

Ottoman Era

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- 750 to 945, Abbasid Empire, centered in Baghdad
- But even at peak, other Islamic dynasties and cultures formed
- Marilyn Waldman: Should think of situation as group of Islamic empires
- Islamic merchants created international market of Indian and SE goods -> Spain and mediterranean goods
- Rice, sugar cane, spinach, and cotton were brought by Arabs to North Africa and Europe
- Wealth nurtured literature and learning
- 751, Arab victory over China at Aral Sea brought in papermakers
- Five Pillars of Islam: Proclamation of Faith (*Shahadah*), Prayer (*Salat*), Fasting (*Sawm*), Pilgrimage (*Hajj*), Alms (Charity to less fortunate, *Zakat*)
- *Jihad*: Struggle against sin

Ottoman Empire

Osmanli: Founder of Ottoman Empire

Gazi: Instrument of God, Muslim frontier warriors

Gaza: Warfare against non-Muslims

Dar al-Islam:

Dar al-Harb: Realm of War, Realm of Non-Muslims

Sharia: Islamic law

Devshime: Recruitment of slaves from Christian Balkans

- Were not permitted to leave estate to children or relatives

Janissaries: Warrior class

Qadi: Local Muslim judge

Sipahi: Provincial Cavalryman, if prepared to delivery fixed number of soldiers, can use Timar

Timar: Tract of land given to Sipahi by Sultan

Capitulations: Series of trading agreement that states foreign merchants are not subject to Ottoman law, but their own laws

Mercantilist:

Levant Company: Like East-India Company for the Levant

- Ottoman Empire originated as a small Anatolian principality that came to existence after Mongol invasions
- Early 1300s, Osman's *gazi* gained tremendous success and attracted more
- Occupation of Istanbul gave huge strategic advantage
- Successful creation of Navy made Ottomans most formidable army in 15th and 16th centuries
- Regularly sent armies to repel Safavid
- 1517, Selim captured Cairo, united Islamic heartlands
- 1520 to 1566, Suleyman the Magnificent captured Budapest and laid siege to Vienna
- Adopted flexible administration rules to accommodate diverse needs
- Ottoman Empire was directed by cadre of slaves devoted to Sultan
- Sultan descended from Turkish tribe *Oghuz*
- Held together by ethnic solidarity
- Royal authority > sharia > state > world > harmony > justice > loyalty > subjects > wealth > military > royal authority
- Ideal is absolute ruler who ruled outside of law

Muhammad Ali

- Late 18th century, Egypt became largely autonomous under revived Mamluk order
- Mamluks were oppressive, unstable, and unpopular
- Operating through competing households that collected tax and formed troops
- No central government, held together by arrangement
- 1760 to 1773, Ali Bey al-Kabir expanded trade with Britain and France, but was overthrown by own military commander
- Internal warfare and heavy tax broke control in rural areas
- 1798, Napoleon invaded Britain
- Expeditionary force got cut-off from outside by British forces and occupied for three years
- Impressed local Muslim rulers with technological capabilities of power that could both assault on water and land

- **Muhammad Ali**: Ethnic Albanian, born and raised in the Greek coastal city of Kavalla
- Arrived as part of forces to expel French in 1801
- 1805, recognized by Istanbul as the Ottoman governor of Egypt
- Refashioned armed forces, reorganized administration, installed centralized bureaucracy, changed patterns of landholding and agricultural production, and introduced heavy industry
- Wanted to secure independence from Ottomans and establish hereditary dynasty for family
- 1811, killed 74 leading Mamluks at banquet
- Sent training missions to Europe and intensified higher education
- 1828, broke tradition and accepted printing press
- 1835, established School of Languages
- Conscripted *fellahin* for peasant army
- Exploited Egypt's resources to maximum
- Mid 1820s, Began industrialization of war and textiles for self-sufficiency
- Forced cultivators to sell at fixed price, then sold to European buyers at considerably higher price
- Spoke Arabic Turkish, not Egyptian
- 1833, occupied Syria and imposed Egyptian market monopoly there
- 1838, Treaty of Balta Liman provided for the abolition of all monopolies within the Ottoman Empire
- 1841, Treaty of London compelled withdraw from all territories except Sudan and limited Egyptian army

Tanzimat, 1839 - 1876

- **Albert Hourani**: Most important historian in ME history
- 1913, Born in Manchester to Lebanese parents
- 1991, History of the Arab Peoples
- Responsible for shaping discipline of ME studies
- **Informal Coalition Politics**: How politics actually happen, may not necessarily exist on paper
- Looked at Ottoman history from below
- Town-dwellers were people who actually made implementation of Ottoman policy possible
- **Local Intermediaries**: Had power that rested in 1. access to authority, and 2. some social power of their own, position of natural and accepted leadership
- Power does not depend on Ottomans (local religious leader)
- **Politics of the Notables**
- Administration: Monarchy, heavy emphasis on Islam -> congress and constitution for two years
- Law: Sharia courts -> New legal system combining both Sharia Law and western law and secular court system
- Education: Male-only, under control of religious sect -> Included females, established Ministry of Education, secondary school system, emphasis on Western-trained students, equal opportunity to non-Muslims
- Military: Equal opportunities to non-Muslims, slacked off slightly, got rid of Janissaries who resisted change (30-40k), military schools with European model, professional salaried calvary, entire Ottoman army has same uniform styled after French
- Economics: Economically independent -> Went in debt, loans to Europe
- Emulation of European methods of administration, education, and political organization brought continued expansion of state role and was accompanied by pressing need for qualified administrators and technical experts
- Although Islamic foundations of society were not openly questioned by new generation of Western-trained officials, policies tended to reduce institutional significance of religious establishment and to enhance opportunities available to individuals trained as *they* were
- Huge amounts of capital investment and easy access to credit from Europe
- Accumulation of indebtedness led directly to the British occupation of Egypt
- **Tanzimat**: 1839 - 1876, Ottoman reorganization
- **Rashid Pasha**: Rose through office as ambassador to Paris and London
- **Ali Pasha**: Worked in translation office and rose through as ambassador
- **Fuad Pasha**: Most westernized
- Three men drove the reform of Ottoman administration
- 1839, **Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane**: Sultan promises abolition of tax farming, the standardization of military conscription, and the elimination of corruption extended to populaces regardless of religion
- 1847, created Ministry of Education and worked toward secondary school systems outside ulama's control
- 1856, **Hatt-i Hümayan**: Muslim and non-Muslim were to have equal obligations in terms of military service and equal opportunities for state employment and admission to state schools
- **Civil Service School** (1859) and the **Imperial Ottoman Lycée** at Galatasaray (1868)

