

UCSB Hist 2c F'09, L17:

Middle East, WW1-1950s

[based on a lecture by Prof. Stephan Humphries]

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

0. Paper due date—questions?; online survey; still working on iClicker data
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](#)

States of the Middle East Today



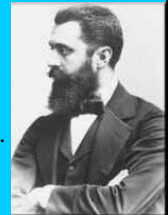
Middle East Timeline

- 1896: Herzl publishes *The Jewish State*
- 1915: Allies vie with Ottomans for Arabs
- 1917: Balfour Declaration
- 1920: San Remo: Brit. Mandate
- 1936-39: Arab revolt--3 goals end J. immigr, end J. sales, indep.
- 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

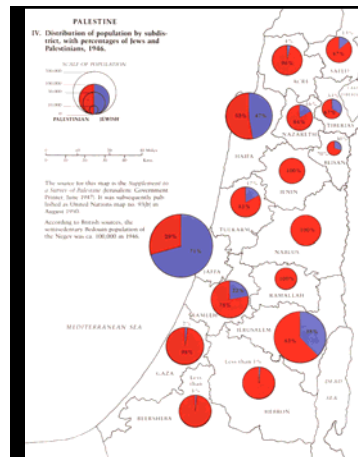


Clicker Q1: Jews in Palestine

What was the highest proportion of Jewish population in areas of Palestine before the UN partition in 1947?

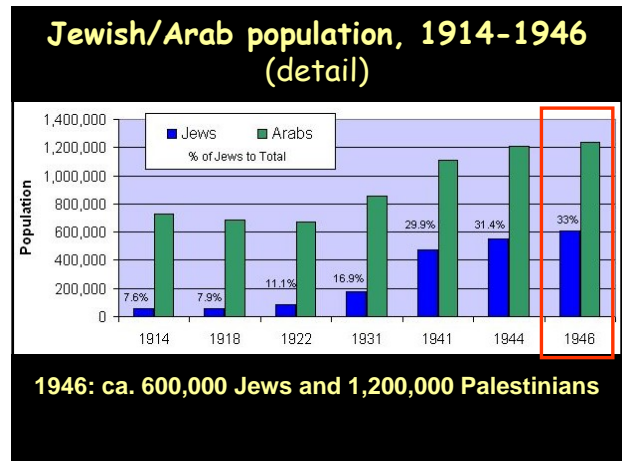
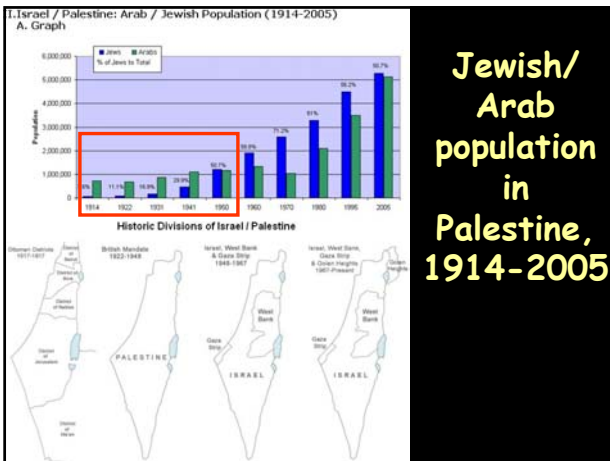
- A. 10%
- B. 25%
- C. 40%
- D. 60%
- E. 80%

[C is the best answer, as the next slides show; 40% was the highest, 33% the average Jewish proportion.]



1947 UN Partition with Previous Land Ownership





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

BRITAIN'S PROMISE TO THE ARABS: 1915

The map shows the region from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, including the Vilayet of Damascus and the Vilayet of Aleppo. A legend indicates the line of promise and the area of the Ottoman Empire.

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

- Impertunate 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



Great Britain's Division of the Mandated Area, 1921-1923



Mustafa Kemal

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

Palestinian Arabs protest, 1936



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

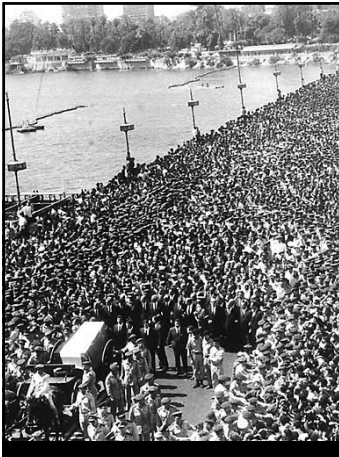
- **The interwar period (1918-1939)**
 - Imperial order endures, but its foundations start to crack (new nationalism, tensions in Palestine)
- **World War II**
 - France and Great Britain: empires of smoke and mirrors (France defeated 1940; Britain broke 1945)
- **After WW II (1945-1958):**
 - **New 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?