

21 THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

1880s — 1990s

NATIONALISM AND TECHNOLOGY IN WEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY

Chapter 21 surveys the recent history of the region usually referred to as the **Middle East** —an Eurocentric (and generally inaccurate) term denoting the area encompassing northern Africa, the eastern Mediterranean, and south west Asia. The alternate term Arab world is actually not much more satisfactory either, since the region includes Iranians, Azeris, Jews, **Armenians**, **Kurds**, Turks, Greeks, Berbers, and many other ethnic and linguistic groups, as well, although Arabs form the majority in the area. The chapter examines the development of seven of the twenty-odd nations of the region — Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Algeria and Israel -- and focuses on four issues common to all of those countries, and to the region as a whole.

The first issue is nationalist struggles against colonialism and neocolonialism (p. 714), by which Spodek is referring not only to rebellions against Turkish rule in Arabia, for example, and the Egyptian nationalist movement against British rule and the anti-French **Algerian Revolution**, but also the **Arab-Israeli conflict**, which many Arabs view as a struggle against European colonialism, in the form of **Zionism**.

The impact of oil resources is the second issue, especially for Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait (which is discussed briefly). As Spodek points out, oil revenues have not only had a direct impact on the development of the major producers in the region, providing billions of dollars for technological and institutional modernization (not to mention military expenditures), but they have had wider effects as well. In the 1970s **OPEC** (the Saudi-led Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) exerted a major influence on world affairs. The major oil-producing states of Arabia and the Persian Gulf region have been a magnet for immigration from Egypt and other Muslim countries, and the surplus wealth that Saudis, Kuwaitis, and others have invested abroad has greatly affected their foreign policies, generally exerting a moderating influence.

The region has also been an arena for competition among a number of differing philosophies and methods of regional development, from the more radical **Pan-Arabism** of **Nasser's** Egypt (embraced today by Muammar Qaddafi in Libya) and **Arab Socialism** of the **Baath** movement in Iraq and Syria; to the secular nationalism of **Ataturk's** Turkey and **Reza Pahlavi's** Iran; to the conservative Islamic monarchies of Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf States. This third theme is inextricably linked to the fourth —debates in every country over the place of [religion] in the cultural and political life of the state (p. 714) With the Iranian Revolution led by the **Ayatollah Khomeini** in Iran in 1979, **religious fundamentalism** became established as yet another competing political philosophy and today almost every country in the region is affected by political movements seeking to establish a **theocratic** government in their nation. Egypt and Algeria are the most affected at the present, but there are Islamic fundamentalists in Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and the smaller Gulf States as well. Even Israel is affected, as the **ultra-Orthodox** Jewish parties have increased their strength and the country has begun to experience terrorist attacks against Arabs and Israeli moderates, including the assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**. The resurgence of religion in the politics of the region has further clouded the future of Arab-Israeli relations and complicated all attempts at regional cooperation and organization. It has also increased the difficulty of maintaining government stability, always a difficult task in a region rent by religious, ethnic, ideological, and even tribal, divisions. Revolutions, military coups, terrorism, and assassination have been common occurrences in the region throughout the century. Because of the region's chronic instability, most countries maintain very large military establishments, spending more, per capita, on defense than most other countries of the world. With such large armies, the possibility of a military coup or military dictatorship is an ever-present threat, and indeed, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt and Algeria have been under military domination for much of their history as independent states. And every state—including Israel—has experienced tensions at times between civilian, military and religious officials.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- A. The Middle East and North Africa
- B. Turkey
 - 1. The end of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1923
 - 2. The rise of secular nationalism in Turkey, 1923-1990s
 - a. Ataturk and modernization
 - b. Government alternation between democracy and military dictatorship
 - c. NATO membership and western alignment
- C. Egypt
 - 1. British rule, 1882-1952
 - a. The *Wafd* vs. the Muslim Brotherhood
 - b. PROFILE: Umm Kulthum
 - c. Nasser and non-alignment
 - 2. Technological innovation, 1956-1990s
 - a. The High Aswan Dam project and the Suez Crisis, 1956
 - b. Egypt and Israel: the 1967 and 1973 wars
 - c. Sadat and peace with Israel
 - d. Problems and progress in Egypt today
- D. The Persian Gulf: Oil, Religion, and Politics
 - 1. Political and economic background, 1914-1939
 - 2. Discovery of oil
- E. Iraq
 - 1. The *Baath* Party and Arab Socialism
 - 2. War with Iran and the West
 - a. Saddam Hussein
 - b. The Iran-Iraq War, 1980-88
 - c. Invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf War, 1990-91
- F. Iran, 1970-1990s
 - 1. Shah Reza Pahlavi and modernization
 - 2. The rise of Ayatollah Khomeini
 - a. The Islamic Revolution, 1979
 - b. Iran and the world, 1979-1997
 - c. Islamic law and domestic policies
 - i. Khatami and moderation
 - ii. Women in Iranian society
 - 3. SPOTLIGHT: The Mosque
- G. Saudi Arabia
 - 1. Ibn Saud and the development of Saudi Arabia
 - 2. OPEC and foreign investment
 - 3. Moderation in foreign policy
- H. North Africa: Algeria
 - 1. The movement toward independence
 - 2. The Algerian Revolution
 - 3. SOURCE: Social Realities of Colonialism — Two Views
- I. Israel
 - 1. Israel and the Arab World: How Do We Know? How Do We Assess Significance?
 - a. A clash of religions
 - b. A clash of nationalisms
 - c. The struggle against neo-colonialism
 - 2. The creation of Israel, 1948
 - 3. Arab-Israeli conflict
 - a. The Palestinian question