- Abolished *Millet* system (Religious minorities could establish own courts)
- *Nizame*: System of secular courts to uphold *Mejelle* (1876), inspired by European legal codes and placed under the jurisdiction of a newly created Ministry of Justice
- *Young Ottomans*: represent an attempt to reconcile the new institutions of the Tanzimat with the Ottoman and Islamic political tradition
- 1874, 60% went to debt
- Wanted democracy instead of blindly transplanting European systems
- 1876, *Sultan Abdul Aziz* was deposed and new Sultan Abdul Hamid II promised to uphold a constitution that provided for an elected chamber of deputies and an appointed senate
- 1878, dissolved the assembly, suspended the constitution, and inaugurated thirty years of autocratic rule
- Reforms put Ottomans in great debt to Europeans
- *Decree of Muharram* (1881), authorized establishment of an Ottoman Public Debt Administration and surrendered Ottoman financial independence to European interests (paid off in 1954)
- *Crimean War* (1854–1856) was precipitated by Russian attempts to gain direct authority over the Orthodox Christian subjects of Ottoman Empire
- 1853, Russia sent ultimatum to control 8mil Orthodox Christians in Ottoman Empire
- 1856, *Treaty of Paris*, signatories pledged to respect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, demilitarization of the Black Sea, withdrawal of Russian troops from the Danube
- *Pan-Slavism*: Mixture of Orthodox Christian and Slavic cultural sentiments that combined to create the idea of a Russian mission to liberate the Slavic peoples—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians—from Ottoman rule and unite them into a vast federation
- 1875-1878, *Great Eastern Crisis*, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, and part of Bulgaria were recognized as independent states; Russia gained Kars and Batumi in eastern Anatolia; and Austria was granted the right to administer the province of Bosnia
- Reforms also disrupted the political and social arrangements that had meant relative communal harmony for nearly 300 years

Muhammad Abduh

- Found European domination humiliating
- Required return to Islamic fundamental faith
- Only return to roots and elimination of superstition would permit Muslim peoples to restore their dignity
- By 1888, received permission to return to own land
- Although initially appointed as judge, rose to become chief interpreter of Islamic law in country (Mufti)
- Was part of legislative council
- **The Theology of Unity**: To demonstrate compatibility of Islam with modern rationality
- States Quran does not require acceptance of content and required lively scrutiny
- Memorization of entire Quran was essential for public vocation
- Insertion of appropriate passages of Quran gave public ceremonies meaning
- Children would undertake memorization in Kattab, sits together in circle with local Sheikh to recite and repeat
- Pronunciation of Quran absolutely essential, more than meaning
- Recitation would often be accompanied by body swaying to help memorize rhythms
- If one brings rationality to Quran, one will have a new understanding of the universe
- An effort to mobilize Muslims back to the core of Quran
- An attack on official Islam of the state and Kattabs that do nothing but memorization
- Ulama: Those within pre-modern Islamic society who were responsible for interpretation of religious texts

Islamic Response to European Colonialism

- Was growing awareness that Islamic community had to find within its own traditions the means for regeneration or face loss of those traditions
- Rule of Abdul Hamid supported elements of Ottoman society disadvantaged by Tanzimat
 - o Endorsed by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani
- In Egypt, growing nationalism sparked by Muhammad Abduh
- Wahhabi, Sanusi, Mahdist movements creates waves of unrest
- Nahdah generates vibrant Christian Arab solidarity that also attracted Muslim Arabs

- Islamic peoples that escaped direct occupation found sovereignty restricted by European control of economies
- Abdul Hamid surrounded himself with caliphate and catered to religious establishment
- Directs considerable funds to **ulamma**
- Pan-Islam
 - Despite anti-Westernism face, first decade of **Abdul Hamid's** reign witnessed acceleration of certain Tanzimat programs, most notably in education
 - Although goal was to Ottomanize modern secondary education than to restore pre-Tanzimat system
 - Number of schools and students between 1865 to 1895 doubles
 - Added no fewer than 18 higher educational schools to system
 - Rise in political and social expectation of Ottoman youth
 - Young people soon discover real circles of power are limited to particular elite
- Railway developed, Istanbul was linked to Vienna by 1883 and Orient Express offered regular service from Paris
- German investment capital played leading role in construction of railways, notably in development of Berlin-to-Baghdad line
- Caused Britain unease because it became as much as a diplomatic issue as an engineering challenge
- Abdul Hamid tried autocratic rule, but intervention by European powers forced sultan to accept autonomy of Crete
- Graduates of schools he founded came to see him as impediment to progress
- **Hejaz Rail Station:** created specifically for pilgrimage to Mecca
- 1787-1859, Sanusi order: **al-Sanusi** wanted to re-create original community of the Prophet
 - Rejected Ottoman and Egyptian forms of Islamic behaviour in favour of more austere desert life
 - More within traditional Sufism than Wahhabi movement
 - Cyrenaica, now eastern Libya
 - Had remarkable success in integrating surrounding tribes into religious order and establishing comprehensive network of brotherhoods and trading posts from northern Cyrenaica to Sudan
 - Opposed French expansion in Central Africa and resisted Italian invasion in 1911
 - Became basis for contemporary Libyan state
- Late 1870's, Mahdist revolt: Both rebellion against Egyptian occupation of Sudan and movement for purification of Islam
 - Egyptian rule was neither popular nor effective
 - Had been established by brutal conquest and maintained by thousands of Egyptian troops
 - Taxes were higher and more forcefully collected
 - Sudanese discontent with corruption and oppressive taxation reached breaking point
 - **Muhammad Ahmad** channeled discontent into mass movement of protest and purification
 - Muhammad Ahmad received traditional religious education and had established a reputation for asceticism that gained following
 - Goal was to revive faith and practice of Prophet through restoration of Quran and hadith as foundations of a just society
 - Mahdist state lasted until Kitchener's reconquest of Sudan in 1898
- Most original of new thinkers recognized importance of accommodating European achievements in science and technology within framework of Islam
- **Al-Afghani:** Islam is in accord with scientific spirit and demands of human reason, but Muslims have lost their way to true principles of their faith
- Was unity of ummah that brought such greatness to Islamic civilization in the past
- Al-Afghani -> Muhammad Abduh(above)

- **Al-nahdah**: Economic and literary renaissance for Arab Christians of Syria and Lebanon
 - Main catalysts were foreign Christian missionary activity and printing press
 - Presbyterian VS Jesuits to enroll members of local Christian communities in their schools
 - **Daniel Bliss**: Founder of Syrian Protestant College
 - **Al-Bustani**: Converted to Protestantism, blended Arabic cultural heritage with contemporary political and scientific thought generated by lively intellectual atmosphere

Young Turks

- 1909, overthrows Abdul Hamid
- 1918, defeat

- Japan's modernization inspired Ottoman society
- Urgency of military reform highlighted by changing European alliances
- Hoped to ward off Europe by developing more effective European-style armed forces
- Built diplomatic ties with Germany as potential Triple Entente ally

- Growing Ottoman exile community existed in Paris and Geneva
- Demanded restoration of 1879 constitution and condemned Hamid's regime
- 1889, Students in military-medical academy founded secret protest society
 - **Committee of Union and Progress (CUP)**
- 1895 and 1896, spies uncovered and arrested/exiled all members
- Best and brightest of Ottoman Empire
- Positions confined to those below what they feel entitled to
- Sultan did not see them as concerned Ottoman citizens or decision-makers
- Wanted to enter positions of influence to relieve steep decline of Empire
- Felt was educated to help Ottoman Empire survive
- Sultan adopted approach to opposition not nearly as tolerant as hoped

