

“International Relations of the Middle East”

Course #: 21402 – POLS 354-01 (4 units)

**University of San Francisco, California
Department of Politics and the Middle Eastern Studies Program**

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Week 2: Pan-Arab, pan-Islamic, Arab nationalism, and Zionism

2.1 Pan-Arab, pan-Islamic, Arab nationalism, and Zionism

2.2 Case studies: The Republic of Turkey and The Arab Republic of Egypt

2.1 Pan-Arab, pan-Islamic, Arab nationalism, and Zionism

DAWN, C. E. (1961). *FROM OTTOMANISM TO ARABISM: THE ORIGIN OF AN IDEOLOGY*. THE REVIEW OF POLITICS, 23(3), 378-400.

GASIOROWSKI & YOM (EDS). (2016). CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE.

LEWIS, B. (1994). *THE SHAPING OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST*. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. CHAPTER: "THE RETURN OF ISLAM," PP.99-124

Developments of Pan-Arabism

- Pan Arabism is an ideological movement centered at **the formation of One Arab Country including all Arab-majority regions** in the Middle-East and North Africa.
- Pan-Arabism was of three major waves:
 - ◆ **Early Pan-Arabism:** The Arab modern resistance to the Ottomans in the WW1, led by Sharif Houssine and his sons (following the McMahon- Houssine correspondence). Lasted until the defeat of King Feisal I.



Developments of Pan-Arabism

■ Pan-Arabism was of three major waves:

- ◆ Second wave- the idea of “**Great Syria**” (a united Arab state) was led by political leaders as well as Arab ideologists from the 1930s to 1940s (Ba’ath Party). Lasted until the assassination of King Abdullah I.
- ◆ Third wave- led by **Gamal Abdel-Nasser** in the 1950s and 1960s (until the defeat in the 1967 war).



The rise of Zionism- 19th Century

- **Zionism** started in the 19th century following several processes in Europe: the enlightenment, secularism, the French revolution, Nationalism, Emancipation, Anti-Semitism, etc. .
- Defining Jewishness and “the Jewish problem”.
- Streams in the Jewish thought:
 - ◆ **The religious stream**: Jewish is a religion. Jews are waiting for the Messiah.
 - ◆ **The reformism**- full integration in the Christian society and adopting the religion to Christianity.
 - ◆ **The “territorial” stream**- finding a place for the Jews (not necessary Israel)
 - ◆ **“Hovevey Zion”** (Fans of Israel)- establishing a home for the Jews in Israel. ➔ First Zionist settlement in Palestine in 1882.

The rise of Zionism- 19th Century



The First Zionist Congress,
Basel, Switzerland
August 29th, 1897



Theodor Herzl



Ahad Ha'am



David Wolfson



Otto Warburg

Arab Nationalism and Zionism in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century

- **Until 1882:** relations between **neighbors** in the entire region as well as in Palestine.
- **1882-1904:** relations are becoming hostile-
 - ◆ **The first A'lliah** included a massive immigration to Palestine and establishment of new settlements in new places.
 - ◆ **Hostile relations** in Palestine defined by economic means.



Mazkeret Batya, 1890
First Aliyah

Arab Nationalism and Zionism in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century

■ 1904-1914: A major change in the relations-

- ◆ **The second A'liyah** brings massive Jews from **Eastern Europe**
- ◆ Arabs started to question the reason for the mass Jewish immigration to Palestine, and the danger in **changing the character of the region.**
- ◆ Naguib Azoury publishes his book (1905): “The Awakening of the Arab Nation”
- ◆ In 1905-1906 an Arab resistance to the Zionist ideas started to develop, following the development of the **first wave of Arab Nationalism.**

Hashomer
(a Jewish defense organization)
Second Aliyah



Arab Nationalism and Zionism in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century

■ 1904-1914: A major change in the relations-

- ◆ Hostile relations are defined by **Nationalistic ideas- Arab vs. Zionist.**
- ◆ However, Arab resistance to Zionism was still not much noticeable or organized until after the Young Turks revolution 1908.
- ◆ **The resistance to Zionism** culminated between 1911-1914, with anti-Zionist incitement that led to multiple physical attacks against Jews in Palestine.
- ◆ First **Arab Nationalist Congress** meets in Paris in 1913.
- ◆ Arab newspapers promotes **Arab Nationalism.**

Arab Nationalism and Zionism in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century



Filastine Newspaper of Palestine:

<http://www.jewishhistory.com/Filastine/ALASTIN/1936.html>

Arab Nationalism and Zionism in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century

■ Three major approaches of the Jewish settlers in Palestine to the “Arab problem”:

- ◆ **Integrationists** (Sapir, Epstein)- respect the Arab culture. The success of the Zionist vision depends on Arab-Jewish cooperation in Palestine. For that, new settlements should be only in empty places. Jews will bring prosperity to Palestine, that the Arabs will benefit from it.
- ◆ **Separatists** (Kluesner, Smilanski, Brenner): Arab culture is inferior, there's a danger to the Zionist vision if the Jews will integrate with Arabs. Arab hostility against Jews is a fact and conflict should be expected.
- ◆ **The Liberals / the constructive** (Rupin, Ehad Ha'am): trying to merge both ideas. Achieving Zionist goals while tolerance to Arab needs and problems.