- b. Arab States and Israel
- c. Israel's internal problems

IDENTIFICATION TERMS

For each term, students should be able to provide an identification or definition, an approximate date, a geographical location (if relevant) and —most important— a concise explanation of its significance in the context of the chapter. Terms that appear in the *Study Guide* are listed in **bold** font in the first column.

Baath Party	theocracy	OPEC
kibbutzim	Gamal Abdel Nasser	Maghreb
Aswan Dam	Six Day War	FLN
The Wretched of the Earth	Yom Kippur War	Charles de Gaulle
Ibn Saud	Camp David Accords	Zionism
Armenian massacres	Hosni Mubarak	pogroms
Ayatollah Khomeini	Sykes-Picot Agreement	West Bank
Palestine Liberation Organization	Arab Socialism	Gaza Strip
Balfour Declaration	Saddam Hussein	Golan Heights
Anwar Sadat	Iran-Iraq War	<i>intifada</i>
Ataturk	Kuwait	Yitzhak Rabin
secular nationalism	Gulf War	emplotments
Suez Canal	Muhammad Reza Pahlavi	
Muslim Brotherhood	<i>shari'a</i>	
Wafd	Salman Rushdie	

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying Chapter 21, students should be able to:

1. Appreciate the ethnic, political, economic, cultural and even religious diversity of the area called the Middle East and be familiar with the political geography (nations, peoples and borders) of the region.
2. Understand the meaning of the terms secular nationalism, theocratic state, religious fundamentalism, Pan-Arabism and Arab Socialism and be able to provide examples of each.
3. Understand the colonial background of many of the 20th century issues in the Middle East and their historical roots in the era of Ottoman rule, the World Wars and the Holocaust.
4. Explain the importance of oil in the politics of the Middle East, as well as complications resulting from the region's involvement in the Cold War.
5. Understand the various dimensions or emplotments of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
6. Appreciate the historical significance of the following political and religious leaders: Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), Gamal Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Ibn Saud, Saddam Hussein, Reza Pahlavi, the Ayatollah Khomeini, Yasser Arafat, and Yitzhak Rabin.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LECTURE TOPICS

1. Explain the historical background to the current situation in the Middle East in a lecture that discusses the role of the Ottoman Empire, British and French imperialism, European anti-Semitism and Jewish Zionism, the economics of oil, Arab nationalism, Muslim fundamentalism and Cold War rivalries as catalysts.
2. Show the historic roots of the present-day tensions between secular and religious movements in the Middle East by comparing the careers of Kemal Ataturk, Anwar Sadat, Ayatollah Khomeini and Yitzhak Rabin.
3. Review the main tenets and practices of Islam, discussing the difficulties of the concept of separation of church and state in Muslim teachings and addressing the issue of *jihad* and its various meanings. Emphasize the diversity that exists within Islam.
4. Discuss and compare the different manifestations of religious fundamentalism — both Muslim and Jewish -- of the Middle East and explain what they have in common as political and social, as well as religious, movements. (A review of earlier manifestations of Sunni or Shi'ite Muslim, or ultra-Orthodox Jewish, fundamentalist movements will illustrate the similarities even more.)
5. Discuss the various dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict, in order to help explain why it has proven to be such an intractable problem.

