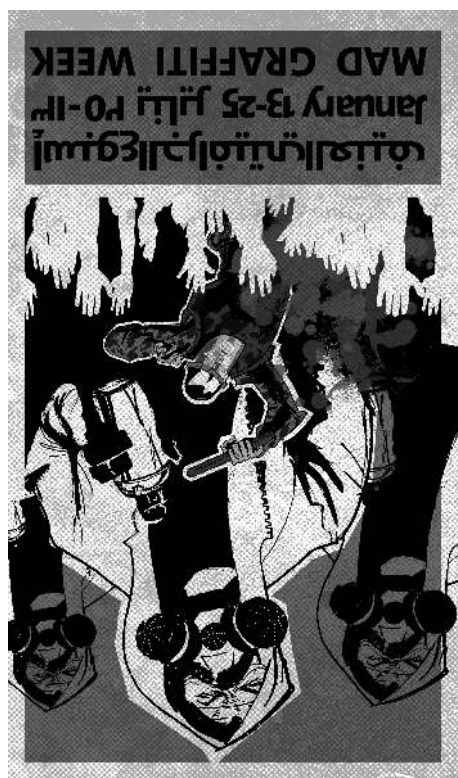


The Power and the People

This book is about power: the power wielded over others – by absolute monarchs, tyrannical authoritarian regimes and military occupiers – and the power of the people who resist and deny their rulers' claims to that authority by whatever means. The extraordinary events in the Middle East in 2011 offered a vivid example of how nonviolent demonstration can topple seemingly invincible rulers. Drawing on these dramatic events and parallel moments in the modern history of the Middle East, from the violent uprisings in Algeria against the French in the early twentieth century, to revolution in Iran in 1979 and the Palestinian *intifada*, the book considers the ways in which the people have united to unseat their oppressors and fight against the status quo to shape a better future. The book also probes the relationship between power and forms of resistance and how common experiences of violence and repression create new collective identities. Nowhere is this more strikingly exemplified than in the art of the Middle East, its posters and graffiti, and its provocative installations which are discussed in the concluding chapter. This brilliant, yet unsettling, book affords a panoramic view of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century Middle East through occupation, oppression and political resistance.

Charles Tripp is Professor of Politics with reference to the Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. His many publications include three editions of *A History of Iraq* (2007, 2002, 2000) and *Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism* (2006).

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The Power and the People

Paths of Resistance in the Middle East

CHARLES TRIPP

University of London



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To my father, Peter Tripp (1921–2010)
and
to my mother, Rosemary Tripp (1922–2012)

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When Egypt arose
After they thought it slept
It was to curse hunger and humiliation
And the wrongs it had suffered and its government
Abmad Fu'ad Negm Letter No 1 from
Tora Prison, *January 1977*

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations and Credits</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Glossary</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxi
Introduction	I
1. State Capture and Violent Resistance	19
Why Armed Resistance?	19
The Roots of Resistance: Colonial and Anti-colonial Violence	20
Occupying Powers: War, Settlement, Resistance and Identity	28
The National Security State: Violent Domination and Resistance	51
Violence and Its Shadow	68
2. Contesting Public Space: Resistance as the Denial of Authority	71
Resistance through Nonviolence	71
The Occupation of Public Space: The Resistance of Presence	73
Public Defiance of Foreign Occupation: Signalling Resistance	116
Nonviolence and the Mobilized Public	131
3. Imposition and Resistance in Economic Life	134
Resisting the Iron Cage	134
	vii

