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ABSTRACT

Based on a comparison between Jewish and Sahrawi nationalism, the article introduces James Scott's theorization of state-evading and state-making societies to the study of Zionist state formation. Given the state-evading features of Jewish Diaspora life (physical dispersion, segmentary kinship, acephalous social structure), the article argues that Zionism might best be compared to the state-making projects of other state-evading communities (including Kurdish, Berber, and Sahrawi nationalism). As an example for this comparative research agenda, the article explores the case of Sahrawi nationalism: While POLISARIO, the national liberation movement of Western Sahara, was consciously modelled after Third World insurgencies in Algeria and Palestine, the Sahrawi proto-state (the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic) applies a model of state-driven nation-building that corresponds closely to the statism (mamlakhtiyut) of the Zionist state-in-the-making.

Introduction

In contrast to exceptionalist portrayals of the Zionist project, the comparative research agenda in the field of Israel Studies has established crucial insights into the shared features which link the history of Jewish nationalism to other nationalist movements and state projects.[1] Comparative studies have focused on Zionism as a form of Diaspora nationalism, as a colonization project, as a form of ethnic nationalism or as a theological ideology.[2] While Zionism has long been studied in comparison to nationalist movements in Europe, in recent years an increasing number of scholars has made the case for studying Israel within its Middle Eastern setting:[3] Taking up an earlier tradition of studying Zionist state formation as a part of the developing world, authors have questioned Israel's categorization as a Western nation-state or as a European settler colony.[4] Instead, scholars have compared Israel's desecularization to Algeria and India, explored parallels between the war financing of the Yishuv and the Viet Cong, analyzed the creation of Pakistan as a "Muslim Zion," or compared Israel's territorial expansion to Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, and Turkey.[5]

As a contribution to the regionalist school in Israel Studies, this article presents the case for integrating the Zionist project into the study of "state-evading peoples" in the

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Middle East and beyond:[6] According to James Scott, state-evading societies are defined by physical dispersion, segmentary kinship, and an acephalous social structure, all of which help them evade the grasp of centralized state control. In contrast, state-making societies feature a densely settled, agricultural population disciplined by taxation, conscription and centralized religion. Following Durkheim's understanding of Jewish diaspora life as a segmented society, this distinction calls for a comparison between Zionism and other state-making projects in state-evading societies, including the cases of modern Kurdish, Berber, and Sahrawi nationalism.[7] Instead of transferring the Eurocentric framework of "minorities" or "minority nationalism" to the Middle East, this comparative approach focuses on a distinct pattern of social organization (state evasion) and its transformation through the process of nationalization (state-making).[8]

As a counter-intuitive comparative case study, this article studies the parallels between Zionism and the "Saharan Zion," the state-making project of modern Sahrawi nationalism. Bordered by Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria, the contested territory of Western Sahara is split by massive desert fortifications which separate a Moroccan-administered (or Moroccan-occupied) part from a much smaller part which is administered by POLISARIO, the national liberation movement of Western Sahara.[9] The Moroccan-ruled part encompasses all the major cities and the substantial natural resources of the territory, including phosphate mines and fisheries. The POLISARIO-ruled part consists of a narrow piece of arid land with the mostly symbolic value of being the "liberated territories" of a present-future Sahrawi nation-state, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). This proto-state is in charge of maintaining a small guerrilla force and administering everyday life in the Sahrawi refugee camps in the Algerian desert.

Sahrawi nationalism was consciously modelled after the Algerian-Palestinian model, and parallels between the Palestinian diaspora and the Sahrawi "refugee nation" have long been established.[10] In contrast, this article argues that both Jewish and Sahrawi nationalism share typical features of state-making processes in state-evading societies: POLISARO may have sought to emulate PLO-style armed struggle, but the state-driven nation-building within the Sahrawi proto-state shows strong parallels to the *mamlakh-tiyut* (statism) of the Zionist state-in-the-making.[11] The argument will be presented as follows: First, the article integrates the theorization of state-evading and state-making societies into the comparative analysis of Israel-diaspora relations. Second, the article compares Jewish and Sahrawi nationalism by exploring four crucial dimensions of state-making in state-evading societies: The centralization of violence (militarization), authority (hierarchization), culture (nationalization) and space (territorialization). Third, the article points out the unique features of the Zionist project which set it apart from other "'would-be' states" in the Middle East like the SADR, the Rif Republic or the Republic of Mahabad. Fourth, the conclusion argues that the comparative focus on state evasion and state-making might be crucial for exploring the parallels between the modern Jewish, Kurdish and Berber experience.

Muslim Zion, Saharan Zion: comparative perspectives on Israel-Diaspora relations

The study of Israel-Diaspora relations frequently emphasizes the idiosyncratic nature of the Jewish case: To the Zionist eye, the "territorial foundation" (ha-yesod ha-artzi) forms

one of the unique features of Jewish history while diasporic life represents "political servitude, which must be abolished completely."[12] In contrast to Zionist *Heilsgeschichte* (history of salvation), anti-Zionist *Unheilsgeschichte* (history of damnation) understands the same process of diaspora restoration (defined by Anthony Smith as the "return of the community to its ancestral home from which it had been exiled") as a catastrophic act of political violence and cultural disfiguration, resulting in "masquerade colonialism, parodic mimesis of colonialism, Jews in colonialist drag".[13] Following Zygmunt Bauman's theorization of Allosemitism, both exceptionalist readings of Israel-Diaspora relations (whether Zionist or anti-Zionist) can be understood as a form of Allozionism, defined as "the practice of setting Zionism and the State of Israel apart as a nationalist movement and a nation-state radically different from all the others, needing separate concepts to describe and comprehend them and special treatment in all or most social intercourse".[14]