- Turning point was when Young Turks ideas filtered into military
- Resentment builds in military -> Abdul Hamid becomes more and more paranoid about conspiracies
- Navy was not allowed to leave docks on golden horn
- Salaries dropped during last years of reign
- Opposition especially pronounced in Ottoman Third Army based in Salonika
- Believed Hamid's attitude toward Army undermined strength and reduced abilities to defend from Europe
- 1908 July 24th, constitution was once again in effect
- 1909, replaced by younger brother Mehmet V, figurehead

- 1909 Spring, counterrevolution by common soldiers and theological students demanded restoration of Sharia
- 1909 to 1913, struggle for power between junior and middle-level officers / shifting coalitions of liberals and conservatives
- CUP gained control of government by manipulating parliamentary elections
- 1913, consolidated military dictatorship under **Enver, Talat, and Jamal Pashas**
- Although increasingly oppressive after 1913, first years were marked by intellectual freedom unparalleled in Ottoman history
- Concentrated on expansion of school system and improvement of military
- Attacked bloated bureaucracy, pensioned off incompetent officials, and generally reduced number of personnel on state payroll
 - Implementation alienated many members of civil service
 - Several Arab notable families were offended

- Debate after deposition focused on achieving proper mix between European and indigenous ideas VS troubling issue of national identity
- CUP leaders believed best way to restore empire was through constitutional government that would limit power of monarch and guarantee rights of non-Muslims by incorporating

- them into framework of Ottomanism
- First act was to abolish **millet** system
- In order of Ottomanism ideal to be realized, religious distinctions between Muslim rulers and non-Muslim subjects had to be abolished in substance as well as in theory
- 1908, Bulgaria proclaimed final independence, Austria annexed Bosnia, and Crete declared union with Greek mainland
- 1913, when last treaty of Balkan Wars was signed, Ottoman Europe was reduced to 10,882 square miles and 1.9 million people
- Empire had been made much more homogeneous by the 80% loss, giving rise to specifically Turkish cultural movement
- **Pan-Turkism**: Originated among Russian Muslim Turkish exiles and stressed existence of unifying bonds among all speakers of Turkish
 - Stressed Turkish contribution to Ottoman success
 - *Turk Yurdu*: Turkish Homeland
 - Gokalp, member of CUP inner circle, was key speaker
- **Hasan Kayali**: Insists Young Turks were not racist or driven by Turkish nationalism
 - Were interested in politically Liberalization
- **Sukru Hanioglu**: People in Balkan identified themselves with Turkish identity rather than Ottomanness

Arabism

- CUP undermined Arab notables' ability to satisfy local clients and upset established social and political order in Arab provinces
- Called for recognition of Arabic as official language, appointment of Arabs to admin posts, and greater political autonomy for all Arab provinces
- Grievances were directed against CUP rather than Ottoman state itself
- 1913, Party of Ottoman Administrative Decentralization formed in Cairo and branches in most Arab cities of Greater Syria
- Rafiq al-Azm: President, member of family affected by reform
- 1913, Arab Paris Congress organized jointly by Decentralization Party of society of Arab students in Paris
 - Seen as starting point of Arab nationalism
 - Tone of resolutions was strongly Ottomanist, not separatist
- Promoted CUP leaders to realize they had to satisfy demands of most important non-Turkish Muslim people
- Although these sentiments were present, Arabs continued to attend advanced academies in Istanbul and occupy high-ranking positions in civilian bureaucracy
- Al-Husri, secular professional educator, saw Ottomanism as adoption of European concepts of territorial patriotism, constitutional government, and secular citizenship
- Arslan, Pan-Islamic notable, meant retention of Islamic foundations of Ottoman order and emphasis on bonds of Islamic solidarity
- 1703-1792, **Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab**: Wahhabi Movement, believed in responsibility of individual Muslim to learn and obey divine commands in Quran and Hadith, the only reliable sources of divine will
- 1803, Local chieftain **Muhammad ibn Sa'ud** led warriors with al-Wahhab's message and succeeded in capturing Mecca
- Reformist ideals of al-Wahhab became ingrained among tribes of Arabia
- Abdul Hamid's stress on role as caliph was recognition of importance of Islam as primary bond between Arabs and Ottoman state
- Ties of ummah were paramount for Arab Muslims
- 1854-1902, **Al-Kawakibi**: Introduced nationalist argument that Ottomans were responsible for corruption of Islam
 - o Was glorification of Arab role in development of Islamic civilization
 - o Decadence of Islam was caused by practices the Turks and other non-Arab peoples
 - o Arabs were true protectors of Islam
 - o Ottomans should relinquish unjustified claim to caliphate
 - o Regeneration of Islam would begin with establishment of Arab caliph in Mecca with purely

religious matters

Zionism

- 1917 to 1948, Failure to resolve conflict between Jewish immigration and preservation of Palestinian Arab rights rests with indecisiveness and biases of various British governments that held power for over thirty years
- Other hand, triumph of Zionist immigrants and supporters in overcoming Arab resistance, British opposition, and European anti-Semitism
- Oppressed conditions in which East European Jews lived prompted Zionists among them to take Britain's promise of a homeland in Palestine
- Palestine occupies central place in Jewish religious culture because of Exodus promise

- European Jews were subject to restrictions forbidding certain professions, universities, state employment, and residence
- Many Jews looked upon assimilation as good, but others regretted dilution of communal identity and decline of religious observance
- Early 1880s, following pogroms, Jewish groups were formed with specific objective of assisting Jewish settlement in Palestine
 - Attacks on Jewish population, 1881 to 1884
 - Newspapers and media largely responsible for hatred
 - 1882, Russian government limits property rights of Jews
 - Jews migrated to Warsaw and Odessa or emigrated to US
 - 1900 to 1914, over a million to US

- 1884, scattered groups were organized under **Lovers of Zion**
- 1880s and 1890s, first of several *aliyahs* (waves of settlements) by small agricultural settlements in Palestine
- 1882, **Leo Pinsker's Autoemancipation** argues anti-Semitism cannot be rid of until Jews get their homeland
 - Son of Hebrew scholar
 - Served in Odessa city hospital, won recognition from Czar
 - Pogroms of 1880s caused idealism to be swept away
 - Began to speak of need for Jews to acquire land elsewhere to escape persecution
 - More interested in national identity than religion
 - Did not insist Jewish state to be in Palestine
 - Jews had to rely upon themselves

- 1896, **Theodor Herzl**, *The Jewish State*, argued Jews constituted nation but lacked a political state, therefore Jews will always be aliens and oppressed by dominant cultural majority
 - Like, Pinsker, was more motivated by nationhood than religious associations
 - Was in Paris during **Dryefus Affair** (Jewish armyman accused for spying and exiled to Devil's Island)
 - Covered Dryefus Affair as correspondent
 - If Jews were not secure in France, could not be secure anywhere
 - 1901, secures meeting with Abdul Hamid
 - Conflicted with **Chaim Weizmann**
 - Actually offered a part of East Africa
 - Deal breaks when passes away in 1904

