Vietnam 29 April 1975</p>	 <p>US withdrew Marines 26 February 1984</p>	 <p>US withdrew Forces March 1994 Mogadishu, Somalia October 1993</p>
<p>US Embassy Bombed 18 April 1983 63 dead 120 injured</p>	<p>Marine Barracks in Beirut after Bombing 23 October 1983 307 dead 150 injured</p>	<p>US Embassy Bombed 20 September 1984 24 dead 90 injured</p>

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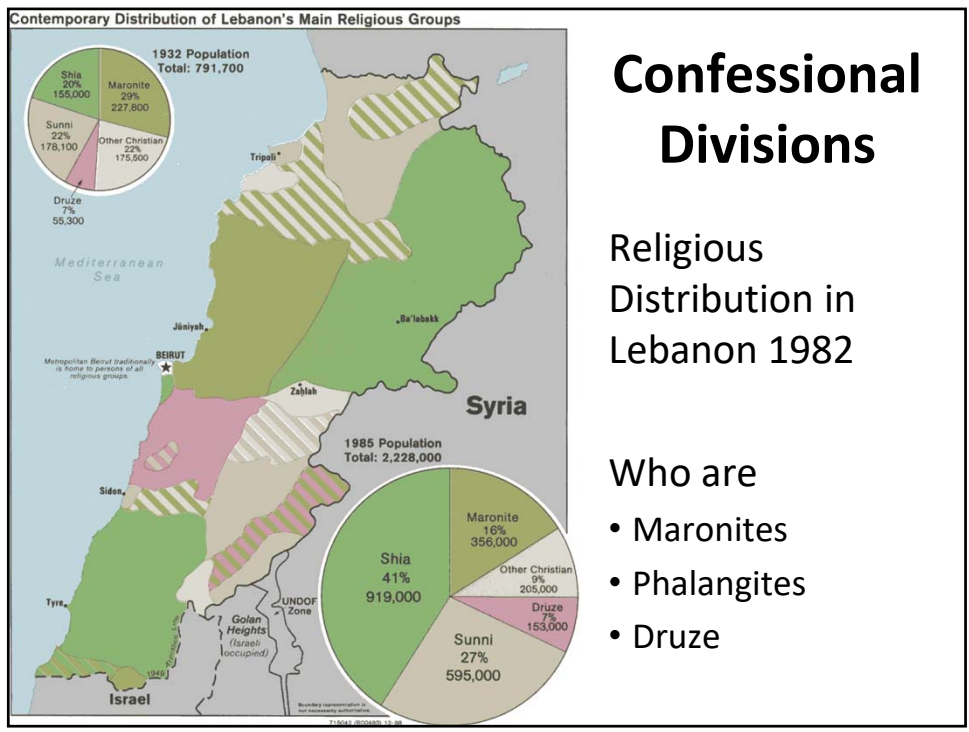


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Confessional Divisions

Religious Distribution in Lebanon 1982


Who are

- Maronites
- Phalangites
- Druze

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PLO

What was the status of the PLO in Southern Lebanon?




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Marine Corps Barracks and Embassy Bombings



23 October 1983



23 October 1983



18 April 1983



20 September 1984

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Hezbollah

HEZBOLLAH ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

- VELAYAT AL FAQIH
*Currently Iranian Supreme Leader
Ayatollah Ali Khamenei
- SHURA COUNCIL
- MILITARY SECURITY APPARATUS
*Operated by members of Iran's
Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
- SECRETARIAT GENERAL
*Currently Hassan
Nasrallah
- JIHAD COUNCIL
*Merged with former
Executive Council
- CENTRAL COUNCIL
- REGIONAL OPERATIONS
 - BEIRUT SOUTHERN
SUBURBS HEZBOLLAH
HEADQUARTERS
 - BEKAA
VALLEY
 - SOUTHERN
LEBANON
- PARLIAMENTARY
COUNCIL
- POLITBURO
- JUDICIAL
COUNCIL
- AUXILIARY UNITS
 - Social
 - Education
 - Medical
 - Finance
 - Media
 - Syndicate
 - External Relations
 - Engagement and
Coordination

