

COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, AND ANTI-TERRORISM LAW IN THE ARAB WORLD

The threat of personal harm and destruction from terrorist attacks is nowhere near as great as in Arab nations. However, are counter-terrorism laws in the Arab world formulated and enforced to protect or oppress? *Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, and Anti-Terrorism Law in the Arab World* examines the relationship between Western influence and counter-terrorism law, focusing on the Arab world, which is, on the one hand, a hostile producer of terrorist organizations, and on the other, a leader in countering 'terrorism.' With case studies of Egypt and Tunisia, Alzubairi traces the colonial roots of the use of coercion and extra-legal measures to protect the ruling order, which are now justified in both the West and the Arab world in the name of counter-terrorism. *Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, and Anti-Terrorism Law in the Arab World* provides important lessons for counter-terrorism, not just in these countries but also elsewhere in the world.

Fatemah Alzubairi is an assistant professor in the international law department at Kuwait University. She holds a PhD from Osgoode Hall Law School (2017), an LLM from the University of Toronto (2011), and an LLB from Kuwait University (2003). Her area of specialization is counter-terrorism from international and comparative perspectives, counter-insurgency, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. Between 2005 and 2008, Alzubairi worked as a lawyer in the Legislative and the Human Rights committees at the National Assembly of Kuwait.





Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, and Anti-Terrorism Law in the Arab World

FATEMAH ALZUBAIRI

Kuwait University





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108476928 DOI: 10.1017/9781108569262

© Fatemah Alzubairi 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays, St Ives plc, Elcograf S.p.A. A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Alzubairi, Fatemah, 1982- author.

TITLE: Colonialism, neo-colonialism, and anti-terrorism law in the Arab world /

Fatemah Alzubairi, Kuwait University.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2019. |
Based on author's thesis (doctoral – York University, Osgood Hall Law School, 2017)
issued under title: The Role of Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism in

Shaping Anti-Terrorism Law in Comparative and International Perspectives. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2018034516 | ISBN 9781108476928 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108701761 (pbk.)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Terrorism—Prevention—Law and legislation—Arab countries. |
Terrorism—Prevention—Law and legislation—Egypt. | Terrorism—Prevention—Law and legislation—Tunisia.

| Law—Egypt—British influences. | Law—Tunisia—French influences.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC KMC982.T47 A5 2019 | DDC 344/.14927053257–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018034516

C record available at https://iccn.ioc.gov/201003451

ISBN 978-1-108-47692-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To Toronto





Contents

Acknowleagments		page ix
	Introduction	1
1	On Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-Colonialism	19
2	Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism at the International Level: A Challenge in the Postcolonial World	50
3	Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in the Arab World	77
4	The Colonial and Neo-Colonial Experience in Egypt	100
5	Counter-Terrorism in Egypt	120
6	The Colonial and Neo-Colonial Experience in Tunisia	163
7	Counter-Terrorism in Tunisia	177
	Conclusions	200
Appendix I		225
Appendix II		237
Select Bibliography		253
Index		269





Acknowledgments

I would like to start off by thanking Kent Roach, whom I consider my mentor in law and human rights. It is owing to his support as well as expert guidance that this book came into existence. His knowledge, wisdom, and love of humanity as a whole both inspired and enriched this book and my view of life. Special gratitude goes to Anna Ezekiel, who read and generously commented on the entire book, and whose useful feedback saved me from many errors. I would also like to thank Veit Hillside for all her insightful views and reassuring support, and Liora Salter, who through challenging me, enabled me to clearly build my ideas. I greatly benefitted from the Middle East expertise of Sabal Alnasseri and from Jenny Hocking's criticism of counterterrorism as counter-insurgency, which inspired this book. A number of colleagues and friends have influenced and made valuable comments on countless issues in this book. I thank Ghanim Al-Najjar, Rashid Al-Anezi, Domingo Lovera Parmo, and Stefanie Crispino. John Berger at Cambridge University Press has enthusiastically supported me in completing this book and has shown great competence in seeing it through the press. Discussions with my students have mirrored a mixture of disappointments on regional and global security and a desire for a brighter future. Their sense of hope highlights the importance of studying the roots and developments of counter-terrorism laws in order to make a difference. Last, but surely not least, I am grateful to my parents, Fakhriya Alharbi and Hussian Alzubairi, for their ongoing encouragement and love.