In contrast, comparative approaches to the study of Israel-diaspora relations emphasize the parallels between the Zionist project and other forms of diaspora nationalism, both in Europe (especially in the Greek and the Armenian case) and the Middle East.[15] In the field of intellectual history, comparative approaches focus on the diffusion, translation, and contestation (including outright demonization) of Zionist or proto-Zionist motifs such as ethnosectarianism, diaspora restoration and minority separatism. Given the centrality of the Hebrew Bible in Western civilization and the global salience of the Israeli-Arab conflict throughout the Cold War, Jewish and Palestinian nationalisms have long been turned into projection screens, role models and cultural codes for numerous national movements: European settler-colonialists fantasized about "promised lands" and "manifest destinies" based on supersessionist Christian readings of the Hebrew Bible; Irish nationalists first fell in love with Jewish Diaspora restoration and later identified with the Palestinian struggle; stateless communities throughout the Middle East (whether Maronites, Kurds or Palestinians) studied Zionist ideology and Jewish-Israeli history with a mixture of jealousy and amazement.[16] Even for committed Anti-Zionists, the undeniable achievements of the Zionist project turned the State of Israel into an ambivalent figure of what might be called an enemy-as-role-model.[17]

In the field of state formation, comparative approaches focus on the commonalities and differences between state-building projects that are carried out by diaspora-nationalist movements, including affinities between the Zionist project and other attempts at diaspora restoration (Liberia as the "Black Zion"), minority nationalism in the context of territorial partition (Pakistan as the "Muslim Zion") and language revitalization as the backbone of national revival in cases ranging from Ireland to New Zealand.[18] From a comparative perspective, some elements of Zionist state formation stand out as unique, for instance the dialectic tension between colonial statecraft and an ethnonationalist claim to indigeneity, which came to produce a "settler-immigrant-indigenous society."[19] In other cases, the comparative method points to shared features of diaspora nationalism, like the distinct pattern of irredentist expansionism in modern Greek, Armenian, and Jewish-Israeli history: In the case of Greece, only catastrophic defeat and mass ethnic cleansing in the Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922) put an end to the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) of reconquering Constantinople/Istanbul and all of Byzantine Asia Minor.[20] Until today, both Armenia and Israel continue to rule over ethnic exclaves on contested territories, namely the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and the Armenian Republic of Artsakh (formerly known as the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic).

This article looks at a special case of homeland-diaspora relations, namely state-making projects by state-evading societies. In contrast to most homeland-Diaspora relations, which are shaped by the dynamics of concentration (in the homeland) and dispersal (in the diaspora), state-evading societies are shaped by a situation of *permanent dispersal*: According to James Scott, state-evading societies share the features of physical dispersion, mobility, segmentary kinship, pliable ethnicity and prophetic leadership, all of which seek to evade "incorporation into states and to prevent states from springing up among them".[21] In contrast, state-making societies typically feature a densely settled, agricultural population disciplined by taxation, conscription and centralized religion. While Meyer Fortes and Edward E. Evans-Pritchard define segmentary societies as "stateless societies" which "lack centralized authority, administrative machinery, and constituted judicial institutions – in short which lack government," Scott's approach focuses not on the absence of the state, but on strategies of evading its immediate grasp.[22] Consequently, state-evading societies follow the segmentary logic of "divide that ye need not be ruled".[23] "Their subsistence routines, their social organization, their physical dispersal, and many elements of their culture, far from being the archaic traits of a people left behind, are purposefully crafted both to thwart incorporation into nearby states and to minimize the likelihood that statelike concentrations of power will arise among them."[24]

State-making projects in state-evading societies can be described as particularly challenging. For the case of South East Asia, Scott argues that state-evading societies mostly engage in "imitative state-making," rarely resulting in more than "'would-be' states":[25] "They are the exceptions that prove the rule. While state-making projects have abounded . . . it is fair to say that few have come to fruition. Those would-be kingdoms that did manage to defy the odds did so only for a relatively brief, crisis-strewn period."[26] Indeed, the categorization of Zionism as state-making project for a state-evading society seeks to highlight the precarious nature of the early Zionist project at the margins of Middle Eastern state formation. While state projects by Arab, Turkish and Persian nationalists could build on centuries of state-making, both Jewish, Kurdish, Berber and Sahrawi nationalists struggled to overcome the institutional and cultural path dependence of the "nonstate option":[27] Most Middle Eastern statelets established by state-evading societies came to fit into Scott's category of short-lived "would-be kingdoms," sometimes lasting for only a few months (like the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in 1946).[28]

In contrast, the Zionist movement *did* succeed in overturning the path dependence of state evasion to build a high-functioning and even highly expansionist state apparatus. To explore the differences and commonalities of Zionist state formation and other cases of state-making in state-evading societies, the following sections compare the cases of Jewish and Sahrawi nationalism. Four different processes of state-making in state-evading societies will be explored in particular: *Militarization* describes the centralization of violence, a shift from dispersed patterns of community defense to a formalized and permanent military apparatus. *Territorialization* describes the centralization of space, a shift from geographic dispersion to rooted, demarcated and interlinked forms of human settlement. *Hierarchization* describes the centralization of authority, the shift from a segmented, egalitarian and acephalous society to a centralized and differentiated form of institutionalized rule enforcement. Lastly, *nationalization* describes the centralization of culture, a shift from local, dispersed and autonomous forms of cultural expression to a centralized and regulated system of creating, managing, and interpreting the symbolic meaning of social interaction. While POLISARIO

sought to emulate the PLO, the comparison between Jewish and Sahrawi nationalism points to a more ambivalent picture: By combining PLO-style armed struggle and the top-down nation-building of the Zionist state-in-the-making, the Sahrawi proto-state stands at the intersection of Jewish and Palestinian diaspora nationalism, or, to paraphrase Sadiq al-Azm, at the intersection of Zionism and Palestinian Zionism.[29]

Militarization: creating a "liberated zone"

The militarization of Sahrawi state-making merged tribal groups in Western Sahara into the military apparatus of a proto-state. Throughout POLISARIO's guerrilla campaigns, the Sahrawi national movement applied the same guerrilla strategy as early Palestinian nationalism – only more successfully: "Polisario did not enjoy the diplomatic support of the Arab states. But it found it easier than the PLO to liberate territory."[30] In comparison to the PLO experience of nation-building in exile, since the earliest days of its establishment the SADR had the crucial symbolic advantage of actually controlling parts of the claimed homeland. Key events of Sahrawi state formation (including the proclamation of the SADR in 1976) took place on the territory of Western Sahara, or in the language of Sahrawi nationalism, the "liberated zone":

> The Sahrawi republic sees itself as an independent state under illegal occupation, not as a government in exile. Polisario officials emphasize that the refugees are in Algeria for security and humanitarian reasons only … The Sahrawi republic attempts to carry out as many governmental functions in the territory as possible, especially the Polisario congresses and national celebrations, such as RASD's anniversary celebrations in February, normally staged in Tifariti.[31]

