

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



edited by David E. Long and Bernard Reich

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DAVID E. LONG BERNARD REICH

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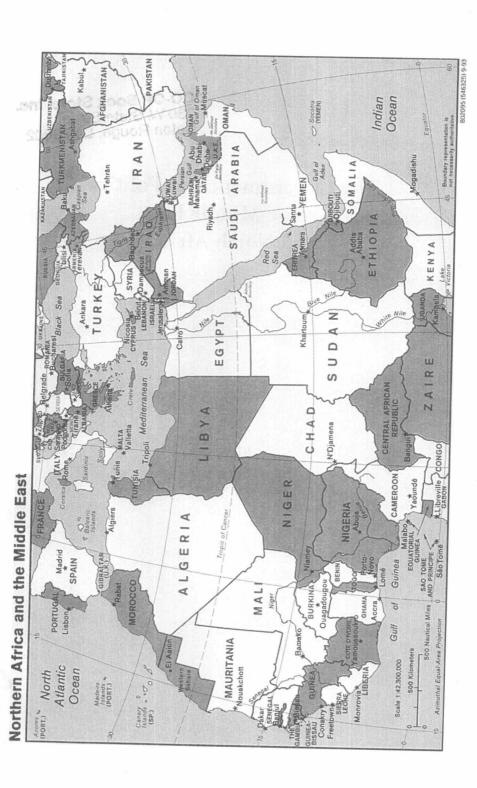
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The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa



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Preface

In recent decades considerable attention has been devoted to the Middle East and North Africa by people in all walks of life, from the layman to the student to the policymaker. The amount of writing about the region continues to grow substantially. Books and articles by serious scholars exist in large number and cover many aspects of the region, especially its history, politics, and economics. Student interest has also increased. Despite this increased attention and interest and the large number of specialized works, the present volume is still (as we noted in the preface to the previous edition of this work) the only introductory work on the politics of the states of the region that is both comprehensive in scope of coverage and up-to-date for the general student. This was the idea that generated the first edition, which appeared in 1980, and it inspired this third edition. Therefore, we sought the assistance of a diverse group of Middle East specialists with both policy and academic experience to produce a current, comprehensive, and general book that focuses on the politics (and especially the political dynamics) of the Middle East and North Africa. This book is also unique in that it includes North Africa in the area it defines as the Middle East.

Multiple authorship has the additional advantage of providing greater depth of expertise on the individual countries and political systems than can be provided by any single author. All the authors have followed a common outline, but each chapter differs according to the peculiarities of the particular political system being examined and the style of the particular author or authors. This work also reflects the numerous developments in the regional states since the writing of the second edition: coups, revolutions, wars, as well as dramatic economic and social change and the evolutionary alterations that affect all states.

In a multiauthored book of this type, there are of course scores of people to whom we are indebted. As we do not want to leave anyone out inadvertently, we would like to acknowledge them all collectively. And most of all, we wish to acknowledge that without the assistance and understanding of our wives, Barbara and Madelyn, this volume would not have been possible.

David E. Long Bernard Reich

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The term Middle East was coined at the turn of the century to refer to the Gulf area lying between the Near East and the Far East. Since then, Middle East has come to incorporate the older term, Near East, and North Africa as well. Politics has led to the inclusion and exclusion of various countries over time. Egypt, Israel, the Arab states of the Fertile Crescent (and the Palestinians), and the Arabian Peninsula constitute the core area. The rest of North Africa, particularly the Maghrib (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco), is sometimes considered separately, and the Sudan is often grouped with sub-Saharan Africa. Because of their close Arab ties, however, we have chosen to include those countries in this study. Turkey lies in both Asia and the Middle East and, in context, is considered a part of both. For example, it has been in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for many years but also has close ties with neighboring Arab states and shares an ethnic Kurdish problem with Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Similarly, Iran is sometimes grouped with Afghanistan and Pakistan as an extension of South Asia, but its location in the Gulf area and its identity as a major Middle East oil producer dictate its inclusion in the Middle East as well. We realize that our choice of countries is somewhat arbitrary and perforce subjective, but we feel that it best represents the broadest group of countries exhibiting sufficient commonality to constitute a single region.

For centuries the Middle East has fascinated scholars and observers and has been the focal point of great-power attention. The region's strategic significance and the variety and importance of its political, social, and cultural heritage have generated this concern. Through the years the Middle East has had intense religious meaning for the peoples of the Western world. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all originated in the area, and the most sacred holy places of these three monotheistic faiths are located there. In the latter half of the twentieth century occasional wars and superpower rivalry added to the region's strategic dimension.