المقاومة الإسلامية في لبنان

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Hezbollah

فإن حزب الله هم الغالبون

Changes in the Narrative Space


المقاومة الإسلامية في لبنان

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Lebanon and the Middle East



Hezbollah and Maneuver in the Narrative Space

- Hezbollah defeated Israel twice
 - 1982-2000
 - 2006
- Hezbollah is a product of narrative space shifts in the terrain
- Hezbollah has changed
 - resistance
 - social network
 - political party
 - invader and occupier

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Thought Leaders



Musa al-Sadr
(1928-1978)



Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah
(1935-2010)




Mohammad Mahdi Shams al-Din
(1936-2001)



Hassan Nasrallah
(1960-present)

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Ashura 1983 - Nabatiya




<https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reports/features/566138-the-politics-of-ashura-in-nabatieh>

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2006 Lebanon War




INS Hanit
14 July 2006



Qana, Lebanon
30 July 2006





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Narrative Space Changed Hezbollah is Winning



From Here (1950s)



To Here (2010s)

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UN General Assembly Resolution 3379

Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous" and its expression of alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures",

Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned, *inter alia*, the unholy alliance between South African racism and zionism,

Taking note of the Declaration of Mexico ... from 19 June to 2 July 1975, which promulgated the principle that "international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms, as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination",

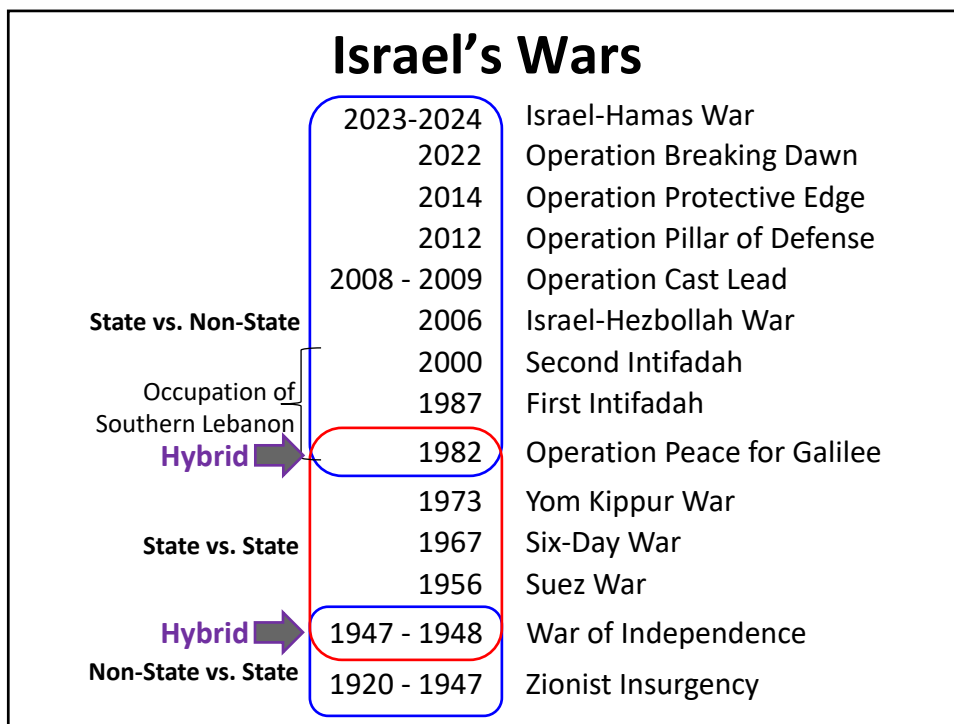
Taking note also of resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity ... from 28 July to 1 August 1975, which considered "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regime in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being",

Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen International Peace and Security and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries ... from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

Determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

The determination that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination", contained in the resolution, was revoked in 1991 with UN General Assembly Resolution 46/86.