The establishment of this "liberated" zone dates back to the early days of the Sahrawi insurgency. Based on a combination of traditional forms of nomadic warfare and modern military technology, POLISARIO guerrilla operations against the partition of Western Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania reached a remarkable level of military effectiveness, including armed raids deep into Moroccan and Mauritanian territory.[32] In fact, Sahrawi strikes against Mauritania were so powerful that the military and political collapse of the fragile Mauritanian state could only be prevented by a large-scale intervention of the French air force ("Operation Lamantin") against POLISARIO forces, complemented by the stationing of Moroccan troops inside Mauritania.[33] By 1979 POLISARIO guerrilla warfare had successfully eroded Mauritanian efforts to incorporate the southern part of Western Sahara (renamed as "Tiris al-Gharbia"): After a coup by military officers who were frustrated by guerrilla harassment and an increasing Moroccan military presence, Mauritania formally withdrew any territorial claims to Western Sahara and signed a Sahrawi-Mauritanian peace accord, the Algiers Agreement, which pledged to transfer the previously annexed part of Western Sahara to POLISARIO.[34]

Despite heavy setbacks (including the death in battle of POLISARIO's first secretary-general and first president of the SADR, El Ouali Mustapha Sayed) and the swift occupation of Tiris al-Gharbia by Moroccan troops, the Algiers Agreement established an important precedent for the Sahrawi insurgency against the formal incorporation of Western Sahara into the Moroccan state: While POLISARIO was unable to defeat the Moroccan military in open battle, guerrilla warfare aimed at slowly eroding the political will of the Moroccan

officer corps and the Moroccan population to shoulder the military and economic burden of the ongoing "Moroccanization" efforts in Western Sahara.

However, by limiting itself to "hard targets" like Moroccan military and strategic installations without targeting the obvious "soft targets" of Morocco's tourism industry, POLISARIO ultimately failed to overcome Morocco's classic counterinsurgency strategy of border interdiction.[35] Over time, the construction of a massive network of defensive desert walls proved highly effective in slowly expanding the territory under Moroccan control from about one sixth of the entire territory of Western Sahara (1983) to two thirds (1987). In its final stage, this desert wall ("berm") reached a length of 2,400 km, protected by regular garrisons of Moroccan soldiers.[36]

The failure of POLISARIO's strategy of state-making by militarization might not be particularly surprising: In contrast to the Israeli-Arab conflict, in the Moroccan-Sahrawi confrontation only *one* side enjoyed the privileges of great power patronage. While Morocco was able to leverage its ties to Arab monarchies, the Western world *and* the Soviet Union, the Sahrawi state project found itself limited to patronage from Algeria and, to varying degrees, Cuba, Libya and Syria.[37]

Territorialization: indigenization and third world colonialism

Sahrawi state-making was closely connected to the process of territorialization, which reframed an uprising of tribal groups into a confrontation between an *indigenous* nation against foreign colonizers: By framing the nation's social identity as being engaged in a struggle against foreign colonialism, any attempt by Moroccan state authorities to present historical or legal claims to the contested territory could be portrayed as fundamentally illegitimate. Similar to Palestinian nationalism, different shades of Sahrawi national identity were accentuated according to the target audience: The Sahrawi state project was presented to external patrons either as a form of revolutionary Third Worldism (Algeria), grassroots democracy carried out by popular committees (Libya), anti-Zionist pan-Arabism (Syria), or a "kind of indigenous socialism" espousing progressive forms of gender equality (Western and especially Spanish support networks) – all of which could be brought under the umbrella of fighting against the Third World settler-colonialism of the Moroccan state.[38]

Similar to other "comparable, but somewhat different kinds of anti-colonial struggles in those countries more recently occupied" such as Eritrea and East Timor, Sahrawi nationalism aimed at resisting a policy of coercive incorporation.[39] In sharp contrast to Israel's strategy of non-incorporation vis-à-vis the inhabitants of the West Bank for instance, Morocco systematically aimed at converting the population of Western Sahara into loyal Moroccans, by force if necessary, to bolster its claim to the territory:[40] If Sahrawi nationalism could be crushed militarily and the Sahrawi population under Moroccan occupation could be transformed into royal "subjects of the Sahara" who differed from their "brethren from the North" in a few local customs only, Morocco's territorial conquest would not be a violation of the international law of decolonization since there would be no Sahrawi nation to begin with.[41]

In this context, POLISARIO routinely describes Morocco's military invasion of Western Sahara in 1975 as "a colonial war," Moroccan rule over Western Sahara as "a colonial policy" and the Sahrawi population as "a people subjected to colonial occupation".[42] This

depiction of Morocco as a colonial power goes back to the early days of POLISARIO's Third Worldism like the proclamation of the first SADR government in March 1976:

> A new page has been opened in the struggle of our people which today defies the colonialism of our allegedly 'brotherly' neighbors – after having closed the page of colonialism by the far-away enemy through its heroic struggle.[43]

This routine depiction, by Sahrawi propaganda, of Moroccan rule over Western Sahara as "colonialism, Moroccan style" even provoked, at one point, a response by Hassan II:[44]

> Peace and quiet ... reign in La'ayoune, Smara, Boujdour, Dakhla and all around. ... There are schools and hospitals for everyone. Furthermore, which is unprecedented in both ancient and contemporary history ... not a single armed soldier is patrolling the cities and villages of the Sahara. Those who pretend that Morocco is acting there as a colonizer have lived through the colonial period themselves. How can they delude themselves to this extent? How is it conceivable to compare their life under colonialism and the current life of the Sahrawis allegedly under Moroccan colonialism? Thank God, in the Sahara, the trader, the student, the craftsman and the farmer can work in peace.[45]