The overall importance of the region, however, is broader; it is tied to its location and to its primary resource—oil.

Situated at the hub of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Middle East is a crossroads and a bridge. Historically it linked the trade routes connecting Europe with Asia and Africa. Today its location makes the Middle East a critical link in the communications network joining Western and Eastern Europe with Eastern Africa, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, the Far East, and Australasia. The Middle East's military importance is a direct result of its location; the region has long fascinated the powers interested in greater control of that portion of the world and the adjacent areas.

Oil is the major resource of the Middle East. Middle Eastern oil is abundant, of unusually high quality, and exported in huge quantities. It is an essential energy source for the industrialized West and for many of the developing states. The export and sale of Middle Eastern oil, at high prices, has generated a surplus of "petro-dollars" in many of the oil-producing states, has contributed to area-wide economic growth, and has provided the leading producers with increased potential in the international financial community. The importance of Middle Eastern oil and the oil-producing countries' economic potential have combined to increase the concern shown for the Middle East by outside commercial and strategic-political interests.

This interest in the Middle East seems unlikely to abate. The ongoing, intensified efforts to achieve a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict continue to involve the major powers in the Middle East. Furthermore, it seems likely that the dependence of both the industrializing and the industrialized world on Middle Eastern oil will persist for the foreseeable future.

The states of the Middle East have a variety of political systems, each one reflecting its state's historical background, colonial experience, social and economic conditions, religions, geographical setting, climate, and population pressures. There is no single category that includes all these systems, which run the gamut of political structures and dynamics. Personalized one-man authoritarian regimes have coexisted in the region with Marxist regimes, monarchies, and democratic regimes. However, the Middle Eastern governments perform the various functions of the standard political system, albeit with varying degrees of ability or success and in numerous and diverse ways. These differences in background and in existing conditions provide for variations in political life, structure, and style.

The very real differences that exist among the states of the Middle East should not obscure the similarities, such as the heritage of Islam, the presence of foreign influences, the concentration of leadership in the urban upper and middle classes, and the rise of new elites of technocrats and military officers, that are common to all states in the region. Throughout the Middle East, political life in the past few decades has been characterized by the shift from traditional to modern activity. The traditional family-based elites are either declining in power or have already been replaced in most of the political units in the area. A new salaried middle class is emerging as the most active political, social, and economic force, and lead-

ership is increasingly passing into its hands. This group is made up of government and private-sector technocrats, university students, and middle-grade military officers. In many of the states the military forms the core of this new politically conscious middle class that is striving to modernize the state. Members of the military have assumed a modernizing role as a result of their training, skills, and motivation. The great majority of the population—the peasants and the workers—are only now beginning to enter the realm of politics.

Pan-Arabism and Islamism (commonly referred to as Islamic fundamentalism) are integral parts of contemporary activity in the Middle East. In a sense they are complementary movements that have rekindled an Arab and Muslim identity among the diverse peoples of the area, which has affected both the foreign and the domestic policies of the Middle Eastern states. In the postwar era, for instance, pan-Arabism has helped to determine the Arab response to Israel and has led to attempts at federation and economic cooperation among several of the Arab states. The Islamic heritage and revival have acted simultaneously as a revolutionary and a conservative force. In such countries as Saudi Arabia this force has helped to shape the response to modernization and Westernization by advocating an Islamic way of life in the face of change. At the same time, Islam has been a divisive force as differences between and among the various sects and traditions surface and intrude into politics.

This book has been planned in keeping with the general view of the Middle East just described. We provide not only a comprehensive discussion of the politics of the individual states, within the context of each system's unique characteristics, but also a view of the basic factors affecting politics so that comparisons across national boundaries can be made. The book reflects our view that certain commonalities exist in Middle Eastern political systems that can provide a basis for the comparison of their politics.

Understanding the politics of the Middle East requires more than an examination of the institutions of government. It is particularly important that the student of the Middle East understand the broader context in which the game of politics is played. Accordingly, this book examines the political systems in terms of their approach to the problems confronting them. The machinery of government is examined not only in terms of what it is but also in terms of why it is the way it is; why and how it works; and what it has done, or attempted to do, in confronting the state's problems.

Consideration of the legislative, executive, and judicial machinery of politics is thus complemented by study of the elements that affect the actual translation of goals and policy into action. To convey the full flavor of each individual system and its operation, we have examined its major components, including the historical setting, available resources, economic and social structure, and ideologies, as well as the more traditional topics: political parties and/or other instruments of mobilization, political elites and leadership. Although these elements operate in each of the systems, they do so with differing results. Thus the factors are consid-

ered differently in each of the studies in this book. This, in itself, provides a useful means of comparison of systems and can be illuminating.

