

The First World War in the Middle East

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Defensive developmentalism: 2 phases

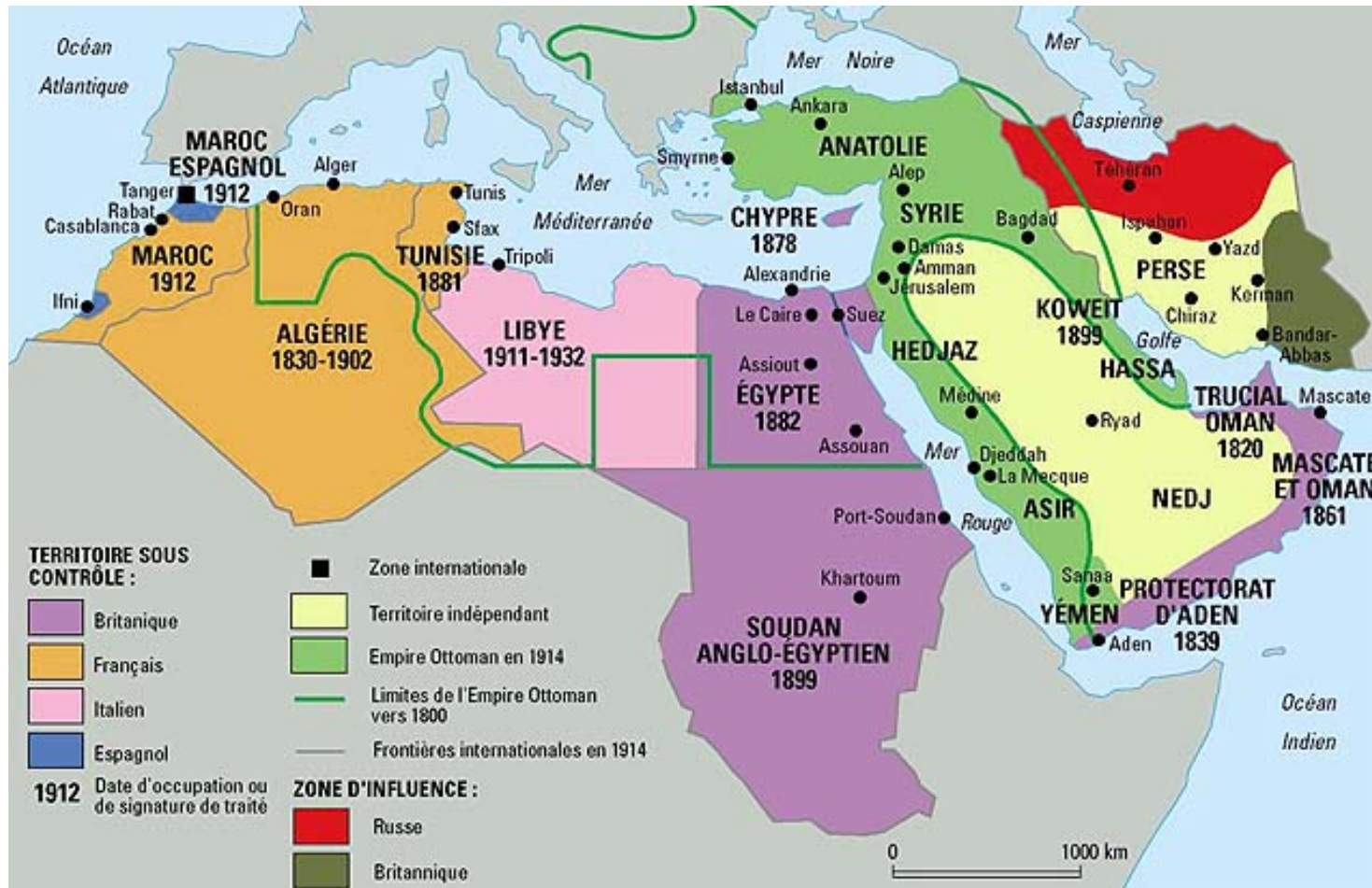
- 1 The period of Liberal Reforms -> 1836 to the Constitution of 1876
- 2 The period of Autocratic Reforms under Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1878-1909) -> Pan-Islamist ideology
- => CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) coup in 1908