In 1991, the end of the Cold War transformed the Moroccan-Sahrawi confrontation from a desert war into a diplomatic quagmire: Under the auspices of a UN peacekeeping mission (MINURSO, Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Organisation d'un Référendum au Sahara Occidental), the territorial conflict was supposed to be decided in the framework of a referendum on self-determination, thereby complying with the international law of decolonization. The referendum was subverted by Moroccan attempts to manipulate the electorate by flooding the voter lists with pro-Moroccan loyalists.[46] In line with the Third Worldist jargon of its founding philosophy, Sahrawi propaganda described this Moroccan practice of demographic engineering in the territory as a form of "settler-colonialism" – even if many "Moroccan settlers" were ethnic Sahrawis from Southern Morocco who might be sympathetic to an independent Sahrawi republic.[47] For instance, in his critique against the 2003 Baker II peace plan (see below), the Secretary-General of POLISARIO described the suggested inclusion of "the bona fide residents of Western Sahara" as follows:

> Accepting the Moroccan flag, currency and stamps in the Western Sahara is tantamount to giving in to the colonizer's claim that it has sovereignty over the Territory. [...] [The] composition of the electorate envisaged under the proposal is both unfair and fatal to the Saharan people [...] because the fate of the colonized Saharan Territory would be determined through a referendum in which 86,425 Saharans and [...] Moroccan settlers four to five times that number would participate.[48]

Hierarchization: Sahrawi Mamlakhtiyut

In terms of militarization (centralization of violence) and territorialization (centralization of space), the Sahrawi state closely followed the Algerian-Palestinian paradigm of armed national liberation. However, the hierarchization (centralization of authority) of the Sahrawi state project differed markedly from the Palestinian model of deferred state formation (liberation *into* the state) and came much closer to the Zionist paradigm of immediate state formation (liberation *by* the state):[49] Unlike the PLO (or the FLN, for that matter), Sahrawi nationalists engaged in a vigorous campaign of rapid nationalization, for

instance by proclaiming the establishment of a nation-state (not just a nationalist move-ment), establishing a national army (not just a guerrilla movement), building a national Red Crescent organization (not just a medical emergency service) and observing national holidays (not just special occasions of a nationalist movement).

This pattern of Sahrawi *mamlakhtiyut* aimed first and foremost at subverting the Moroccanization of Western Sahara. As a systematic violation of the international law of decolonization and the 1975 ruling of the International Court of Justice on Western Sahara, Morocco's rule over the contested territory was based on a triple denial:[50] First, Morocco denied the existence of a Sahrawi *territory* by strategically splitting Western Sahara into four provinces, some of them stretching across the pre-1975 border in order to blur Morocco's international boundaries and renamed the territory first as Morocco's "Saharan provinces" and later as its "Southern provinces."[51] Second, Morocco denied the existence of a Sahrawi nation, only recognized by the Moroccan king Hassan II as a "so-called people" led by a "so-called" nationalist movement.[52] As Hassan II explained, there could be no such thing as a Sahrawi nation that would be limited to Western Sahara:

> [We] speak of a Sahrawi people, as you say, the term comes from the word Sahara, so every inhabitant of the Sahara is a Sahrawi … There is the Moroccan Sahara, the Mauritanian, the Algerian, the Malian […] In that sense we can speak of a Sahrawi people. But [a Sahrawi people] ranging from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, not merely 75.000 people.[53]

Third, Morocco denied the existence of a Sahrawi state apparatus by mocking the SADR as an Algerian "puppet state," an inauthentic pseudo-state deserving ridicule even on the level of typography.[54]

The Sahrawi Republic thus represented a crucial strategic tool against the formalization of Morocco's incorporation attempt: Given Morocco's clear violation of the international law of decolonization, the abstract notion of "the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination" was annually confirmed in declarations of the UN General Assembly based on reports of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization. As a Sahrawi *quasi-state*, however, the SADR operated as a very tangible fulfilment of this abstract right to self-determination – after all, recognition of the SADR (at one point extending to over 80 states) meant recognizing its *de jure* sovereignty over the entire territory of Western Sahara, including those areas under *de facto* Moroccan occupation.[55] In response to Morocco's unlawful annexation of the territory, large numbers of former colonies throughout the Third World recognized the SADR which was even granted full membership in the Organization of African Unity in 1984 (followed by Morocco's withdrawal from the organization until 2017).[56]

To this day, the question of Sahrawi statehood continues to shape the territorial conflict: After failing in its attempt to successfully subvert the referendum on the self-determination of Western Sahara, Morocco simply abandoned the process in 2000 with substantial Western backing.[57] In an attempt to find a political solution *below* the threshold of statehood, American diplomats suggested to transfer the Oslo paradigm from Israel/Palestine to the Maghreb: The 2003 "Baker II" peace plan foresaw the creation of a "transitional" adminis-tration under full Moroccan control, the "Western Sahara Authority" (WSA). While elec-tions for its quasi-state organs (a legislative assembly, a supreme court, a chief executive) would have been based on an all-Sahrawi electorate, a new referendum on self-determination

would have included "the bona fide residents of Western Sahara"[58] – in other words, the majority population of Moroccan settler-immigrants.[59]

Under Algerian pressure, the POLISARIO leadership agreed to the Baker II plan – even if the plan would have transformed them from leaders of a diaspora-nationalist proto-state in exile (SADR) to agents of a Moroccan *satellite non-state* (WSA):[60] While the "Western Sahara Authority" would have been responsible for law enforcement, fisheries and industry, Morocco would have remained in charge of foreign relations, defense and (tellingly) "the preservation of territorial integrity against secessionist attempts, whether from within or outside the Territory".[61]

Morocco rejected the peace deal – in sharp contrast to the Palestinian fate of being stuck in a semi-functional satellite state, the Sahrawi proto-state therefore continues to operate somewhere between the diasporic "miniature state" of pre-assimilation European Jewry (as described by Jakob Klatzkin) and the *mamlakhtiyut* (statism) of the New Yishuv.[62] Claude Bontems describes the paradox of a proto-state that is both fully diasporic and fully nationalized as follows: "The Tindouf [location of the refugee camps] is seen not as a totally foreign land, but as a miniature of Western Sahara, a temporary substitute for the homeland".[63] Consequently, in a striking parallel to the Zionist project, both national salvation history and the national territory remain suspended between diasporic longing and nationalist fulfilment.