viii	<i>Contents</i>
	Imperialism and the Colonial Economy 138
	Nationalization, Privatization and Their Discontents 147
	Alternative Economies: Resisting the Domination of Global Capitalism 163
	Resisting the Conditions of Economic Life 173
4.	Body Politics: Women’s Rights and Women’s Resistance 176
	Fighting for Rights 176
	Gender Status and Opposing Ideas of Resistance 181
	Women’s Resistance within National Resistance 192
	Sexuality and Violence: The Limits of Resistance 208
	Sites and Strategies of Resistance 216
5.	History Wars: Contesting the Past, Reclaiming the Future 219
	War Stories 219
	Israeli ‘Critical Sociologists’ and ‘New Historians’ – and Their Critics 223
	Reclaiming History in Algeria: ‘Berberism’ and the FLN Narratives of Power 252
6.	Symbolic Forms of Resistance: Art and Power 256
	Art Speaks to Power 256
	Posters and Graffiti 261
	Visual Arts 279
	The Internet and the Art of Resistance 301
	The Power of Art 305
	Conclusion 309
	<i>Notes</i> 321
	<i>Bibliography and Further Reading</i> 351
	<i>Index</i> 375

List of Illustrations and Credits

Because the illustrations are being printed in the text itself, they are reproduced in black and white in this book. However, this fails to do justice to them. In the following list, I have therefore provided a website address for anyone who wishes to see a full-colour reproduction of the image concerned.

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2. Ismail Shammout: ‘*One People, One Path*’, PLO, Beirut (1982) (<http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/one-people-one-path> [accessed 30 June 2012]) 263
3. Archichoda Italia – Collectif de Peintres des Pays Arabes – Atelier F.A.P. ‘*Fateh: revolution until victory*’ (for Fatah c.1983) (Another version can be seen at <http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/revolution-jusqua039a-la-victoire> [accessed 30 June 2012]) 264
4. Muwaffaq Mattar: ‘*The giant has escaped from the bottle*’, 16th anniversary of the outbreak of the Palestinian revolution Ashbal al-Thawra – Quwat al-Asifa, Fatah (1981) (Another version can be

- seen at <http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-genie-is-out-of-the-bottle> [accessed 30 June 2012]) 265
5. Jacek Kowalski [Poland] (1979) (<http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/homeland-denied-return-to-sender> [accessed 30 June 2012]) 267
 6. Morteza Momayez: '*Tulips have bloomed from the blood of the nation's youth*', Tehran (1978/9) (Another version can be seen at http://www.nyu.edu/greyart/exhibits/iran/imageposters/photo1/body_photo1.html [accessed 30 June 2012]) 269
 7. Behzad Shishehgaran: '*Long live Iran*', Tehran (1978) (A full-colour version is also used as the cover illustration of Ervand Abrahamian *Tortured Confessions* [Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1999]) 269
 8. Logos of the IRGC and of Hizbullah 2011 271
 9. Mahmood Hemati Turabi: Basij Resistance force poster of Hosein Fahmindeh, Tehran (c. 2002) (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_image.aspx Accession Number: AN230295001 [accessed 30 June 2012]) 272
 10. Outer wall of the former U.S. Embassy, Tehran (2008) 273
 11. Section of the wall near Qalandia checkpoint, Ramallah (2011) 277
 12. Section of the wall near Qalandia checkpoint, Ramallah (2011) 278
 13. Laila Shawa: '*A Gun for Palestine*' from *Walls of Gaza* (1992) (Another version can be seen on the website of the Bridgeman Art Library <http://www.bridgemanart.com> Image ID: 279261 [accessed 30 June 2012]) 280
 14. Laila Shawa: '*20 Targets*' from *Walls of Gaza II* (1994) (Another version can be seen on the website of the October Gallery, London <http://>