TOPICS FOR ESSAYS OR CLASS DISCUSSIONS

1. What are the various emplotments or ways of looking at the Arab-Israeli Conflict, according to the text? How do these different views reinforce each other? Which plot is most likely to be accepted by Israelis? By Arabs?
2. In the 20th century history of many of the Muslim countries of the region, there have often been odd alliances of different groups, such as fundamentalist Muslim religious leaders and left-wing intellectuals on the one hand, and conservative monarchies and progressive technocrats on the other. How can one explain these strange bedfellows?
3. Current events and issues: One interpretation of the seemingly irrational and aggressive behavior of Saddam Hussein in Iraq is that many of his actions are motivated out of fear. According to the text, which take this position, who does Saddam Hussein fear, and why?
4. Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) in Turkey was, in many ways, a model for modernizing leaders in the Muslim world. Discuss his policies and draw comparisons with his goals and methods and those of later modernizers in the region. Provide specific examples from at least two different countries.
5. The High Aswan Dam in Egypt was important to Nasser and the Egyptian people for a number of reasons. Explain its economic and political importance, based on your reading of Nasser's own explanation.
6. Many Islamic fundamentalists, such as the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, rejected parliamentary democracy just as strongly as they rejected military dictatorship. On what grounds did Khomeini argue against democracy? Under his theocratic system, who would actually rule the country?
7. The long Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962) was among the most bitter and protracted anti-colonial struggles of the 20th century. Based on the text and the testimony of Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, what factors contributed to this?
8. Group work: Use the statistical table on p. 715, as well as information in the text, to answer the following:
 - a. Which country in the region experienced the greatest improvement in per capita income between 1960 and 1994? How might that be accounted for?
 - b. Which country experienced the least improvement in per capita income during the same period? How might that be accounted for?
 - c. Which two countries in the region spent the most money on their military establishments in 1994? What factors might account for that?
 - d. Which countries have experienced the greatest increase in female literacy and urban population over the last thirty-five years? How might those increases be accounted for?
8. Debate: The people most responsible for the Arab-Israeli conflict are: (pick one)
 - a. Leaders of Arab countries
 - b. The British and French governments
 - c. The Soviet and American governments
 - d. Israelis
 - e. Muslim fundamentalists

TEXT RESOURCES (Spodek, 2nd ed.)

Timetables, charts and graphs:	Key Variables in the Middle East/North Africa The Middle East, North Africa and Israel, 1910-2000 The Persian Gulf States, 1920-2000	(p. 715) (pp. 718-9) (p.
721)	The Oil Crises, 1960s-1990s	(p. 733)
Large photographs and illustrations:	Desert Storm Memorial, Kuwait Iranian Women in chador undergoing military training Charles deGaulle visits Algiers, 1958	(p. 727) (p. 728) (p. 734)

Maps:	The Middle East since 1945	(p. 714)
	The end of the Ottoman Empire	(p. 716)
	Israel and its neighbors	(p. 739)
SPOTLIGHT:	The Mosque	(p. 730)
PROFILE:	Umm Kulthum	(p. 722)
SOURCES:	Social Realities of Colonialism: Two Views	(p. 736)

ADDITIONAL PRIMARY SOURCES (*Documents Set & www.prenhall.com/Spodek*)

21-1	Balfour defends the Palestinian Mandate
21-2	Women in Islamic society: the context of Iranian Fundamentalism
21-3	Anwar Sadat and Camp David: a breakthrough [from Anwar Sadat, <i>In Search of Identity</i>]
21-4	A Palestinian rejoinder to the Camp David Accord
21-5	Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait: two rationales
21-6	Yitzhak Rabin: Camp David continued?
www	A Test of Faith: Afghans resist a Superpower

AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES (videos, DVDs, CD-ROM, and websites)

***The Arab World: Films for the Humanities & Sciences* [5 videos; 150 minutes, color]**

This five-part series explores the dimensions of the Arab world and Arabs' relationship with the West. Bill Moyers narrates and conducts interviews with Edward Said, James Abourezk, Charles Issawi and many other Arabs and Arab-Americans. Excellent series.