- 1897, first Zionist Congress in Basel adopted program that stated objective of Zionism was to secure legally recognized home in Palestine for Jewish people
 - Agreed to establish **World Zionist Organization** as central admin organ
 - Met annually
- Assimilated Jews in Western Europe and US worried assertion of Jewish distinctiveness would draw anti-Semitic
- Sultan Abdul Hamid II was opposed to idea of settlement in Ottoman territory

- Ottoman decision to enter war on German side prompted Triple Entente to plan for partition of Ottoman territories in event of allied victory

- Until US declared war on Germany, Britain was worried Germany might declare support of Zionist aims and attract sympathetic response from US Jewry

World War I

- **Sharif Husayn of Mecca**
 - o Guardian of Holy Places of Islam (today Saudi Arabia)
 - o Seen as key by British
 - o Was seen as someone who must be negotiated with in light of Ottoman threats
 - o Power over Indian Muslims could make Britain lose India
 - o If Sharif would mount rebellion against Ottomans, British would commit to Arab independence after War
 - o 1916 June, begins attack on Mecca, continues to 1918
 - o 1918 October, son enters Damascus
 - o Translation inconsistency big issue
 - o Received mixed messages that referred not only Arabs as nation, but Sharif himself as new Caliph
 - o Felt certain to get a good deal from British in wake of war
- **Arthur Henry McMahon**
 - o British high commissioner to Egypt
 - o Prides himself on having hidden the truth from Sharif Husayn
 - o Initiates correspondence with Husayn specifically for rebellion
 - 1. Lands to the west of districts Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo cannot be purely Arab
 - 2. Lands disputed by France are beyond scope of negotiation
 - 3. Special arrangements for Baghdad and Damascus (Themselves disputed by France)
 - 4. Sharif expected to respect claims by chiefs of various Arab tribes allied with British
- **Vilayets**
 - o Specific Ottoman territorial term
- Sir Reginald Wingate
- **Sykes-Picot Agreement**
 - o 1916 May, month before Arab revolt
 - o France: Greater Lebanon
 - o Britain: Baghdad and Iraq (ultimately kingdom of Iraq)
 - o Parts of Palestine beyond French rule was supposed to be entrusted to international administration
 - o Arabs would only secure independence under influence of either British or French
- Balfour Declaration
- Jamal Pasha
- **Sykes-Picot Agreement** between Sharif of Mecca and McMahon highly controversial
 - o Was foundation for existing regional borders today
 - o Seen as betrayal by British to Arabs

Palestinian Conflict

- Yishuv: Jewish settlers in Palestine
- Jewish settlers had non-violent relationship with Palestine natives
- Aliyas: Waves of immigration
- **Gershion Shafir: *Land, Labour, and Origins of Israeli-Palestine Conflict***
 - o Settlers were concerned about acquisition of land and cash crops
 - o Second Aliya were very different in terms of social composition, sociological profile, and ambitions
 - Were not particularly concerned with acquisition of land

- Concerned with opportunity to work land themselves
 - In exchange for working land, wanted to earn a wage like in Europe
- Very different expectations between Arab Seasonal Workers and new wave of settlers
- **Conquest of Labour**
- Jewish workers were trying to convince Jewish landowners to replace existing Arab Seasonal Workers with Jewish workers and pay them a great deal more
- Required separation of labour markets amongst ethnic lines
- Jewish workers mounted a press campaign against Jewish owners of first wave that labeled them bad Zionists
- Landowners did not ignore own Zionist motives, but saw them through their own interests
- Comprise emerges in which Jewish workers dominate certain types of more skilled labour
- 1859, Ottoman Land Law, leads to profound changes to countryside
- Palestinians are scarcely able to generate income for themselves
 - Force to go to cities
 - Urbanization becomes trend in 20s and 30s
- **Haifa** in 1920s: Had to model behaviour after Prophet
- Peasant rebels take control of a number of urban areas
 - Reject rule of the notables because the notables were seen as collaborates with the Zionists
 - Ban Kardush and bring in **Kufiya**
- 1920, San Remo Conference awarded Britain mandate for Palestine
 - Military government replaced by civilian administration
 - Three years after, mandate incorporated Balfour Declaration and recognized Hebrew as official language in Palestine
 - Sir Herbert Samuel, ardent Zionist, appointed high commissioner in 1920
- 1922, British government issued White Paper stating development of Jewish national home did not mean imposition of Jewish nationality upon inhabitants as whole
 - However, declared Jewish people have right to be in Palestine and Palestine should become center in which Jewish people as a whole could take pride on grounds of religion and race
 - Paper failed to remove ambiguities
- Arab leaders rejected **High Commissioner Samuel's** plans due to participation implying acceptance of Balfour Declaration
 - Results in Palestine governed by Samuel and officials alone

New Historians

- Benny Morris, *Birth of Palestinian Refugee Problem*
 - Emphasizes the political origins of the traditional account
 - Israel's official claim that Arabs fed voluntarily helped create an image of haven of much-persecuted people
 - Old Historians had neither the mindset nor materials to write real history (no interviews or memoirs)
 - Old Historians relied on memory while Morris was interested in documents
 - Why opening of archives was so important
 - Reveals disturbingly racist views held by various leaders
 - Individual military commanders were given authorization to do whatever is necessary to secure Jewish settlements
 - Military calculations were directly responsible for episodes of violent expulsion of Palestinians
- In November, 219 Arab villages and 4 Arab towns in areas allotted to Jewish state in partition plan. Had collective Arab population of 342,000.
 - No fewer than 180 villages were emptied
 - 239,000 Arabs fled or were expelled
 - Use of loudspeakers broadcasting threatening messages precipitated flight
 - Arab orders to evacuate villages affected no more than 10 percent of Palestinian

refugee population

- **Abudullah**

- Avi Shlaim: For Abdullah, Zionists represented potential support for Greater Syria
- 1. Contrary to traditional claims that Zionist forces were vastly outnumbered by Arabs, we learn from new historians that the exact opposite was the case for most of the conflict
- 2. Zionist forces were largely responsible for provoking local villages (haganah)
- 1. Contrary to the claim that Arabs studded every opportunity to reach agreement, the Egyptians and Syrians actually developed peace proposals involving absorption of Palestinian refugees.