<i>List of Illustrations and Credits</i>	xi
www.octobergallery.co.uk/art/shawa/shawa_20_targets.shtml [accessed 30 June 2012])	280
15. Hale Tenger: 'I Know People Like This II', Istanbul (1992) (Another version can be seen on the website of the Green Art Gallery http://gagallery.wordpress.com/2011/02/24/hale-tenger-works-part-one/ [accessed 30 June 2012])	287
16. Etel Adnan: 'Nahar Mubarak' [Blessed Day] (1990) (Another version can be seen on the Nafas website http://universes-in-universe.org/eng/nafas/articles/2006/word_into_art/photos/img_02 [accessed 30 June 2012])	290
17. Walid Raad: 'Already been in a lake of fire', Beirut (2007) (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx) Accession Number: AN364209001 [accessed 30 June 2012])	291
18. John Jurayj: from <i>Untitled Men (We could be heroes)</i> [Top row, L to R: Suleiman Franjeh; Yassir Arafat; Pierre Gemayel. Bottom row, L to R: Samir Geagea; Menachem Begin; Nabih Berri] (2007–2011)	292
19. Walid Siti: 'Moonlight' from <i>Dark Interludes</i> (1988) (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx) Accession Number: AN94487001 [accessed 30 June 2012])	293
20. Salam Khedher: <i>Intahat al-harb</i> [The war is over] (1992) (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx) Accession Number: AN84345001 [accessed 30 June 2012])	294
21. Hana Malallah: <i>Mantiq al-Tayr</i> [Conference of the Birds] (2007) (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx) Accession Number: AN284648001 [accessed 30 June 2012])	295
22. Khosrow Hassanzadeh: from 'War' (1998) (See the artist's website http://khosrowhassanzadeh.com/works.php?id=2&subid=7 [accessed 30 June 2012])	298

xii	<i>List of Illustrations and Credits</i>	
23.	Ramin Haerizadeh: <i>Bad Hejab</i> (1) (2008) (Another version can be seen at http://www.modernedition.com/art-articles/new-arabic-art/middle-east-art-now.html [accessed 30 June 2012])	300
24.	Ramin Haerizadeh: <i>Bad Hejab</i> (2) (2008)	301
25.	Johannes Abeling: <i>Khan Yunis, Gaza Strip</i> (2005)	302

Acknowledgements

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Glossary

Alawi	the heterodox sect to which the family of Hafiz al-Asad and many of the senior figures of the Syrian regime since 1970 belong [also known as <i>nusayri</i>]
<i>Amazigh</i> (pl. <i>Imazighen</i>)	the name adopted across North Africa by much of the Berber population to describe themselves
<i>al-Anfal</i>	the Iraqi Army operation in the Kurdish regions of Iraq 1988–9 that caused an estimated 130,000 deaths and depopulated and devastated large swathes of the Kurdish region
Aouchem	[lit., ‘sign’ or ‘tattoo’ (Arabic: <i>wasm</i>)] name of artistic movement in Algeria in the 1960s
<i>`ashura</i>	tenth day of the month of Muharram, held in special reverence by Shi‘i Muslims, since it commemorates the death of Imam Hussein in 680 AD at Karbala
<i>bai’ salam</i>	a contract for the advance sale of specified goods to be delivered later
Basij	volunteer militia organization founded in 1979 following the Iranian revolution

<i>fatwa</i>	a judgment delivered by a recognized Muslim scholar
Fedayeen	<i>al-fida'iyyin</i> [the redeemers (who sacrifice themselves)] common reference to Palestinian armed guerrilla groups
<i>fiqh</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
habous	<i>al-habus</i> – property endowment recognized under Islamic law [also known as <i>al-waqf</i>]
<i>hadith</i>	saying or tradition of the Prophet Muhammad
<i>hawala</i>	system of money transfer common in South Asia and the Middle East that depends largely on trust
<i>hawaladar</i>	the agent who organizes the <i>hawala</i> transfers
<i>hijab</i>	woman's head covering or veil
hittistes	term used for young urban unemployed in North Africa – 'those who spend their time leaning against the wall [<i>al-ha'it</i> ']
<i>hogra</i>	<i>haqqara</i> – to hold in contempt. Used in North African states to express the contemptuous attitude of the authorities to their citizens
<i>ijtihad</i>	independent interpretation of an Islamic legal or theological question
<i>infitah</i>	[lit., 'opening'] the opening of the economy to foreign and private capital that began across the Middle East in the 1970s–80s
<i>intifada</i>	[lit., 'shaking off'] the name given to various popular uprisings across the Middle East
<i>intifadat al-aqsa</i>	the uprising in the Occupied Palestinian Territories that began in 2000
<i>intifadat al-safar</i>	the uprising in southern Iraq in 1977