Arab Nationalism and Zionism in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century

- The **World Zionist Organization** didn't approach the Arab problem until 1911.
- It was discussed whether to promote a cooperation with the Arabs against the Ottomans. Communication was made and it was decided to hold a **joint Arab-Zionist conference** near Beirut in 1914.
- The conference was postponed due to the WW1 and then cancelled.
- However, these early connections helped the British convene a **Zionist-Arab meeting** between Dr. Weizmann and Emir Feisal.

Agreement Between Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann (1919)

Agreement Between Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann 3 January, 1919

His Royal Highness the Emir Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organization, mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their natural aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them, have agreed upon the following:

Articles:

Article I

The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories.

Agreement Between Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann (1919)

Article II

Immediately following the completion of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties hereto.

Article III

In the establishment of the Constitution and Administration of Palestine, all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of the 2nd of November, 1917.

Article IV

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

Article V

No regulation or law shall be made prohibiting or interfering in any way with the free exercise of religion; and further, the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed. No religious test shall ever be required for the exercise of civil or political rights.

Article VI

The Mohammedan Holy Places shall be under Mohammedan control.

Article VII

The Zionist Organization proposes to send to Palestine a Commission of experts to make a survey of the economic possibilities of the country, and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organization will place the aforementioned Commission at the disposal of the Arab State for the purpose of a survey of the economic possibilities of the Arab State and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organization will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities thereof.

Article VIII

The parties hereto agree to act in complete accord and harmony on all matters embraced herein before the Peace Congress.

Article IX

Any matters of dispute which may arise between the contracting parties shall be referred to the British Government for arbitration.

<http://www.mideastweb.org/feisalweiz.htm>

2/23/2017

MidEastWeb- Feisal-Weizman

Given under our hand at London, England, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen
Chaim Weizmann Feisal Ibn-Hussein

Reservation by the Emir Feisal

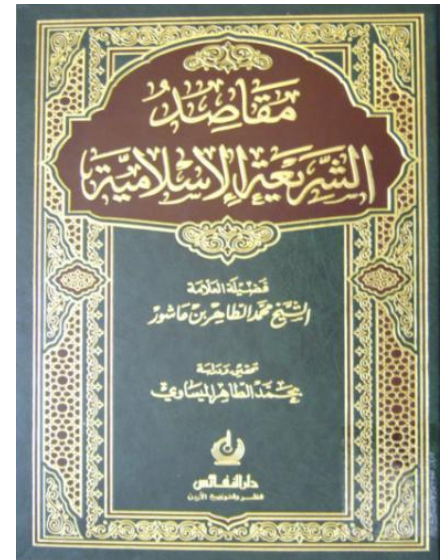
If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of 4 January, addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement.

Developments of Pan-Islamism

- Al-Afghan led a pan-Islam movement to unit Muslims under the idea of the Islamic “**Umma**” (19th century): **the whole community of Muslims bound together by ties of their religion.**
- Pan-Arabism, local nationalistic ideas, and the new nation states defeated the pan-Islamic idea, following the results of the WW1.
- **The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt** (est. 1928) emerged as a prototype for all modern Islamist movements (including non-Arab).
- The Muslim Brotherhood **criticized the national-secularism** of Arab countries. It's goal is to establish a Muslim state based on the Sharia' (Muslim Law).

Developments of Pan-Islamism

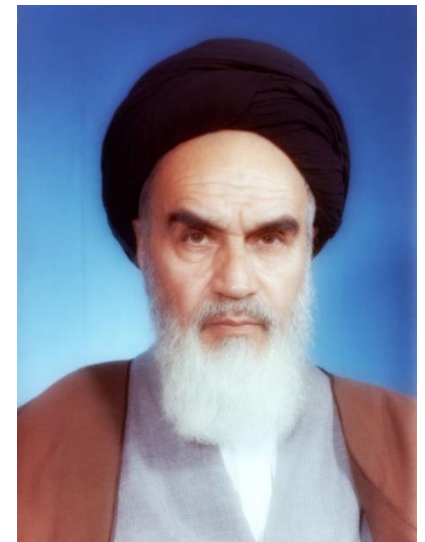
- **Islamic Law:** A Judicial System Based on **Shari'a laws**, which is derived from the **Quran** (revelations to Muhammad) and from the **Hadith** (reports on the Prophet's words and actions). The Shari'a outlines the path that Muslims must follow.
 - There are Islamic societies with very secular administrations; Others see Islam as the main source of laws.
- 



Developments of Pan-Islamism

- Other examples, while **merging nationalism and Islamic religion**, self-identify as Muslim countries/Islamic Republic: Saudi- Arabia (claims leadership of the Muslim world), Sudan, and Pakistan.
- Iran (and in part ISIL and Afghanistan under the Taliban) is a unique case of **Theocracy**: the governance of Religious Leaders.