***Ataturk: <http://www.ataturk.com>* [website]**

This website must be used with care, since it forms part of the Turkish government's attempts to deny its genocidal campaign against the Armenians during the WWI era. Aside from this problem, it is a useful site for information on Kemal Ataturk's program of secular modernization and nationalism in Turkey.

***Beyond the Veil: The Many Faces of Islam: Mundovision Ltd.* [3 videos; 156 minutes, color]**

Based on interviews with Muslims from many different countries, the series explores the diversity within Islam today, different attitudes toward the West, and tensions within Muslim societies.

***Daughters of Allah: NRK/Filmakers Library* [video; 49 minutes, color]**

This documentary traces the lives and conditions of Palestinian women caught up in their people's long struggle for statehood and peace.

***Daughters of the Nile: Filmakers Library* [video; 46 minutes, color]**

This documentary describes the conditions of Egyptian women today, using interviews and case studies.

The Fifty-Years War — Israel and the Arabs: PBS Home Video [2 videos; 300 minutes, color and B&W]

This excellent 1998 documentary is already becoming somewhat dated, but it still provides an excellent introduction to the origins and excruciating events of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Interviews with principals and commentators, archival film footage, and readings from contemporary documents trace the conflict through its five wars and tortuous peace process.

444 Days: The Iran Hostage Crisis: Films for the Humanities & Sciences [video; 103 minutes, color]

This documentary uses film footage taken during the crisis and interviews with former hostages, Iranian captors and religious leaders and U.S. government officials to explain the origins and course of the crisis and the hostages ordeal.

The Gulf War: <http://www.pbs.org/pages/frontline/gulf/index.html> [website] AND [video; 52 minutes, color]

The website was developed by PBS as an educational aid for the 1996 *Frontline* program on the war. The film describes the war's origins, operations and effects from the viewpoint of its planners and participants using film footage, maps, interviews, etc.; many more of which are available on the website.

Iran and Iraq: History Channel Video [video; 50 minutes, color]

Mike Wallace narrates this program, part of the 20th Century series. Film footage and interviews are used to explain the history of conflict between the two nations.

Islamic Fundamentalism & Democracy: Filmmakers Library [video; 57 minutes, color]

Interviews with Muslim religious leaders and statesmen emphasize the unbridgeable contradictions between Islamic fundamentalists and political liberty.

Islamic Studies: <http://menic.utexas.edu/menic/subject/islamic.html> [website]

This site provides an index to scores of other websites dealing with Islam.

Islamic Texts and Resources MetaPage: <http://wings.buffalo.edu:80/student-life/sa/muslim/isl.html> [website]

This site contains articles on contemporary Islam, the history of Islam, and Muslim art and culture.

The Islamic Wave: Films for the Humanities & Sciences [video; 48 minutes, color]

This program focuses on the recent growth in numbers and strength of the Islamic religion around the world. Using interviews with Muslim leaders and worshippers, the film attempts to explain the reasons for this development and its global effects. It also discusses the continued use of violence by Muslim extremists to attain their goals.

Primetime War: Highlight Productions. [video; 52 minutes, color]

This documentary discusses the influence that the news media and its reportage have on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict by focusing on an Israeli AP cameraman and his Palestinian BBC counterpart.

Tkuma: Israel's First 50 Years: Films for the Humanities & Sciences [6 videos; 312 minutes, color and B&W]

Uses interviews and archival footage to review the history of the Israeli nation since 1948.

Women in the Arab World: A TV/DITS Production/Filmmakers Library [3 videos; 75 minutes, color]

This series explores the lives and careers of three non-traditional Arab women (in Egypt, Jordan and Morocco) in order to demonstrate the diversity of women's experiences in the Arab world.