Syria and Lebanon

- 1920, General Gouraud drove Faysal from Damascus
- French control of Syria and Lebanon supported by presence of large military contingent and complex hierarchy of French civilian administrators
 - System in Syria was without local legitimacy and did not survive 1946 French withdrawal
 - Adopted policy of divide and rule that emphasized and encouraged existing religious, ethnic, and regional differences
 - 1920, Damascus and Aleppo divided into two separate states, each with own governor and own set of French advisers
 - Military academy was founded, dominated by religious minorities due to Sunni notable's distain for military careers
 - France stressed distinctiveness of two compact minority groups, Alawites and Druze, gave them both states in 1922
 - States were separate from Syria until 1942
 - 1924, combined Damascus and Aleppo into Syria, dominated by Sunni Muslim
 - 1923 to 1926, four different people were high commissioner for Syria and Lebanon
 - Hovering beside every Syrian official was French adviser who had veto power over smallest details
 - **Great Revolt:** 1925, originated when French governor in Jabal Druze tried to rapidly reconstruct Druze political relationships and landholding patterns
 - Sultan Atrash, Druze chieftain, drove French forces from Jabal Druze
 - Urban notables joined by 1925
 - 1925 Oct 18th, French bombed Damascus
 - 1927, French military finally quells revolt
 - After, Syrian leaders forms **National Bloc**
 - ◆ Leaders were from same families or were same individuals who had authority during Ottoman era
 - ◆ Represented urban notables and local government officials
 - ◆ Presented themselves to French as necessary intermediaries in process of governing
 - 1936, Blum's leftist coalition refused to ratify Franco-Syrian treaty
 - 1939, high commissioner suspended Syrian constitution, dissolved parliament, and reestablished autonomy of Alawite and Druze states
- 1920, Lebanon was first division
 - Main beneficiaries was Maronite Christians, who were largest sect even though larger Muslim addition lowered their percentage to only 30
 - Viewed Lebanon as special Christian homeland and assumed political and economic pre-eminence was their right
 - Sunni Muslims became part of Lebanon by French decree, demanded unity with Syria and looked to wider Arab world
 - With exception of Maronites in Mount Lebanon and the Druze in Shuf, religious communities tend to be scattered through country

- Sectarian mosaic in which various religious groups lived side by side
 - 1926, constitution creating Lebanese republic was approved
 - Provided for single chamber of deputies elected on basis of religious representation
 - Principle had been accepted during *mutasarrifiyyah*
 - Constitution did not imply Lebanese independence
 - France retained control of Lebanese foreign relations and military affairs
 - ◆ High commissioner had right to dissolve parliament and suspend constitution, which he did twice
 - **Al-Khuri**: Leading Maronite politician, recognized state could not survive without Muslim-Christian cooperation
 - Sought to build alliances with Muslims based on common opposition to French presence
 - **Constitutional Bloc**: Actively agitated for complete independence
 - 1936, Treaty agreed that guaranteed "**fair representation of all country's sects in government and high administration**"
 - **Emile Edde**: Paris-trained lawyer, leading Maronite leader
 - Elected as president in 1937
 - Picked Muslim as prime minister, establishing tradition
 - local leadership contributed to development of **confessionalism** (political system based explicitly on sectarian divisions within Lebanese society)
 - Allowed all communities to obtain representation in chamber and made sure no single community would dominate others
 - **Salim Nasr**: Traditional notables lost ground in favour of new, rich migrants from abroad
 - Tend to draw Shiite together and question confessionalism
 - Population multiplies by 3 in 20 years
 - Emergence of **Movement of the Dispossessed**
- French proclaimed itself as protector of Christian communities in Levant
- Economically, they had industrial investments from Ottoman decades
- Ibrahim Pasha: Europeans trying to do business in Syrian provinces, particular Christian commercial class undertakes role of intermediary between world market and middle eastern peasants and artisans
- Damascus Merchants:
- French occur Maronite Catholics benefits of consular protection
 - No custom, no taxes, exemptions from rules Muslim merchants had to abide by
 - Judged by French judge in consular court
 - Makes them very ambitious in Syrian society, new role
1. **What was the French justification for their presence in Greater Syria?**
 - i. It proclaimed itself the protector of all Christian communities in the Levant
 - ii. It had extensive enterprise investments in the region made during the last Ottoman decades
 2. **What was the Syrian Legion? Importance?**
 - i. The official Syrian army that was composed of religious minorities because nobles of the dominant Sunni Muslims disliked military careers
 3. **What was the "great revolt"? Main actors?**
 - i. A rebellion of 1925 to 1927 caused by outraged at the French mandate
 - ii. Originated when French governor in Jabal Druze attempted to reconstruct political relationships and landholding patterns
 - iii. Druze chieftain Sultan Atrash led an army that drove French forces from Jabal

- Druze
 - iv. By autumn of 1925, political leaders of Homs and Damascus joined chieftains too
- 4. Who was Shukri al-Quwwaatli?**
 - i. One of the founders of National Bloc
 - ii. Later, president of Syria
 - iii. Representative of political notables who had dominated Syrian politics for decades
- 5. What was the Mutasarrifiyyah?**
 - i. Basis of Lebanon state
 - ii. Originally Maronite Christian enclave created by French
- 6. What were the motivators for creating a Lebanese State?**
 - i. Homeland for Maronite Christians so they would not be absorbed into Syrian Muslim state
- 7. What do we mean by confessional politics?**
 - i. All communities obtaining representation in chamber
 - ii. Leadership split between Maronite Christian and Sunni Muslim
 - iii. No single community dominates others
- 8. Who was Bishara al-Khuri?
 - i. Elected president who worked with Riyadh al-Sulh to work out compromise to Lebanese sectarian problems (National Pact)
 - ii. Recognized Lebanon as distinct entity but that it would exist as part of Arab world
 - iii. Also spelled out formula for sectarian representation that would cause problems later due to it being based on a single census and no later ones
- 9. What were the conditions of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty?
 - i. Incorporated Druze and Alawite into Syria
 - ii. Guaranteed fair representation of all country's sects in government and high administration
- 10. What was the National Pact?
 - i. 1943, determined formula for determining religious representation in Lebanese chamber
- 11. What is a za'im?
- 12. Who was Fuad Shihab?
 - i. Commander-in-chief of Lebanon armed forces
 - ii. Successor to President Chamoun after he stepped aside
 - iii. Handled military during civil war in a way that both Muslims and Christians approved

Oil Saudi Arabia

- Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud

- Founder of Saudi Arabia
- State was fulfillment of personal aspiration (realizing rights inherited from father)
- Vehicle of protection for Saud family
- Had to take loan from merchant to fulfill marriage ceremony
- Facing threats from Hashemite's and Rashid's, develops settlements for tribesmen who subscribe to Wahhabism
- 1918, Defeated Ottoman forces in Arabian Peninsula and expanded control well beyond Riyadh
- 1932, September, Saudi Arabia created
- American support becomes critically important
 - Interested in mineral wealth in captured land

- 1945, Extraction of oil grows exponentially
 - Income of Saudi state grows exponentially
- 2/3rd of state budgets reserved for royal establishments
- 1949, Makes deal with British for rifles to use against Ikhwan
- Till 1963, No constitutions, no political parties, no institutionalized forms of consultation
- 1935 -> 1955, 500,000 a year to 2 million a day

- **Ikhwan**
 - Tribesmen who subscribe to Wahhabism
 - Provide Abdul Aziz with reservoir of military support for his campaigns
 - Ibn Saud provides material support in form of arable lands and seeds
 - Standing with Wahhabism, provides preachers that focuses on roots of faith
 - Needs to know location to for unprecedented control
 - 1919, developed into considerable military asset
 - Support Saud at least in part because of new interpretation of Islam
 - Eventually, Saud himself is not seen as sufficiently Wahhab
 - Ikhwan are eventually not willing to accept pragmatism

- **Hashemite Family**
 - Ruling family of Jordan
 - Descendants of Sharif Hussain
 - West of Saudis