Glossary

xvii

<i>isqat</i>	[lit., 'fall'] referring to women allegedly compromised by unsupervised association with men
<i>jahsh</i>	[lit., 'little donkeys'] derogatory term used against Kurdish tribal irregulars employed by the Iraqi Ba`thist government
<i>Jaish al-Mahdi</i>	[army of the Mahdi] armed organization in the service of Muqtada al-Sadr in post-2003 Iraq
<i>jihad</i>	effort or struggle on behalf of Islam
<i>jihadi</i>	term used to describe those Islamists who believe that such a struggle must be an armed one
<i>kaffiyeh</i>	black-and-white checkered head cloth traditionally worn by rural Palestinian men
<i>mahram</i>	a category of relative in Islamic law so close that marriage is forbidden. Hence, it has come to mean chiefly a close male relative of a woman allowed to escort her when she travels
Majles	[lit., 'assembly'] the short name of the Iranian parliament
Makhzen	[lit., 'the store' or 'storehouse' (<i>al-makhzan</i>)] the state or government in Morocco
<i>mizrahim</i>	[lit., 'easterners'] has come to mean mainly Jewish citizens of Israel who immigrated from Arab countries
Moudawana	<i>mudawwanat al-ahwal al-shakhsiyya</i> – the term used for the Moroccan Family Code of personal status laws, until its reform in 2004
<i>mudaraba</i>	contract in Islamic law in which a lender invests capital and a borrower invests time, energy and expertise

<i>musharaka</i>	contract in Islamic law in which both the lender and the borrower make a financial investment in a venture
<i>al-Nakba</i>	[lit., ‘the catastrophe’] the term used by Palestinians and in the Arab world to refer to the war of 1948 that saw the establishment of the state of Israel on most of the territory of Palestine
<i>peshmerga</i>	[lit., ‘those who face death’] term used to refer to Kurdish guerrilla forces
<i>Le Pouvoir</i>	[lit., ‘the power’] used in Algeria to refer to the key elite of the security forces and the political establishment
<i>salafi</i>	[lit., ‘one who follows the ancestors’] refers to a trend in modern Islamic thought that looks back to the example of the earliest Muslims
<i>shabab</i>	collective term for youth or younger generation
<i>al-Shabbiha</i>	[lit., ‘ghosts’] name of the armed militia in Syria largely recruited from the home regions of the al-Asad and allied clans of the ruling elite
<i>shaikh</i>	[lit., ‘old man’] honorific for an Islamic scholar, or a tribal chieftain
<i>shari‘a</i>	Islamic law
<i>shura</i>	counsel
<i>sumud</i>	steadfastness
<i>tajnis</i>	[lit., ‘to confer nationality’] used to describe the process in Bahrain whereby the government has naturalized large numbers of Sunni Muslims, Arab and non-Arab, particularly in the security services
<i>Tamazight</i>	term in common use to describe the increasingly standardized forms of Amazigh/Berber language
<i>umma</i>	(Muslim) community
<i>wali</i>	guardian

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<i>Glossary</i>	xix
<i>waqf</i>	property endowment recognized in Islamic law
<i>al-yafta</i>	banner or sign, used in public spaces for announcements, political slogans and advertising
Yishuv	the Zionist settlement in Palestine during the British Mandate 1917–48