Obviously, a detailed investigation of all the influences on the politics of any country would require more space than can be allotted in one volume. Therefore, the authors have isolated the most important elements for examination and discussion. This system concept is reflected in the structure of each of the studies. Each country is examined in terms of its historical background, political environment, political structure, political dynamics, and foreign policy.

Historical Background

The Middle Eastern sense of history is strong, and comprehension of the political systems of the region is almost impossible without an understanding of the historical background of each of the states. Tangible evidence of ancient systems can be found not only in archaeological ruins but also in functioning political systems. The origins of contemporary problems often can be traced back to the ancient civilizations of the region. History there tends to be of such importance that there is little attempt to divorce contemporary developments from historical events and little sense of time to suggest that they should be separated. Thus the origins of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam provide a working context for twentieth-century politics. Specific historic events, such as the Jewish exodus from Egypt and the subsequent establishment of a Jewish state, the Ottoman Turkish conquests, and the European colonization and domination, continue to affect the political systems of the Middle East in profound ways.

The style of politics often emulates or responds to ancient methods and conflicts. In many of the countries, centuries of history have helped to determine the roles of the elites and the masses and the present-day interaction between them. The form and style of decisionmaking are also the result of historical development as well as of the modern demands placed upon the system. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the continued importance of the kinship group in the decisionmaking process. Ancient rivalries and boundary disputes still affect the relations among the states of the region. In the Middle East the past tends to provide the parameters for the systems that operate today.

Political Environment

Despite its crucial role in the development of the modern Middle East, history alone cannot completely explain modern politics. Geography, demography, climate, and economics have all contributed to the emergence of the Middle East as we know it. The individual environment of each state provides further insight into the unique forces operating in it. Environment can help to explain the diversity of politics that exists in the face of shared historical background. The geopo-

litical uniqueness of the region and of its component states is essential in any explanation of political behavior. Geography partially determines the wealth or poverty of a nation and indicates its potential for development. It can also point to a nation's strategic value and to the problems it may face. Such problems, and the means and the methods used to deal with them, provide much of the substance of modern politics and policy.

Demography, too, must be considered. Wars, famines, and religious and national upheaval have led to large-scale immigration and migrations throughout the region. These migrations have left many of the states with substantial ethnic minorities as well as chronic problems of overpopulation or underpopulation. Regional, national, and religious minorities abound. In most areas these minorities have been relegated to second-class status, but in some they have become the ruling elite. In either case, the social structure that determines the weight and merit of minority groups as well as the problems that result from over- or underpopulation can tell us much about the nature of politics.

Economics also plays a key role in determining the political environment of the Middle East. All the states are undergoing economic and social development, and the governments are very much involved in the process by which it will be achieved. Here, too, however, there is diversity, for the states of the Middle East range from extremely wealthy to extremely poor; oil is a prime factor in explaining this disparity, but other conditions are involved as well. The population size, education, the human resource endowment, and the state's success in modernization all affect the context in which policy is made. The different states have adopted different methods to meet the challenge presented by economic and social development. These methods reflect their own economic needs, resources, and capabilities.

Political Structure

The description and analysis of the formal governmental institutions, their powers, and their decisionmaking processes traditionally have been the initial focus in the study of a state's politics. The Middle East is characterized by a wide range of diverse political institutions—some of which have no match anywhere in the world.

The systems of the Middle East can be examined in terms of the presence, or absence, of such political institutions as constitutions, political parties, judicial systems, and modern bureaucracies. Examination of these institutions helps to provide insight into the decisionmaking process and to identify both the decisionmakers themselves and the locus of power within the system. This insight, in turn, yields a framework for making comparisons between and among the states of the region. It should also provide the ability to assess the differences and similarities between the systems and to understand the nature, extent, and direction of political development and modernization.

Political Dynamics

Identifying the institutions of politics and the constitutional methods, if any, by which they are supposed to work renders only a partial picture of a political system. In any state there is a dichotomy between theory and practice. To appreciate the methods by which a state really operates and the interaction among its institutions, one must assess its political dynamics. Essentially this would involve an attempt to view the government in action. To the Western student (especially the American), who resides in a country where political systems operate relatively openly and in an orderly and systematic fashion, the complexities and the Byzantine methods of the Middle Eastern systems may seem unduly complicated. Those systems have their own dynamics conditioned by history and environment. To know only the institutions of government, without understanding the political dynamics involved, is to know only how the system ought to work—not how it does work. To understand Middle Eastern politics, one must keep in mind the particular viewpoint of the Middle East when one examines its political dynamics.