- **Rashid Family**
 - North of Arabian peninsula

- **ARAMCO**
 - Company developed with American support to extract oil
 - 1953, October, workers rose up to claim standard of living they believed were entitled
 - Inhabitants of Saudi Arabia begin to demand not territory, but a voice

- **OPEC**
 - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar
 - 1973, after Yom Kippur War, only cut 5% a month to increase prices by 70%

- **Problem of Expectations**
 - When people learn more about what they're missing, expectations rise
 - Enormous educational development in Saudi Arabia
 - When students who study abroad came home, they learn about political rights, opportunities for self-realization
 - For most, more wealth isn't enough
 - People ultimately want to control their own lives and influence own government
 - Ruling family tried to create limited voting
 - Saudi Arabia remarkably unsuccessful in finding alternative to oil
 - Many gulf countries have very shallow roots/un-meaningful relationship with society

Nasser and Pan-Arabism

- **1952 Coup**
 - 3000 troops circled palace and led bloodless coup
 - Muhammad Naguib selected as face
 - Nasser eventually placed Naguib under house arrest and named self Egyptian president
 - Began to negotiate once and final withdraw of British forces

- 1954, British exiled from Egypt after seventy years
- Egyptian-American relations improved, but Nasser had lingering suspicion of western imperialism

- Persues arms agreement with Czechoslovakia
 - o Rouse great suspicion in America, withdrew backing of Aswan Dam
- 1956, Nasser announced nationalization of Suez Canal
- November, British and French invasion successful, but ultimately international relation disaster because America decided to oppose it
- **Non-Aligned Movement:** Third-world leaders who refused to align themselves with one superpower or another
 - o Wanted to pursue independent policy
 - o Egypt, China, India, Indonesia
 - o Emerged in **Bandung**
- Nasser became embodiment of hope for millions
 - o Had peasant origins
 - o Would eventually be brought down by military, the same force that brought the regime in 1952
- Failure of martial-style government
 - o Military-thinking dominated Nasser's thinking well beyond 1952
 - o **Charter for National Action:** 1962, discussed true democracy and Arab unity
 - o Nasser's ideology is rejection of conflict
 - Particularly, no tolerance for class conflict
 - Struggled for nation in which opinions do not differ
 - Believed dissolution of differences among classes should be the means to real democracy for the entire working forces
 - Looks to Turkey's Ataturk, sees corporatism, organization society based on functional lines instead of class lines
 - In functional categories, wealthy were paired with extremely poor
 - Landowners and share-croppers, owners of factories and workers
 - Military because in military, the groups are organized exactly by function
 - Ultimately seen as way to prevent participation instead of fostering democracy
- 1958, forms **United Arab Republic** with Syria
 - o First step to Arab unity
 - o Broke up because of Nasser's desire to impose uniform policy
- **Yemen**
 - o Nasser felt needed to have some sort of revolution as Egypt
 - o Leadership of Yemen invites Nasser to send military advisers to help modernize Yemeni army
 - o Yemen revolutionaries hosted in Cairo
 - o Felt hereditary system of Yemen military was backward
 - o Used Radio Cairo to stir dissent in various Arab countries
 - Constantly trumpeted Arab nationalism and unity
 - o 1962, Yemen leader passes away, immediate Egyptian intervention in Yemen
 - o **Arab Cold War:** Revolutionary Egypt under Nasser vs. traditional Saudi Arabia
 - o Yemen Royalists vs Yemen Republicans become proxy war

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict to 1967

- **Post WWII:**
 - o Arab nationalists point to commitments made in correspondence
 - o Zionists point to commitments made in Balfour Declaration
 - o British efforts did nothing to ease tensions between Palestinians and Israelis
 - o **Resolution 181:** Proposed partition of Palestine into two states
 - o Americans very concerned about souring relationships between oil state
 - o Truman decides affording Israel American recognition was imperative in wake of holocaust

- **1948 War**
 - Israel captures way more land than five attackers tried to get
- **1952**
 - Free officers overthrow Egyptian government
 - Nasser tries to negotiate with Israel
 - Attacks on Israel mounted by refugees from Gaza Strip
 - Israel encourages settlement on frontier of state
- **1955**
 - **Levon Affair:** Mounted by Israeli minister of defence Levon
 - Group of Egyptian Jews were recruited to plant bombs in Egypt
 - Prime Minister was actually unaware of what Levon was doing
 - Despite diplomatic appeals made to Egypt to show some leniency to agents, all were imprisoned or executed
- **1956**
 - Suez Crisis
 - Israel urges Britain and France to attack
- **1958**
 - Palestinians formed new organization called *Fatah*
 - "Conquest"
 - Led by young engineer named Yasser Arafat
- **1964**
 - *Palestine Liberation Organization*
 - Comes to existence at 1964 meeting
 - Ahmed Shukairy
 - Shukairy intended to serve as head for Nasser's Pan-Arabism ambitions
 - When Arafat saw its creation, ambitions were dashed
- **1967**
 - Six Day War
 - Devastating defeat to Egyptians and Syrians
 - Loss of Sinai, West Bank, East Jerusalem, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip
 - Israeli pilots destroyed Egyptian air force and runways right on the ground
 - Lack of airborne support extremely detrimental to Egyptian protection
 - Field Marshal Aner orders Egyptian retreat, leaving Sinai wide open
 - 300 Israeli deaths vs 15,000 Egyptian deaths
 - State media lied about great success
 - Results in Nasser's resignation
 - For Israelis, realization of long-held dream
 - **Resolution 242:** Contains language that would contribute to continuing struggle to resolution
 - Calls for withdraw of Israeli forces from territories conquered
 - In exchange for sovereignty, recognition, and right to live without fear of violence
 - Land for peace
 - Criticized by both PLO and Israel
 - Israel wanted comprehensive peace treaties
 - PLO complained about zero mention of Palestinian rights
 - Nasser accepted resolution, abandons Palestinians

1967 to Oslo

- Guerillas of fatah undertake armed resistance against Israeli occupation
 - Enters West Bank in effort to confront Israelis directly

- Refugee situation so severe, half of Jordan's population becomes Palestinian
 - o Lots of problems regarding refugee agenda
 - o Jordan compelled to respond to Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugees
 - o Refugees are mostly left-wing radicals who don't have good opinion of conservative monarch
- **Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine**
 - o Headed by George Habash
 - o Much more radical than Fatah
 - o Explicitly Marxist organization
 - o Hijacks series of airliners were European airports and force-landed in Revolution Airstrip
 - o Sends message that Palestine issue cannot be ignored
 - o Bombs on planes exploded in cameras of international media
 - o Civil War between Jordanian and Palestine militants emerge
- **1980s**
 - o Before death, Nasser manages to broker a deal that Palestinian guerillas will leave Jordan
- **Anwar Sadat**
 - o Successor of Nasser
 - o Announced Free Officer's triumph on Radio Cairo
 - o 1973, Launched attack on Israelis on Yom Kippur, takes back Sinai Peninsula through treaty
 - o Days later, Israelis recapture territory initially lost
 - o Actually makes peace between Egypt and Israel possible
 - o 1977, November, made journey to Jerusalem and delivered speech in Israeli parliament holding out possibility of peace agreement
 - o Person who Israelis can do business
 - o 1979, **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** signed
 - Includes plan for Palestinian Autonomy