Nationalization: more than a tribe with a flag

In parallel to the centralization of authority, the Sahrawi state project also carried out a top-down policy of transformational nationalization (centralization of culture). Ostentatious displays of Sahrawiness sought to resist the logic of cultural Moroccanization: As a project of denationalization, Morocco's rule aimed at reconverting the term Sahrawi (i.e., Saharan) from a category of national self-characterization (implying a right of self-determination) to a purely *geographic* description – in the same way that politicidal Arab anti-Zionism aimed at converting Judaism back to a purely *religious* description.[64] In defiance of this policy of incorporation, Sahrawi nationalism accentuated the qualitative distinction between "Sahrawiness" and "Moroccanness" by confronting Morocco's incorporation efforts with the notion of a fundamentally *un-incorporable* Sahrawi nation. The triple Moroccan denial of a Sahrawi nation, territory and state apparatus was systematically confronted by vigorous nation-building inside the Sahrawi proto-state in the Algerian refugee camps.

The observance of national holidays aptly encapsulates the subversive logic of building a Sahrawi nation diametrically opposed to the Moroccan incorporation project: Within Morocco and Moroccan-administered Western Sahara, irredentist nationalism became integrated into the liturgical year of national holidays – the "Saharan Consensus" of Moroccan unity on the question of Western Sahara was not only celebrated on the anniversary of the "Green March" (November 6), but also on the anniversary of Morocco's capture of Tiras el-Gharbia (Oued ed-Dahab Day, August 14).[65] In contrast, within the proto-state of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, national holidays celebrate the chronology of Sahrawi state formation: Pre-POLISARIO Sahrawi nationalism (June 17, Day of Insurrection), the foundation of POLISARIO (May 10), the first guerrilla attack against Spanish forces (May 20), the establishment of supra-tribal national unity (October 12, Day of National Unity), the proclamation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic

Republic (27 February) and the guerrilla war against Morocco and Mauritania (June 9, Martyrs' Day).[66] Even the settlement pattern of Sahrawi refugees in the Algerian desert established a precise mirror image of a diasporic Western Sahara that could *not* be incorporated by Morocco – each administrative area was named after a Western Saharan locality:

> In the early days of exile, the refugees used this geographical reference to re-assemble on the basis of their native areas, hence preserving former social links and encouraging continued mutual cooperation. This process was designed to make the reintegration of the population easier once independence had been achieved.[67]

In addition, in the Moroccan-administered parts of Western Sahara, Sahrawi nationalism took a distinctly *ethnic* turn by distinguishing between Sahrawis as nomadic Arabs and Moroccan settlers as sedentary Berbers invading the territory primarily based on economic opportunism. The Sahrawi vocabulary for Moroccan settler-immigrants (despite their frequent tribal ties to Sahrawis) deploys terms that might be translated as "little Berbers" (*ch'lihat*), "coolies" (*hammal*) or simply "eaters" (*wakkala*).[68] This ethnic turn also found its expression in an increasingly *pan-Sahrawi* nationalism: While POLISARIO's official "Western Saharan" nationalism was strictly limited to claiming the territory of Western Sahara for its former inhabitants (in accordance with the international law of decolonization), the pan-Sahrawi appeal of this state project founds its expression in the migration of ethnic Sahrawis from northern Mauritania and southern Morocco to the refugee camps.[69]

Within the Tindouf camps, the SADR engaged in a project of *structural nationalization* based on its strict control over both the education system and the media apparatus: Various folkloric elements of Moorish nomadic pastoralism in Western Sahara were merged into a distinct national culture which allegedly separated Sahrawi nomadism from sedentary Moroccan culture, based on the *hassaniya* dialect of Arabic, different religious practices and social structures (including gender norms) as well as the impact of Spanish culture in contrast to French-influenced Morocco.[70] In this effort to shape a supra-tribal national consciousness, the SADR consequently engaged in a campaign to combat tribalism – or, given the relatively obvious dominance of the Reguibat tribe within the POLISARIO leadership, simply to deny it.[71]

Yet despite these efforts at top-down nationalization, the "Saharan Zion" of the Sahrawi state project competes with ongoing patterns of Sahrawi statelessness, including some cases of Sahrawi loyalism to the Moroccan state apparatus. In contrast to early defections from the Moroccan-administered areas to the refugee camps (including two of the four initial Sahrawi representatives in Morocco's parliament), recent years have seen active Moroccan efforts to recruit former POLISARIO activists into its patronage network of loyalist "palace Sahrawis".[72] After the failure of the referendum process, both tribal elders and ex-POLISARIO functionaries were deployed by the Moroccan monarchy to make the case for regional autonomy instead of self-determination within the Saharan advisory council (CORCAS, Conseil royal consultatif pour les affaires sahariennes).[73] As a symbol of Sahrawi loyalism, the Moroccan-administered town of La'ayoune (claimed by the SADR as its future capital) even houses a somewhat run-down "Museum of Saharan Arts" celebrating the artistic contribution "of our Southern provinces … to the preservation of our identity."[74] However, while some Sahrawi businessmen and tribal leaders could be coopted by the Moroccan state, overall

Sahrawi loyalism seems limited. In late 2010, just weeks before the outbreak of the "Arab Spring," Sahrawis in Moroccan-administered Western Sahara organized the Gdeim Izik protest camp outside of La'ayoune: By moving from the Moroccanized city into a tent camp in the desert, Sahrawi activists symbolically reenacted the escape from the Moroccan-Mauritanian invasion in 1975 which stands at the origin of the Sahrawi state project.[75]

Israel as a post-segmentary society

The Sahrawi state project remains at the margins of Middle Eastern politics, and its precarious status points to the challenges of state-making in state-evading societies. Segmentary societies which have gone through the transformational process of state-making continue to be shaped by the historical legacy of heavily dispersed patterns of social authority, cultural practices and settlement: In post-segmentary societies, the fission/fusion dialects of segmentary politics or ʿaṣabiyya (Ibn Khaldun) persist, and both the state option and the non-state option continue to coexist side by side – whether in modern Jewish or Sahrawi history.[76]

