

WHY HAS THE MIDDLE EAST BLOWN UP IN OUR FACE?

From San Remo (1920)
To Tehran Airport (1979)

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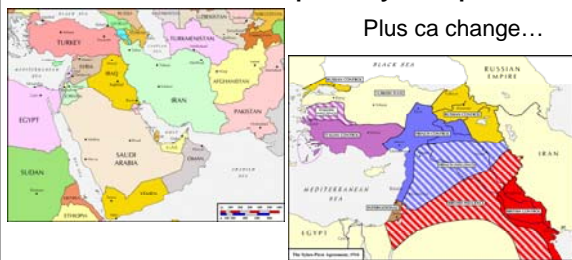
World War I: Promises, Promises

- Husayn-McMahon Correspondence (1915)
- Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)
- Balfour Declaration (1917)
- Woodrow Wilson: 14 Points
- Anglo-French Declaration (1918)
- FM Balfour's internal memo to the British Cabinet (August 1919)

The Sykes-Picot Agreement



Comparing Sykes-Picot and the Contemporary Map



Great Britain as Broker and Beneficiary

- Why did Britain take the lead role in planning a post-war settlement in the ME?
- What vital interests did Britain have to address during the war?
- How had these interests changed by war's end (November 1918)?

Headaches

- importunate France
- anti-imperialism
- new nationalisms in the Middle East
- 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

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, the Middle East (almost) as we know it.



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

- The inter-war period: the imperial order endures, but its foundations start to crack.
- World War II: the contrasting but ever-so-similar fates of France and Great Britain: empires of smoke and mirrors.
- AFTER THE WAR (1945-1958):
 - New guys on the block: the US, USSR, and the Cold War in the Middle East.
 - Israel
 - A new generation of nationalists--not our kind of people.

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 Abdel Nasser
 - Suez '56
 - The triumphant year of unity: 1958
 - Things begin to stall: 1961
 - The "setback": the June War, 1967
 - The death of Nasser (1970) and its impact

Nasser: 4 photos



Nasser's funeral



Nationalisms, 2: The Case of Iran

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

The two shahs and Mossadegh



The 1970s: New forces emerge

- The end of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (no kidding)
- Political Islam: social reform and revolution
 - Iran: the Shi'ite clergy take charge
 - The Arab states: a loose-knit congeries of lay-led groups.

Two leaders of the Islamic movement



- Sayyid Qutb of Egypt (executed by Nasser, 1965)
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (d. 1989)