Islamism

- Political Islam tries to apply Qu'ran to political and social circumstances
- **Sayyid Qutb (1906 - 1966):**
 - o Extremist
 - o Muslims are bound by law and faith to live by 7th century ideals where Islam was revealed
 - o Era where they gained sacred texts
 - o Spirit by which Muslim live must not shift with changing times or circumstances
 - o To modify 7th century ideals is to violate Islam
 - o Mamluk Quran is quintessential expression of spirit and law of Islam
 - o **Tassir:** Interpretation of Qu'ran
 - o Qutb's job to take Qu'ran and arrive at one body of principles through contemplation and inspiration
 - o For those who follow him, his interpretation of the Quran is message of Quran
 - o Those who fail to live within his interpretation can't be regarded as Muslims
 - o Nasser is first amongst those wilfully ignorant, puts himself before his faith
 - o Principle aim of the Qu'ran is to reveal a sociopolitical system within which Muslims had to live
 - o **Milestones:** Details the sociopolitical system he sees, popularizes his ideas
 - As long as Muslims live within this system, they can solve all problems
- **Hakimiyah**
 - o Sovereignty
 - o Exists in Islam long before Qutb

- There is no god but Allah
 - To secularize government is to deny God his sovereignty
 - God deserves to rule human life in every facet of life
 - Person like Nasser who sets himself as Pharaoh is actively displacing god
 - Either the command of god will prevail, or that of Jahiliyah
- **Jahiliyah**
 - "Ignorance"
 - Period of time before the revelation of God's message
 - For Qutb, term carries pronounced value judgement, active denial of god
 - There are those he feels are willfully ignorant
- **Hassan al-Banna (1906 - 1949)**
 - Founder of Muslim Brotherhood
 - Much more practical than Qutb
 - Had chance to participate in politics
 - Assassinated as part of Muslim Brotherhood
- **Infitah**
 - "Opening"
 - Economic liberalization under Sadat
 - Anwar Sadat wanted to open economy to foreign investors
 - Fails to bring in the foreign capital
 - Only benefits the wealthy, very small section of population
 - The poor suffer particularly due to inflation
 - Can't turn to state because state is contracting
- **1977 Revolution of the Hungry**
 - When state could no longer provide, people turned to Islamist groups
 - Groups had wings intended to provide good for followers
- **Law Number 43 of 1974**
 - **Relative Deprivation**
 - **Functionalization**

Islamism in Iran

- **White Revolution**
 - Recent grads spread through countryside to develop healthcare and reconstruction
 - Radios and televisions became standard
- **Mohammad Reza Shah**
 - 1960s to 1970s, Military doubles in size in 15 years
 - Achieved naval control Persian gulf
 - Developments sponsored by oil wealth
 - However, contributes to inflation
 - Did not completely ignore rural, attempted land reform
 - Introduced strict laws about family protection (ensure women's rights are protected)
 - Clergy's monopoly in education and legal sphere eliminated
 - Notables' power diminishes as state's increases
 - However, significant portion of oil wealth was spend on palaces, weapons
 - Wealthy were furious at land reform and transfer of ownership to workers
 - Tight control over media, brutally oppressive measures taken to ensure social peace
 - Need on part of state for police
 - Uses millions and millions of support funds from CIA to build own CIA
 - **SAVAK**: National Security and Information Organization
 - 5300 agents spread throughout country
 - Censors media, screens applicants, uses torture to hunt down dissidents

- Difficult for SAVAK to penetrate networks of Islamist dissent
 - **Resurgence Party:** Structure for politics within Iran
 - Shah decides on a whim to introduce entirely new "royalist" calendar to replace Muslim calendar
- 1967 - 1977, Tehran has housing crisis
- 1976, Iranian lawyers write open letter to Shah complaining about state interference in legal system
- 1977, Iranian writers complain about state censorship
- 1977, November, police ban poetry reading
- **Forty Day Cycles of Violence**
 - Framework of protest was placed within Shiite Islamic rituals
 - After forty days of commemorations, more protests emerge and more deaths result and another commemoration held
- 1978, September, martial law declared
- 1978, December, two million Iranians in the streets of Tehran
- **Khomeini**
 - Very successful at building coalition to overthrow state
 - Most appropriately viewed as cunning political entrepreneur
 - Uses symbol and language of Islam as cement to hold coalition together
 - Molded revolution into an Islamist one
 - Groups viewed modernization as westernization
 - Do not see in modernization benefits other class see
 - Feels Iranian state being forced into arms of traditional enemies
 - Most important was opposition to new family laws and attacks on "new liberalism"
 - **Vilayat-e Faqih:** New idea of distinctly Islamic governance
 - Like Qutb, doesn't get into detail about exact blueprint
 - Ultimately wins because of use of **distinctly modern technology**
 - Was in exile the entire time, gets message through by cassette tape
- **Bazaar**
 - Market place
 - Stores, storage, banks, religious centres
 - Islamists secured funding for opposition in Bazaar
 - Very difficult for state to get a handle due to religious importance

Authoritarianism

- **Ba'ath (Resurrection) Movement**
 - By Christian Michel Aflaq and Muslim Salah al-Bitar
 - Conceived during days in Paris schools
 - To bring end to tyranny and bring freedom
 - In contrast to ASU, Ba'ath party existed long before the one-party regimes
 - Became hijacked by Hafiz al-Asad and Saddam Husayn
- **Syrian Case Study**
 - **Hafiz al-Asad**
 - Developed resources for a coup
 - Had little immediate cause of worry upon rise of power
 - Developed range of institutions that claimed to be democratic
 - 1971, Designated as president of Syria by council of the people
 - Not once has government bill been defeated
 - 1972, **Progressive National Front** established
 - Coalition of six political associations
 - 1973, Syrians endorsed constitution

