Why is the Middle East such a conflict-prone region today?

1. World War I promises
2. Interwar Changes
3. Post-WW II Outcome
4. [Obama & Isms (iClicker questions)]

Music: Rough Guide to the Music of Iran

Middle East Timeline
- 1896: Herzl publishes *The Jewish State*
- 1915: Allies vie with Ottomans for Arabs
- 1917: Balfour Declaration
- 1920: San Remo: Brit. Mandate
- 1937: 20th Zionist Congr.
- 1939: British White Paper
- 1947: UN Partition plan
- 1948-49: 1st Arab-Israeli War
- 1956: Suez Crisis
- 1958: UAR (Saudi Arabia+Syria); Rev. in Iraq

Zionism
- "The national movement for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland and the resumption of Jewish sovereignty [in the Land of Israel]"
- Coined in 1890 by Nathan Birnbaum
- Th. Herzl’s *The Jewish State* (1896):
  - "The idea I have developed in this pamphlet is an ancient one: It is the restoration of the Jewish State... The decisive factor is our propelling force. And what is that force? The plight of the Jews."
- French Dreyfus Affair vs. Vienna Mayor Lueger

Clicker Q1: Jews in Palestine
What was the highest proportion of Jewish population in areas of Palestine before the UN partition in 1947?
A. 10%
B. 25%
C. 40%
D. 60%
E. 80%

[C is the best answer, as the next slides show; 40% was the highest, 33% the average Jewish proportion.]
Jewish/Arab population in Palestine, 1914-2005

1946: ca. 600,000 Jews and 1,200,000 Palestinians

1949 Israeli additions to 1947 partition

Arab Nationalism: Between Memory & Desire

- Memories of a glorious past: preeminence 7th - 16th/17th c.
- Today: bitter disappointment, humiliation
- Future: vague & out of reach
- Positive developments: mortality, education, health
- 2/3 of population <25 (born after 1985): no memories of recent bad, just of not good now

Husayn-McMahon Correspondence

- Sharif Husayn: hereditary gov. of Mecca
  - Not a leader of any movement, but...
- Henry McMahon: British high comm. in Egypt
  - Courted from Oct. 1915-summer 1916

World War I: Promises, Promises

- 1915: Husayn-McMahon Correspondence
- 1916: Sykes-Picot Agreement
- 1917: Balfour Declaration
- Woodrow Wilson: 14 Points
- 1918: Anglo-French Declaration
- 1919, Aug: Balfour’s internal memo to the British Cabinet
1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement

Great Britain: Broker & Beneficiary

- Why did Britain take the lead role in planning a post-war settlement in the Middle East?
  - interest in Suez canal
- What vital interests did Britain have to address during the war?
- How had these interests changed by war’s end (November 1918)?
  - Russia, Italy, Germany
  - France
  - Zionists

British Headaches

- Importunate France
- Anti-imperialism (Ho, Mao, Gandhi)
- New nationalisms in the Middle East: self-determination, not dynasty or religion
- A few petty distractions:
  - Ireland
  - Russia in revolution
  - The near-collapse of Germany
  - India
  - A bankrupt treasury

A settlement is reached and our real troubles begin...

- Lord Balfour’s internal memo
- Treaty of Versailles and its offshoots:
  - Wilsonian idealism and the League of Nations
  - Mandate System in the Middle East
  - San Remo accords (April 1920):
    - Sykes-Picot is scrapped but not really
  - Britain: Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq
  - France: Syria, Lebanon

Faisal - Weizmann Agreement, 1919

Chaim Weizmann and Emir Faisal I
(Weizmann wearing Arab outfit as a sign of friendship)

Arab Delegates to Peace Conference, 1919
Arab Prince Faisal (1883-1933) (foreground)
Colonel T.E. Lawrence (middle row, second from the right)
Three big countries wriggle out of the Mandate system

- **Turkish** war of Independence, the end of Ottoman Empire, and the rise of the Turkish Republic (1919-1923)
- **Egypt** gains qualified independence (1919-1922) and a constitutional monarchy (1923)
- **Iran**: from chaos to a new autocracy (1919-1925)

By 1923, (almost) as we know it today

**Mustafa Kemal**

- Hero of Gallipoli
- Western modernization
- No interest in Middle East

**Palestinian Arabs protest, 1936**

From equilibrium (1923) to chaos (1979)—what happened?

- The interwar period (1918-1939)
  - Imperial order endures, but its foundations start to crack (new nationalism, tensions in Palestine)
- World War II
  - France and Great Britain: empires of smoke and mirrors (France defeated 1940; Britain broke 1945)
- After WW II (1945-1958):
  - New guys on the block: the US, USSR—pursue Cold War by proxy in the Middle East
  - Israel (new name): Arab states back P. in ’48, drubbed
  - A new generation of nationalists: “not our kind of people”—lower officers from villages, unsophisticated, no English or French, not conflict-averse, want social justice

Two Nationalist Movements and their strange fates: 1

**Arab Nationalism**

- A never-resolved problem: what is the Arab nation, who is an Arab?
  - Arab nationalism as identity politics rather than a concrete program
- Who shall lead? The accidental hero: Gamal Nasser (1918-1970)
  - Suez ’56
  - Triumphant year of unity: 1958
  - Things begin to stall: 1961
Nasser's funeral
Oct. 1, 1970: 5 mio. mourners
"Covering the story for CBS from Cairo, the greatest American broadcaster of the time, Walter Cronkite, was infected by the sense of the occasion, and for a moment he faltered. King Hussein of Jordan sobbed like a baby. Muammar Qaddafi of Libya fainted twice. Arafat shed silent tears while his trembling lips prayed."

Nationalisms, 2: Iran
- Modern Iran: Creation of the Safavids (1499-1722)
- Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911)
- The emergence of modern nationalism
- Autocracy and the lunge for modernization: Reza Shah (1925-1941)
- A constitutional interlude (1944-53): Oil, Mohammed Mossadegh, MI6. & the CIA
- Mohammed Reza Shah (1953-1979): Crisis of hyper-rapid modernization

8 Types of Liberalism
1. Conservative liberalism (economic)
2. Democratic liberalism (political)
3. National liberalism (Germany late 19th century)
4. Ordoliberalism (state needs to regulate market; "social market economy")
5. Social liberalism (individuals prosper with public assistance in health, education and welfare)
6. Neoliberalism (transfer control of the economy from public to private sector: deregulation, privatization)
7. Libertarianism (abolition of the state; anarchism)
8. Green liberalism (free market environmentalists)

Chap. 27 (L7): Liberalism (p. 672f)
- Political liberalism
  - Stressed individualism & indiv. rights
  - Advancement based on talent not birth
  - Limited governments (not abs. monarchy)
    - Assemblies elected (by propertied men)
- Economic liberalism
  - Free market capitalism ("laissez faire")
- Socialism ("in many ways the antithesis of liberalism")
  - Values equality more than freedom
  - Collective cooperation for common good;
    - Not capitalism motivated by profit

(L13, 15) Authoritarian Rule
Fascism (Italy; p. 820)
- Belligerent nationalism, repressive gov’t
- To repress worker (communist) unrest
- Nation-state comes before indiv. rights
- Leader (not electorate) sets goals

National Socialism (Germany, p. 827f)
- Racist fascism (history=racial struggle)
- All of above, with Master Race needing Lebensraum

Clicker Q2,3,4: Pres. Obama
- Is President Obama a liberal?
  A. Yes
  B. No
  - What aspects?
- Is he a socialist?
  A. Yes
  B. No
  - What aspects?
- Is he a fascist?
  A. Yes
  B. No
  - What aspects?