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First Intifada – 1987-1993

انتفاضة



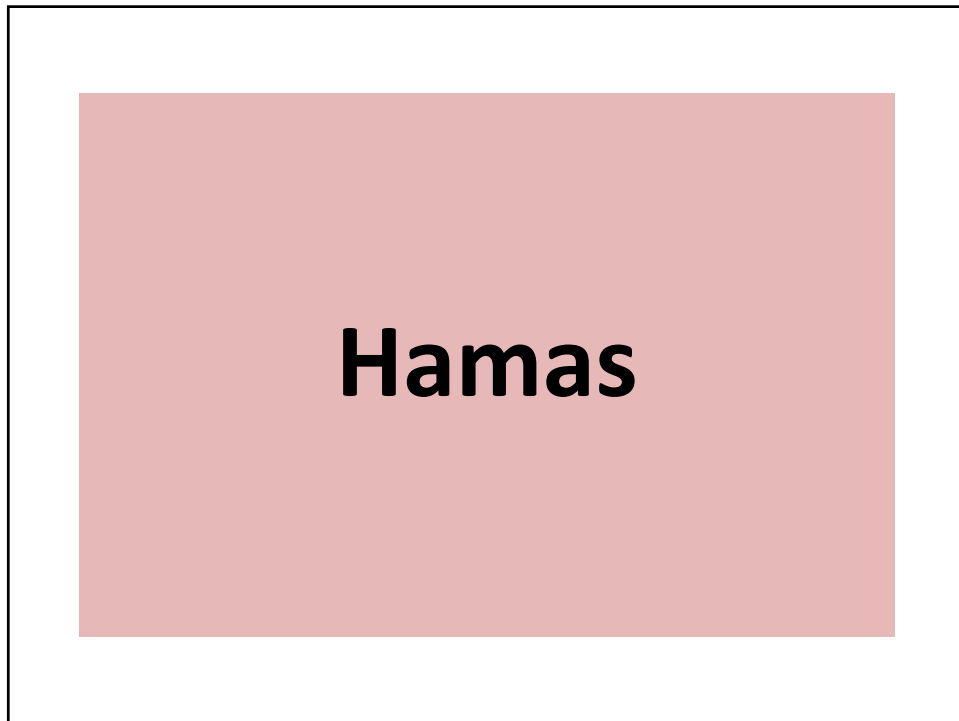


■ First Intifada ■ Second Intifada

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Hamas

Hamas has published two charters in 1988 and 2017.

Quote below from the 2017 charter.

Preamble

Palestine is the land of the Arab Palestinian people, from it they originate, to it they adhere and belong, and about it they reach out and communicate.

Palestine is a land whose status has been elevated by Islam, a faith that holds it in high esteem, that breathes through it its spirit and just values and that lays the foundation for the doctrine of defending and protecting it.

Palestine is the cause of a people who have been let down by a world that fails to secure their rights and restore to them what has been usurped from them, a people whose land continues to suffer one of the worst types of occupation in this world.

Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project that was founded on a false promise (the Balfour Declaration), on recognition of a usurping entity and on imposing a fait accompli by force.

Palestine symbolises the resistance that shall continue until liberation is accomplished, until the return is fulfilled and until a fully sovereign state is established with Jerusalem as its capital.

Palestine is the true partnership among Palestinians of all affiliations for the sublime objective of liberation.

Palestine is the spirit of the Ummah and its central cause; it is the soul of humanity and its living conscience.

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>

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Contact Information

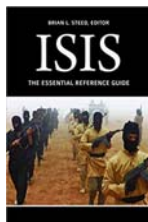
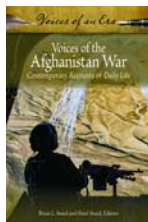
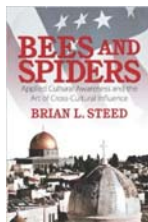
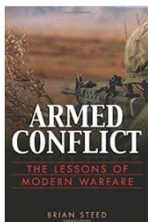
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NS NARRATIVE STRATEGIES
CHANGING THE WAY POWER WORKS

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