n

- Mandated legislative assembly elected by constituency, but candidates very limited
 - Party proportions decided before elections even occur
- Ba'ath Party is by law the central party of Syria
 - Party is means by which the president can monitor bureaucracy
 - President has power to dissolve assembly on a whim, legislate for Syria himself
 - President commands in person the bureaucracy, military, and intelligent services
 - Not once has bill been defeated
 - Concerned that intermediaries with various organization had to be kept in line, done through elaborate network of patronage
 - Because of network of patronage, regime takes on illegitimateness
- **Alawi Sect**
 - Shiite Islam sect focused in Latakia
 - Asad's roots
 - Because one cannot entirely trust military, one brings in additional services in order to guarantee power
 - Although only 1/10 of Syria, representation in circles of power very considerable
 - All military units and most security services in position to stage coup are under control of Alawi loyalists
- 1976 - 1982, problems of legitimacy emerged in Syria
 - Major cleavage between Alawi's and Sunnis
 - 1980, Trade unions decide to stand up to regime viewed as unrepresentative
 - Unions had leaders arrested and replaced
 - After 1982, no more genuine expressions of the people
- **Hama Then**
 - Peasants represented particular daunting challenge
 - Frustration with inflation and corruption
 - Contributed to support of Muslim Brotherhood
 - At this point, Asad's Ba'ath Party was still secular
 - Greatest source of legitimacy is great power
 - Organized assassination campaigns against Alawi intellectuals
 - 1982, Hama demolished over three weeks
- By 1990s, 700,000 civilians depend on state employment for livelihood
 - Lots of campaigns to keep people on board
 - Cult of president emerges
 - Greatest source of legitimacy because brute power
- **Iraq Case Study**
 - **1968 Ba'athist Coup**
 - In Iraq, dominated largely by rural Sunnis in Shiite majority
 - Leaders try to curb Shiite opposition
 - Was originally secular, but Saddam ultimately makes use of Islamic symbols
 - 1970s, Shiite activists arrested in thousands
 - **Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr**
 - Mounted 1968 Coup
 - Legitimacy problem in Iraq because of Sunni domination in ruling elite
 - **Saddam Hussein**
 - Prime Minister in 1970s, developed security apparatus loyal to him
 - 1979, July, takes power
 - Executes 1/3rd of Revolutionary Command Council
 - 1980 onward, uses emerging conflict with Iran as pretext for oppression against Shiites and Kurds

- Portrays himself as true Muslim compared to Iranians who don't really know what Islam is about due to Persian origins
- People from **Tikrit** hometown come to dominate government like Asad's Hama
- **Iran-Iraq war**
 - Tremendous blow to both regimes
 - Despite Shiite displaying willingness to fight on behalf of Iraq, Saddam sees them as potential threat to regime
 - 40,000 Shiites investigated and deported
 - Nearly 1/4 of workforce incorporated into security services
 - Kurds flee across Iraqi border to Turkey and Iran
 - Pan-Arabism: Vital, but swiftly discredited
 - Shift from Pan-Arabism to Iraqi patriotism
- **Halabja**
 - 1988, March, 5000 killed with poison gas after Iranian capture
 - 120,000 Kurds decide to flee to Turkey and Iran

2011 Revolution

- Unemployment up to 1/3rd in Sidi Bouzid
- Police result to extortion because themselves are so poorly paid
- **Mouhamed Bouazizi**
 - Forced to move from Sidi Salah to Sidi Bouzid after bank took lands
 - Vendors experienced significant harassment from police for bribes
 - Uncle went to chief of police, who sent policewoman to scene only to confiscate basket of apples
 - December 17th, went to police station and set himself on fire
 - Images surrounding demise that propel issue to front of mind
- **Khaled Saeed**
 - 28 years old from Alexandria
 - Receives video of police brutality, decided to forward to friends
 - Brutal death results in series of more graphic photos
 - "We are all Khaled Saeed" Facebook page emerges
 - January 25th, Police Day was to be celebrated but took on whole new meaning
- **Tahrir Square**
 - Very important traffic location, passed by taxis at least once a day
 - **Mogamma**: Very important bureaucratic centre, Soviet-style
 - Kafkaesque bureaucracy of payment after payment
- **Hosni Mubarak**
 - Former bomber pilot in 1973 October War
 - Had been selected as Vice President because of lackluster traits, seen as someone who would not threaten Sadat's power
 - 1981, Successor of Anwar Sadat, ruled for thirty years after Sadat's assassination
 - Seen as bland, fathoms himself at expense of Egyptians
 - Due to utter lack of charisma, must retain regime by oppression
 - Egypt under emergency law for thirty years, allows Mubarak to use emergency measures to deal with any sort of threat
 - Framework of National Democratic Party becomes network of corrupt constructs
 - Son **Gamal Mubarak** becomes face of NDP and Egyptian corruption
- **Baltagiya**: Thugs employed by Ministry of Interior to wreak havoc
 - On election day, ensures NDP wins
 - Emerge to clamp down on revolution
 - Posed as protestors and beat up protestors to discredit them

- **After January 25th**
 - o State withdraws police and puts Baltagiya on the streets to create atmosphere of menace
 - o To fill absence, protection committees sprout through Cairo
 - Spontaneous entities developed by neighbourhoods to protect themselves\
 - o Checkpoints established, transportation becomes very difficult
 - o Clear generation divide
 - o Many slogans from 1952 Revolution reused
 - o New generation grew up in defeat of 1967
 - o Broken promise of 1952

Gender

- Veil takes on political importance in that it represents freedom to westerners and anti-westernization to Islamic reformers
 - o Became in colonial rhetoric the "backwardness" of Islam
- Women needed opportunities for both education and employment
- Far from passive in debate
- By turn of 20th centuries, associations of literate women published many journals on social policy
 - o Malak Hifni Nasef, wrote on issues of family laws/marriage
- In interwar years, women propelled into movement due to politicians not incorporating them into political matters
- **Musa, Shaarawi, Nabarawi**
 - o Arab Feminist Union
 - Inspired by Egyptian Feminist Union
 - Range of institutions developed
 - 1944, Egyptian Feminist Party
- **Duriya Shafiq**
 - o Founder of Daughter of the Nile
 - o Mounts campaigns for suffrage, proper representation
 - o Insisted on election of women to public office

1. How do suffrage movements reflect the political and/or social climate of a nation?
 - Going through modernization
 - Shed imperialistic structure
 - Ideology is going toward left, leaning liberal
 - More higher education is offered
 - Literacy rates improving
2. In what ways did broadening women's rights support modernization of a nation?
 - Moving toward a more democratic society
 - Idea of rights are more ingrained
 - Better education
3. How does gender equality mirror other reform movements?
 - Tanzimat: Modernization, mimicking west
 - Islamic Reform: Deriving new meaning from Quran in modern context

Sectarianism

- Very difficult to get an idea of people in modern middle east
- Democratic organization goes underground
- **Informal Sector:** Distinguished from formal sector, below radar of the state
 - Not subject to things such as taxation
 - Have range of relatively secret activity that happens
 - Found by ordinary people on day-to-day basis
 - E.G. gam'iyat, savings associations in Egypt for some major life event, tend to be

- dominated by women
 - More money flows through these than banks
- Weddings demonstrate you are a very generous person
- **Coptic Christians in Egypt**
 - Church says 25%, Egyptian government says 3%
 - **National Unity Discourse:** Cots are so harmoniously integrated in Egyptian society that they can't be differentiated from Muslims
 - **Persecution Discourse:** Focuses on Cot diaspora and religious rights
 - Absent from Egypt because National Unity Discourse is so dominant
 - Extremists are very Islamophobic
 - Moderates focuses on discrimination from Islamists and rule of state
 - In 20th century, major shift in Coptic Christians in political life
 - Pope Shanouda the First served as Patriarch for three decades, responsible because of efforts to build Coptic networks like never before
 - Focused on growth instead of preservation

Bahrain

- Ruled by Khalifas since 18th century
- Shia majority ruled by Sunni minority
- Khalifas tried to fabricate events regarding uprising

Conclusion

- **Foucault**, *Discipline and Punish*
 - Panopticon