Instead of categorizing the Zionist project among other state-making societies (whether in Europe or the Middle East), the comparison with segmentary and post-segmentary societies emphasizes the fragile nature of Jewish-Israeli nationalization: Most projects of state-making by state-evading societies in the modern Middle East were doomed to failure, including the Rif Republic (1921–1926), the Druze State and the Alawite State (1920–1936), Maronite-dominated Lebanon (until the Lebanese civil war), and two short-lived Kurdish statelets (the Republic of Ararat, 1927–1930, and the Mahabad Republic in 1946).[77] In contrast to Israel, which emerged successfully from the dysfunctional "Arab-Jewish composite state" of Mandatory Palestine, all other state-making projects by state-evading societies were either crushed by colonial authorities (the Rif Republic), dismantled by Turkish, Persian and Arab nationalists (the Druze State, the Alawite State, the Republic of Ararat and the Mahabad Republic) or condemned to the status of a ghostly proto-state (the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic).[78]

This comparison points to significant differences in the case of Zionist state formation. First, the Balfour Declaration resembled the colonial minority policy of "divide and conquer," but it produced a solid legal title to self-determination which anchored the Zionist project in international law. In all other cases, favoritism towards state-evading communities (Berber tribes in Morocco, Sahrawi tribes in Spanish Sahara, the compact minorities of Greater Syria) produced patterns of secessionism and semi-functional state-making, but never a formal agreement and international diplomatic backing.[79] In contrast, even highly restrictive British policies against Jewish immigration and land purchases (like the White Paper of 1930 and even more so the White Paper of 1939) could not subvert the "establishment of the Jewish National Home" enshrined in the League of Nations Mandate:[80] The British understanding of a "Jewish National Home" shifted repeatedly, but the outright dismantling of Zionist institution-building in Mandatory Palestine was never an option.

Second, in contrast to the short-lived Republic of Mahabad and other "would-be kingdoms," the robustness of the Zionist project consisted in its institutional hybridity which combined the dynamic ethno-separatism of the Rif Republic with the colonial projection of

European power, populations and institutions to Aotearoa (New Zealand).[81] In sharp contrast to European settler-colonialism, Zionism aimed at Diaspora restoration instead of imperial expansion; nonetheless, Zionist statecraft systematically emulated European patterns of colonization, both in terms of planning, financing, and execution. Of course, Israel would not remain the only Middle Eastern state to combine ethno-nationalism with Western technology: Both Israel's settlement project in the occupied territories and Morocco's incorporation of Western Sahara would have been impossible without the military and tacit diplomatic support of major Western powers. As a result, Israel's policies in the occupied territories look significantly less like the fragile Sahrawi proto-state and considerably more like the expansionist megalomania of Allal al-Fassi's "Greater Morocco", reaching all the way from the Rif to the Senegal River.[82]

Conclusion

The "Saharan Zion" of a future Sahrawi republic transformed the tribal groups of Western Sahara from a state-evading society into a state-making society. Throughout this process, POLISARIO unsuccessfully sought to emulate the Algerian-Palestinian role model of armed struggle: Sahrawi guerrilla warfare collapsed against an elaborate Moroccan strategy of counterinsurgency, and given the almost total failure of Sahrawi nationalists to reach out to audiences beyond Spanish-speaking solidarity movements, the alleged fight against "Moroccan colonialism" is almost as unknown as the issue of Western Sahara itself. In contrast, Sahrawi *mamlakhtiyut* rapidly constructed a proto-state and a post-segmentary national identity from scratch, a relative success story despite the current deadlock in the Moroccan-Sahrawi confrontation.

What can be learned from comparing Israel to state-making processes *outside* of the world of established nation-states in the Middle East? First, the approach by James Scott represents an innovative alternative to the settler-colonial paradigm: While the Zionist project undoubtedly deployed colonial techniques for the settling of Jews in the Land of Israel/Palestine, at its core Zionism represented a revolution of the relationship between the Jews and the state which finds its parallels in modern Kurdish, Berber, and Sahrawi history. Under the conditions of intrusive modern statehood, Zionists were not the *only* nationalists who thought about a state option for a non-state community. In many societies, both in the Middle East and beyond, state-making practices came to replace state-evading patterns of community life: The premodern ideal of state evasion increasingly competed with the modern vision of an evasion state, a political Zion which could perform the function of community protection more effectively than the non-state option.

Second, the comparison explores the historical impact of the non-state option on post-segmentary societies. This aspect emphasizes the fragility of early Zionist state formation: The contemporary State of Israel may look very different from the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, but throughout the first decades of Zionism, a Jewish state seemed as unlikely as a Druze state or an Alawite state. In addition, the non-state option never disappeared from the memory and the politics of the modern Jewish and Sahrawi experience: Segmentary dynamics continue to shape the power structure within POLISARIO and the politics of Moroccan co-optation within Western Sahara. In the case of Jewish nationalism, the long history of Jewish statelessness left a significant mark on the mentality, culture and institutional set-up of the Zionist project: The tribalism of

the ancient Israelites formed the basis for cultural practices of indigenization, the Diasporic architecture of (self-)segregation resonated in the pioneering outpost, and the mistrust in governmental agencies shaped a distinctly anarchic style in Zionist politics, both in settlement activities and in the emerging militias.

Third, the comparison underlines the special appeal of statehood for post-segmentary societies: Only the State of Israel turned Jews into Israelis, and only the Sahrawi Republic turned Saharan tribal groups into Sahrawis. In this context, the framework may be particularly productive for comparative research on Jewish, Kurdish and Berber nationalism:[83] In contrast to the dogmatic Third Worldism of POLISARIO, Berber and Kurdish activists are more open to recognizing the historical parallels between their own projects of territorialization, nationalization or language codification and the legacy of the Zionist movement.

Of course, given the old anti-Semitic trope of the "Wandering Jew" as an urban nomad, the inclusion of Israel into the analysis of state-making projects by state-evading societies is not entirely unproblematic. Werner Sombart famously depicted Jewish "Saharism" as a desert-dwelling, nomadic culture, very much unlike the "Silvanism" of forest-dwelling Teutonic peoples; a stereotype categorically rejected by Ruth Wisse who argued that "Jews … were nothing like nomads in their habits, social organization or cultural inclination."[84] However, the comparison between Jews and other state-evading societies does not aim at equating the World Zionist Congress and the World Amazigh Congress, or MAPAI and POLISARIO, for that matter: Clearly Jews, Kurds, Berbers and Sahrawis represent very different varieties of the non-state option – nonetheless, the history of Jewish state evasion and state-making deserves to be inscribed into to the "global history of populations trying to avoid, or having been extruded by, the state".[85]