Ayatollah Khomeini,
Supreme leader of Iran
(1979-1989)



Question to Students

- What do many Arab countries have in common in their flags, and why?

Flags in Green, White, Red, and Black

- As of 2017, ten Arab countries use these colors in their flag.
- The colors were first used by Sharif Hussein and his army during the Arab revolt against the Ottomans during the WW1.
- Then became the colors of the flag of the Kingdom of Hejaz.



UAE



The Palestinian Authority



Iraq



Jordan



Egypt



Kuwait



Libya



Sudan



Syria



Yemen 20

2.2 Case studies: The Republic of Turkey and The Arab Republic of Egypt

GASIOROWSKI & YOM (EDS). (2016). CHAPTER 7: REPUBLIC OF TURKEY, PP. 203-234.

ISMAEL & PERRY (EDS.). (2013). CHAPTER 7: TURKEY UNDER THE AKP: AXIS CHANGE OR PRAGMATIC ACTIVISM?, PP. 202-227.

ISMAEL & PERRY (EDS.). (2013). CHAPTER 6: EGYPT: THE CONTINUING STORM?, PP. 174-201.

GASIOROWSKI & YOM (EDS). (2016). CHAPTER 13: ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, PP. 407-438

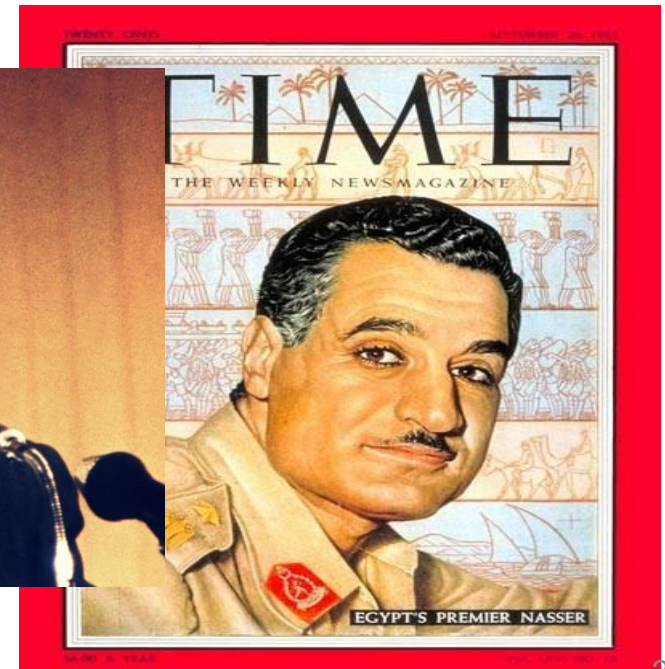
Gamal Abdel Nasser

- Video of speech (2:00-3:15):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NaJogPC9ACI>

- Opinion of Muslim brotherhood:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpu2BH3vKjY>



A lost promise of democracy

Nasser: "I have often been asked if a totalitarian regime is necessary in the formative stage which developing countries go through. The answer to this question depends on what is meant by totalitarian state. There is no doubt that the familiar Western theory of democracy is not the one and only theory. I have said that it is important to link the election card with the bread, for the freedom of voting can be manipulated in the case of a hungry man.

The first essence of the Revolution was to tear down the social barriers between classes and the redistribution of the countries wealth more fairly. It also aimed to restore the basic freedoms to the regular Egyptian citizen, such as the freedom to work, the freedom of sustenance, the freedom of owning the land he toils, the freedom to protect himself and his family, and the right to a share of the national wealth and to superintend it. These are rights and freedoms which helped the citizen to restore his sense of honor and personal dignity, both are a natural human right.

Currently political parties are banned in Egypt, because our country is witnessing a comprehensive revolution, one in which we need the unity of its labor, free of the maneuvers of political feuds. I don't know when political parties will attain a place in the life of our nation... We have brought down previous dictatorships which the upper classes of the society had imposed. The people are equally determined not to allow the country to fall prey to any alternative dictatorship."

Egypt- Turning into a Dictatorship

- After the promises to formulate a more democratic Egypt, the regime had once again transformed into a dictatorship.
- Example: Egyptian President Abdel Nasser fired 200 judges at once: "The massacre of judges."