Foreign Policy

To help the reader understand the interaction of the history, environment, structure, and dynamics in the states, each study concludes with a review of foreign policy. Examination of the totality of international relationships for each state is impossible, but the main directions of that policy are looked at in order to develop a picture both of the concept of politics at work in each system and of the methods of operation. These overviews of foreign policy provide insight into the decisionmaking process and into the views of the decisionmakers. Foreign policy thus acts as something of a summary of state concerns, capabilities, and actions, as well as of the political processes within the system.

Ultimately, this multifaceted examination of the more than twenty independent states of the Middle East and North Africa reveals a good deal not only about the politics of the individual states but also about the region as a whole and about Third World developing states in general. Because of their diversity and the wide range of patterns and approaches they represent, the states of the Middle East provide a useful case study of politics in Third World states. By studying the basic factors affecting politics, the organization of the political system, and its dynamics and foreign policy, we will come to understand more about the complex and important part of the world known as the *Middle East*.

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Republic of Turkey

George S. Harris

Historical Background

Modern Turkey differs profoundly from most of the nations that have emerged in the past century as independent states. It inherited a broad panoply of institutions and traditions from its Ottoman forebears. Although Turkey was only one of the countries that came into being in the lands of the former Ottoman Empire, it alone took over almost the entire ruling class of this multiethnic and multireligious state.

A flair for bureaucratic organization distinguished the Ottomans since their earliest days, even though the empire suffered from periods of misrule and insurrection. Initially, the government apparatus was dominated by the armed forces. But once the era of conquest ended, the problems of administering the huge Ottoman territories demanded increased attention. In response, the civilian hierarchy expanded in prestige, size, and complexity. Thus, though the army always played an important role, the Ottoman Empire was far more than a praetorian state run by a dominant military caste.

To meet Europe's challenge, by the end of the eighteenth century the Ottomans had turned toward state-directed reform. The top leadership sought to galvanize the populace in ways that violated popular custom on occasion. It was an elitist approach, predicated on the notion that the rulers know best, an approach that has remained an enduring hallmark of Turkish reform.

At the same time, the effort to keep the Ottoman state competitive triggered severe intraelite conflict. On the one hand, secular modernizers, who were ascendant in the nineteenth century, saw adoption of European technology as the way to cope with intrusions of the West. On the other hand, traditionalists looked to-

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of technologie

ward return to religious purity and rejection of Western materialism as the recipe for staving off Europe.

By the time the empire collapsed, however, the religious class had lost the battle. The need to embrace European technology was generally accepted, but dispute centered on whether wholesale cultural borrowings from the West were essential to complement technology or whether science and hardware from Europe could be implanted without disturbing traditional patterns. This debate continued into the republican era.

The Ottoman Empire included peoples of diverse languages and religions. Organization by religious community proved a cost-effective method of rule in the era before national consciousness was awakened among the subject peoples. But the persistence of communal identity, which the Ottoman way fostered, provided a fertile ground for separatist movements once nationalism's seeds had been planted. These ethnic separatists threatened to dismember the empire from within while the European powers were pressing from withouts.

Turkish nationalism did not emerge full-blown until the Ottoman Empire disintegrated. But as early as the Young Turk period, protagonists of Turkism were in evidence. After the 1908 revolution, in reaction to the financial controls imposed by European creditors, the Turkists turned to economic nationalism. Yet although Enver Pasha, one of Turkey's triumvirs in World War I, urged the assembling of the world's Turks in a single state, neither he nor his fellow Young Turks ever abandoned their hopes of maintaining the empire, especially its Arab Islamic ele-

The Young Turk political structure formed the base for the organization of modern Turkey. The Ottoman parliament that had been restored in 1908 continued as the Grand National Assembly in Ankara; and the Committee of Union and Progress served as the model for Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's own political vehicle, the Republican People's Party. Likewise, some of the patterns of political controversy carried over into the republic.

The First Republic

Ataturk is rightly credited with having established Turkey out of the ruins of the Ottoman state. Yet he built on local "defense of rights" organizations in Anatolia and Thrace that the Committee of Union and Progress had set up to resist the European effort to carve up the Turkish heartland after World War I. He served as a critical rallying point against the invading Greeks, who landed in Izmir in May 1919. Under his charismatic leadership, Turkey regained its independence, expelled the Greek army, and convinced the Western powers to end their occupation.

Ataturk then began a thorough modernization of Turkish society. One of his major contributions was to recognize the folly of trying to retain Arab dominions. But he insisted on keeping a Kurdish-inhabited segment of the Anatolian core area, which he considered essential for modern Turkey. To boost pride in being