Notes

1. Barnett, "The Politics of Uniqueness," 3–25; and Becke, "Beyond Allozionism," 168–93.
2. On Zionism as a form of Diaspora nationalism, see Smith, "Diasporas and Homelands in History," 3–26. On Zionism as a colonization project, see Penslar, "Is Zionism a Colonial Movement?," 90–111; Becke, "Historicizing the Settler-Colonial Paradigm." On Zionism as a form of ethnic nationalism see Smooha, "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," 198–241. On Zionism as a theological ideology see Ohana, *Nationalizing Judaism*.
3. For a comparison between Zionism and European nationalism, see Ben-Israel, "Zionism and European Nationalisms," 91–104. For integrating the study of Israel into its Middle Eastern setting, Podeh, "Israel in the Middle East," 93–113.
4. For early comparisons between Israel and developing countries, see Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States*; Barnett, *Confronting the Costs of War*. For a critique of Israel's categorization as "Western" or a settler-colonial society, see Bareli, "Forgetting Europe," 99–120; Smooha, "Is Israel Western?" 413–42; and Becke, "Dismantling the Villa in the Jungle," 874–91.
5. Walzer, *The Paradox of Liberation*; Penslar, "Rebels Without a Patron State," 171–91; Devji, *Muslim Zion*; Haklai and Loizides, eds., *Settlers in Contested Lands*; and Barak, *State Expansion and Conflict*; Becke, "Varieties of Expansionism," 64–75.
6. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 174.
7. Durkheim, *The Division of Labor*, 128.
8. For a critique of the "minority" framing, see Elie Kedourie, "Minorities and Majorities," 276–82.

9. The acronym POLISARIO stands for the organization's Spanish name *Frente **P**opular de **Li**beración de **Sagu**ía el Hamra y **Rí**o de **O**ro* (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro) and refers to the two territories which formed the colony of Spanish Sahara after 1969: see Mundy and Zunes, *Western Sahara*, 104.

10. Farah, "Refugee Camps in the Palestinian and Sahrawi," 76–93; Martín, *Western Sahara*; Khoury, "Western Sahara and Palestine"; and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *The Ideal Refugees*.

11. Kedar, "Ben-Gurion's Mamlakhtiyut," 117–33.

12. Dinur, "Yechuda shel ha-historia ha-yehudit ʿal yesodotav ve-retsifuto [The Exceptionalism of Jewish History, Its Origins and Continuity]", 3–16, 10; and Baer, *Galut*, 118.

13. Smith, "Chosen Peoples," 436–56, 448; and Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 309.

14. Bauman, "Allosemitism," 143–56; and Becke, "Beyond Allozionism," 168–93, 169.

15. Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires*; Smith, "Diasporas and Homelands in History"; and Sheffer, "Middle Eastern Diasporas," 195–218.

16. Akenson, *God's Peoples*; Bornstein, *The Colors of Zion*; and Gribetz, "When the Zionist Idea Came to Beirut," 243–66.

17. Shavit and Winter, *Zionism in Arab Discourses*.

18. Bornstein, *The Colors of Zion*; Devji, *Muslim Zion*; Ó Laoire, "An Historical Perspective of the Revival of Irish," 51–63; and Spolsky, "Maori Lost and Regained," 67–85, 175.

19. Becke, "Beyond Allozionism," 175.

20. Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities*.

21. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, x.

22. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, "Introduction," 1–23, 13.

23. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, 41.

24. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 8.

25. Ibid., 114, 115.

26. Ibid., 119.

27. Ibid, 328.

28. Roosevelt, "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad," 247–69.

29. Al-Azm, "Palestinian Zionism," 90–8.

30. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 342.

31. Mundy and Zunes, *Western Sahara*, 123.

32. For an analysis of POLISARIO guerrilla tactics, see for instance Tamari, "The Military Balance," 259–339, 323.

33. Hodges, *Western Sahara*; "On May 13, 1977, the government of [Mauritanian president] Ould Daddah signed a defence pact with Morocco under which 9,000 Moroccan troops were to be deployed in Tiris el Gharbia and Mauritania over the following year. Early in in 1978 there were at least 6,000 Moroccans in Mauritania,"; and Seddon, "Morocco at War," 98–136, 101.

34. Hodges, *Western Sahara*, 275.

35. While this strategic choice can probably be traced back to Algerian attempts to contain the conflict, POLISARIO tends to insists that refraining from terrorism was a principled decision. see Bhatia, "Interview with Brahim Bedileh," 298–301, 298.

36. Bäschlin and Sidati, "Western Sahara – Territoriality," 549–68.

37. On Western support for Moroccan rule over Western Sahara see Taylor, "Spain, France, and the Western Sahara," 17–51; Zunes, "The United States in the Saharan War," 53–92. Moroccan control over the natural resources of Western Sahara might have played a role in the rapprochement with the Soviet Union: In 1977, Hassan II "signed with the Soviet Union what he later described as 'the contract of the century'. This was an agreement that bartered a fishery deal and the supply of phosphates against a hard currency loan of $2 billion and technical assistance for the phosphate industry. It was the largest commercial deal ever signed between the Soviet Union and a developing country," Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830*, 344.