List of Abbreviations

AIS	Armée Islamique du Salut [Islamic Salvation Army] armed Islamist organization active in Algeria in the 1990s
ALN	Armée de Libération Nationale [National Liberation Army] the fighting wing of the Algerian national liberation movement against French rule
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority – the U.S. government of Iraq from May 2003–June 2004
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
EFITU	Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (formed January 2011)
ETUF	Egyptian Trade Union Federation (state-run union organization, dissolved August 2011)
Etzel	Irgun Zvai Leumi (also known as the Irgun) [National Military Organization] – an armed Zionist organization active in Palestine 1930–48
<i>Fatah</i>	[lit., ‘conquest’ or ‘victory’] Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Filastini [Palestine National Liberation Movement] founded in 1959 and the principal member of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] after 1969
FFS	Front des Forces Socialistes [Socialist Forces Front] political party in Algeria formed by Hocine Ait Ahmed in 1963

xxii	<i>List of Abbreviations</i>
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut [Islamic Salvation Front] Islamist political organization in Algeria founded in 1989
FJP	Freedom and Justice Party [Hizb al-Hurriyya wa-l-`Adala] Egyptian political party formed in 2011 to represent the Muslim Brotherhood
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale [National Liberation Front] the main organization of the Algerian struggle for national liberation against France
FSA	Free Syrian Army [al-Jaish al-Suri al-Hurr] armed opposition organization that emerged out of the uprising in Syria in 2011
GEB	Groupe d'Etudes Berbères [Group of Berber Studies]
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé [Islamic Armed Group] armed Islamist organization active in Algeria in the 1990s particularly
GICM	Groupe Islamique Combattant Marocain
Haganah	[the defence] armed Zionist organization active in Palestine 1930–48
<i>Hamas</i>	[lit., 'enthusiasm'] Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya [Islamic Resistance Movement] Islamist political and armed organization active in Occupied Palestine since the 1980s
Irgun	see Etzel
KDP	Kurdish Democratic Party (in Iraq)
Lehi	Lohami Herut Israel [Fighters for the Freedom of Israel] also known as the Stern Gang. Armed Zionist organization active in Palestine in the 1940s
MAK	Mouvement de l'Autonomie Kabyle [Kabyle Autonomy Movement]
MCB/A	Mouvement Culturel Berbère/Amazigh [Berber/Amazigh Cultural Movement]
NDP	National Democratic Party – until 2011 the ruling political party in Egypt
NLF	National Liberation Front – one of the two main independence organizations in the British colony of Aden and the protectorates in the 1960s
NTC	National Transitional Council [al-Majlis al-Watani al-Intiqali] – the rebel government formed in Benghazi

<i>List of Abbreviations</i>		xxiii
	in February 2011 that led the uprising against Qadhafi	
OAS	Organisation de l'Armée Secrète [Organization of the Secret Army] armed organization of European settlers in Algeria who wanted to keep Algeria French	
OWFI	Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq	
PA	Palestinian Authority – full name al-Sulta al-Filastiniyya al-Wataniyya [Palestinian National Authority] established in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in 1994	
Palmach	Plugot Machatz [Strike Force] elite unit of the Haganah [see p. xxii]	
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	
PFWAC	Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees	
PJD	Parti de la Justice et du Développement [Justice and Development Party] (Morocco)	
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization	
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan	
RND	Rassemblement National Démocratique [National Rally for Democracy] political party in Algeria founded in 1997	
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (the group of military officers who took over power in Egypt after the fall of President Mubarak in February 2011)	
Shas	<i>Shomrei sfarad</i> (Sfarad's guards [of the Torah]) political party representing religiously observant Mizrahi and Sephardi Israelis	
SNC	Syrian National Council [al-Majlis al-Watani al-Suri] Syrian coalition of opposition forces formed in exile during the Syrian uprising in 2011	
UGTT	Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail [The General Tunisian Union of Labour]	
UMT	Union Marocaine du Travail [Moroccan Union of Labour]	
USFP	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires [Socialist Union of Popular Forces] (Morocco)	
al-Wifaq	Jam'iyyat al-Wifaq al-Watani al-Islamiyya [Islamic National Accord Association] political party in Bahrain	