38. Hodges, *Western Sahara*, 344–5; Shelley, *Endgame in the Western Sahara*, 46; Zunes, "Nationalism and Non-Alignment," 33–46, 38; and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *The Ideal Refugees*.
39. Young, *Postcolonialism*, 3.
40. Raz, *The Bride and the Dowry*.
41. In a 1981 speech on the occasion of the annual celebration of the Green March which took place before the Consultative Council of the Saharan Provinces (a forum of loyalist Sahrawi tribal leaders), Hassan II described their task as follows: "Your work will not be finished after the referendum, but it will go on until – God willing – it is established that our subjects of the Sahara are living happily and are satisfied, that they have taken up some costums from their brothers from the North while keeping some of theirs which do are not an obstacle to the unity of the nation. Anything which is not opposed to this unity should not only be preserved but also developed," Madani, "Discours de Hassan II," 98–178, 115 (all translations by the author).
42. Omar, "The Position of the Frente Polisario," 37–41.
43. Proclamation du gouvernement de la République Arabe Sahraouie Démocratique du 4 mars 1976, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, "Documents – Sahara Occidental," 915–944, 917.
44. Geldenhuys, *Contested States in World Politics*, 199.
45. From the 1987 speech on the occasion of the annual celebration of the Green March, Madani, "Discours de Hassan II," 142.
46. Dunbar, "Stasis," 522–45.
47. Mundy, "Moroccan Settlers in Western Sahara?" 95–126.
48. United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General*, 10; letter dated March 8, 2003 from the Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General*, 38 and 41.
49. Baumgarten, *Palästina, Befreiung in Den Staat*.
50. Franck, "The Stealing of the Sahara," 694–721.
51. Bäschlin and Sidati, "Western Sahara – Territoriality, Border Conceptions and Border Realities."; in the words of Hassan II: "Today will have to engage in a reflection on the topic of our brothers in the Southern Provinces – I will not say 'Saharan provinces', since Morocco is united, it has its North, its center and its South. In the past, by 'South' we referred to Guelmim and the region south of it. Today, the "South" means La'ayoune and beyond; therefore, in the future I will no more use the expression 'Saharan Provinces'"; from the 1997 speech on the occasion of the annual celebration of the Green March, Madani, "Discours de Hassan II," 172.
52. "Le Sahara fera toujours l'objet de convoitises et de complots qui se manifesteront sous forme de 'Polisario' ou de people sahraoui, ou de ce que l'on nomme ainsi," from the 1978 speech on the occasion of the annual celebration of the Green March, ibid., 106.
53. In a 1979 TV interview with French television, quoted after Zahra, "L'identité Sahraouie En Questions," 131–237, 193.
54. Centre d'Études Internationales, *Maroc-Algerie*; Julien quotes the practice of Moroccan newspapers to print the abbreviation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) only in lower case by adding quotation marks (i.e., "sadr"), Julien, "L'identité Sahraouie En Questions," 168.
55. This number captures the zenith of SADR recognition in the 1980s; after a targeted Moroccan campaign, several countries (most prominently India in 2000) withdrew their recognition of SADR, Mundy and Zunes, *Western Sahara*, 123.
56. Ruf, "The Role of World Powers," 65–97, 72–5.
57. Zunes and Mundy cite three main geopolitical reasons for the Western abandonment of the referendum: Hopes for a Moroccan-Algerian rapprochement after the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika to the Algerian presidency in 1999, fears that a referendum might endanger Mohammed IV's 1999 ascension to the Moroccan throne and a lack of political will to actually *enforce* the results of a referendum given the precedent of Indonesian

massacres following a similar referendum in East Timor in 1999, Mundy and Zunes, *Western Sahara*, 213–8.

58. United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General*, 10.
59. United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General*, 10. For the text of the "peace plan for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara" see ibid., Annex II.
60. "[The] flag, currency, customs, postal and telecommunication systems of Morocco shall be the same for Western Sahara," ibid., article 8b.
61. The peace plan qualified this right to the preservation of territorial integrity by pointing out that Morocco was not authorized to take "any action whatsoever that would prevent, suppress, or stifle peaceful public debate, discourse or campaign activity during any election or referendum period," ibid.
62. For an analysis of the Palestinian Authority as a "client-state," see Khan, "Evaluating the Emerging Palestinian State," 13–62; Klatzkin, *Tchumim*, 45–59.
63. Bontems, "The Government of the Saharawi Arab," 168–86, 177.
64. The term goes back to Harkabi, who coined the concept as a deliberate contrast to genocide. However, Harkabi emphasizes that the two categories are necessarily intertwined: "As there is no commonly accepted term for the 'liquidation of a State', I have proposed calling it 'politicide' – the murder of the *politeia*, the political entity. … Where the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned, there may be no absolute distinction between politicide and genocide, at least from the practical point of view. It may be assumed that the Arabs are well aware that the Israelis, who know what would await them if defeated in war, would fight to the death, and that their overthrow and the liquidation of their State would, therefore, involve a massacre," Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes to Israel*, 37. On the term "politicide," see Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes to Israel*, 83–92.
65. Zerubavel, "Calendars and History," 315–38, 328.
66. The list is based on article 129 of the SADR's constitution, see ould Ismaïl ould Es-Sweyih, *La République Sahraouie*, 226. For a discussion of Sahrawi national holidays see also Martín, *Western Sahara*, 138.
67. See note above 63, 177.
68. Bennani, "Sahara."
69. Hodges, *Western Sahara*, 337.
70. Bäschlin and Sidati, "Western Sahara," 549–68, 561.
71. For a discussion of "anti-tribalism" as part of POLISARIO's effort to shape a "new society," see ould Ismaïl ould Es-Sweyih, *La République Sahraouie*, 54–7; for a discussion of Reguibat dominance within the POLISARIO see Mundy and Zunes, *Western Sahara*, 118–9.
72. Hodges, *Western Sahara*, 280; for instance, in 1992 the SADR's ambassador in Algiers defected to the Moroccan side. "Even with the highly lucrative enticements offered by the Moroccan regime, however, the only major crossover since then was the unexpected 2002 defection of one of the movement's founding members, Ayoub Ould Lahbib, then serving as the RASD's minister of occupied territories. After pledging allegiance to Mohammed VI, he claimed that his disenchantment stemmed from the Algerian intelligence agencies' alleged control over Polisario," Mundy and Zunes, *Western Sahara*, 120.
73. Jacob Mundy, "Out with the Old, in with the New?" 115–22, 118.
74. "Musée des arts Sahariens, Laayoune" (brochure), Kingdom of Morocco, Ministry of Culture and Communication.
75. Yara, "La Résistance Des Sahraouis," 61–102.
76. Cox, "Towards a Post-Hegemonic Conceptualization of World Order," 132–59.
77. Pennell, *A Country with a Government and a Flag*; Kawtharani, "Le Grand-Liban," 46–61; and Roosevelt, "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad."
78. Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand*, 6.
79. Rabinovich, "The Compact Minorities," 693–712.
80. See Rabinovich and Reinharz, *Israel in the Middle East*, 48–53.
81. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 119.

82. Hodges, *Western Sahara*, 86.
83. Bengio and Maddy-Weitzman, "Mobilised Diasporas," 65–90.
84. Sombart, *Die Juden Und Das Wirtschaftsleben*, 426; Wisse, *Jews and Power*, 29.
85. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 328.

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Disclosure statement

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