- Economic crisis of 1873, consequences:
 - Colonialism (The Scramble for Africa and the Berlin Congress, 1884-85)
 - Constitutionalism: 1876 Constitution of the Young Ottomans, the Urabi constitution in Egypt in 1881, and the Young Turks constitution of 1908
- But also constitutional movements in the world: Japan 1874, Russia 1805, Mexico 1910, China 1911

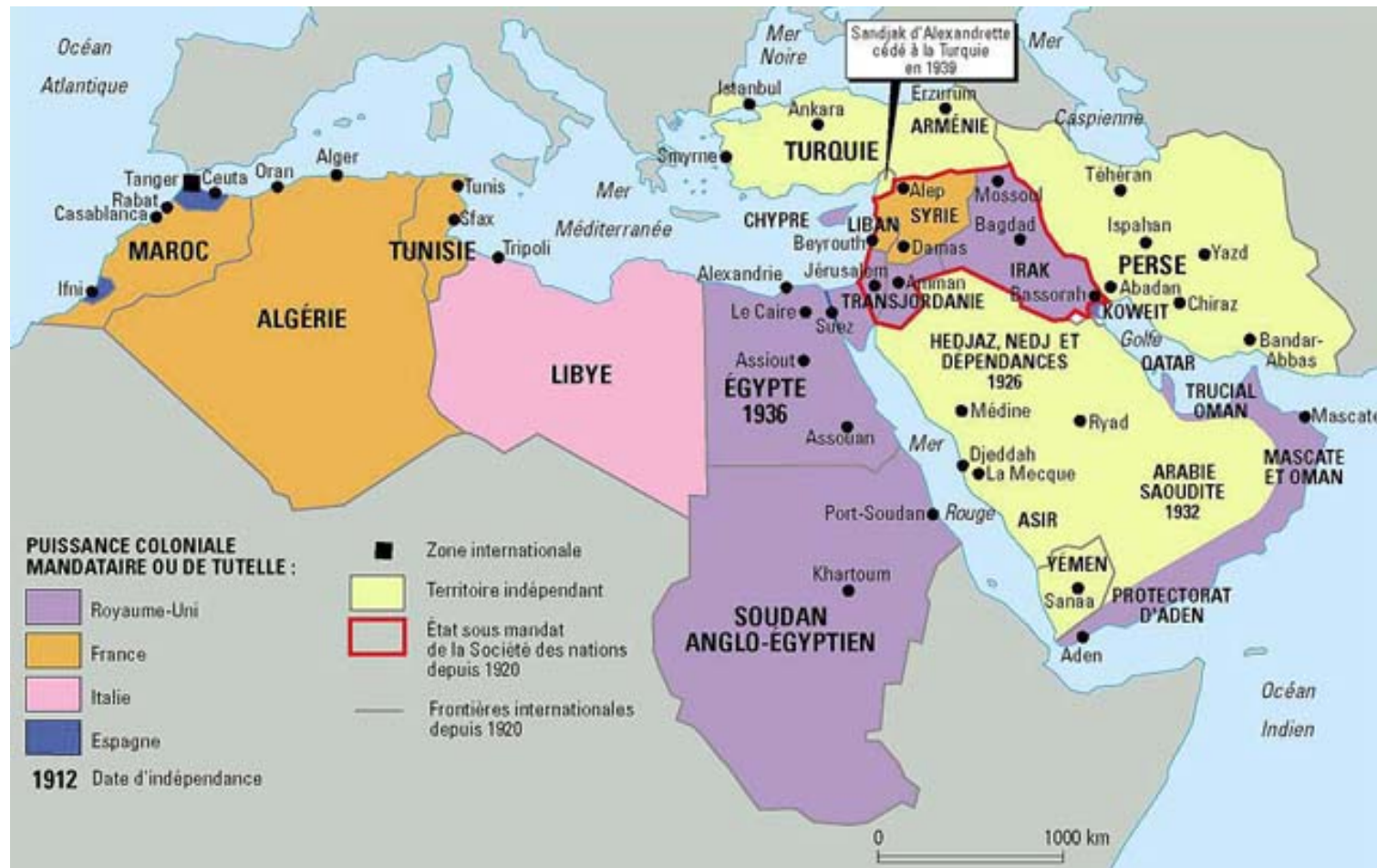
The time of the CUP

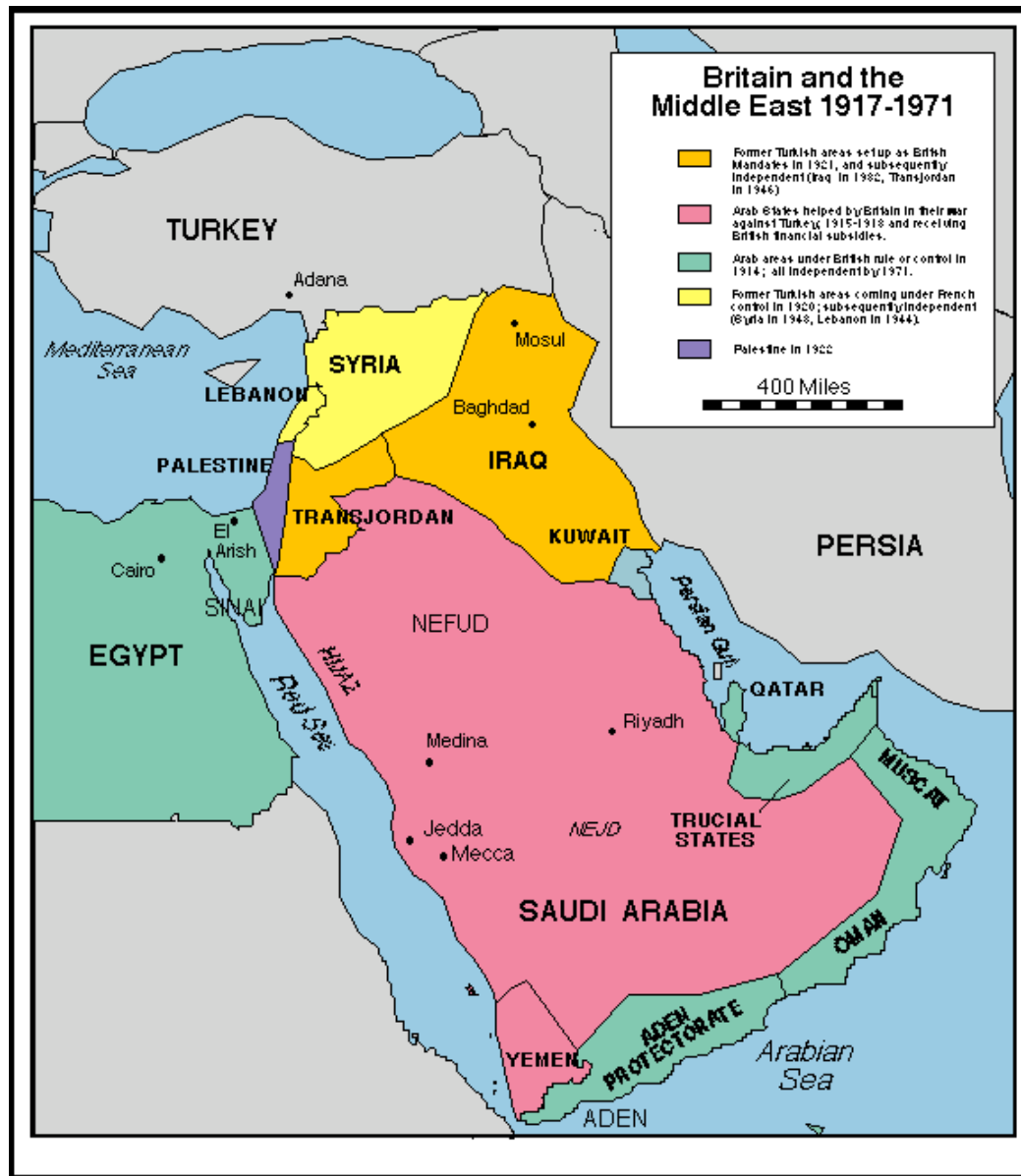
- Territorial losses
 - In 1908 independence of Bulgaria and Rumelia; Bosnia-Herzegovina is definitively annexed
 - during the First and the Second Balkan War (1911 to 1913) are lost Macedonia and Albania; The Ottoman empire retains only Thracia.
 - 1911 loss of Libya to the Italians
- In North Africa: Morocco (1912), Tunisia (1881) and Algeria (1830) are under the control of France; Libya is with Italy since 1911
- Growth of 'Turkism' as ideology
- The question of 'Arabism': the 1913 Arab Congress in Paris

Ottoman Empire in 1914

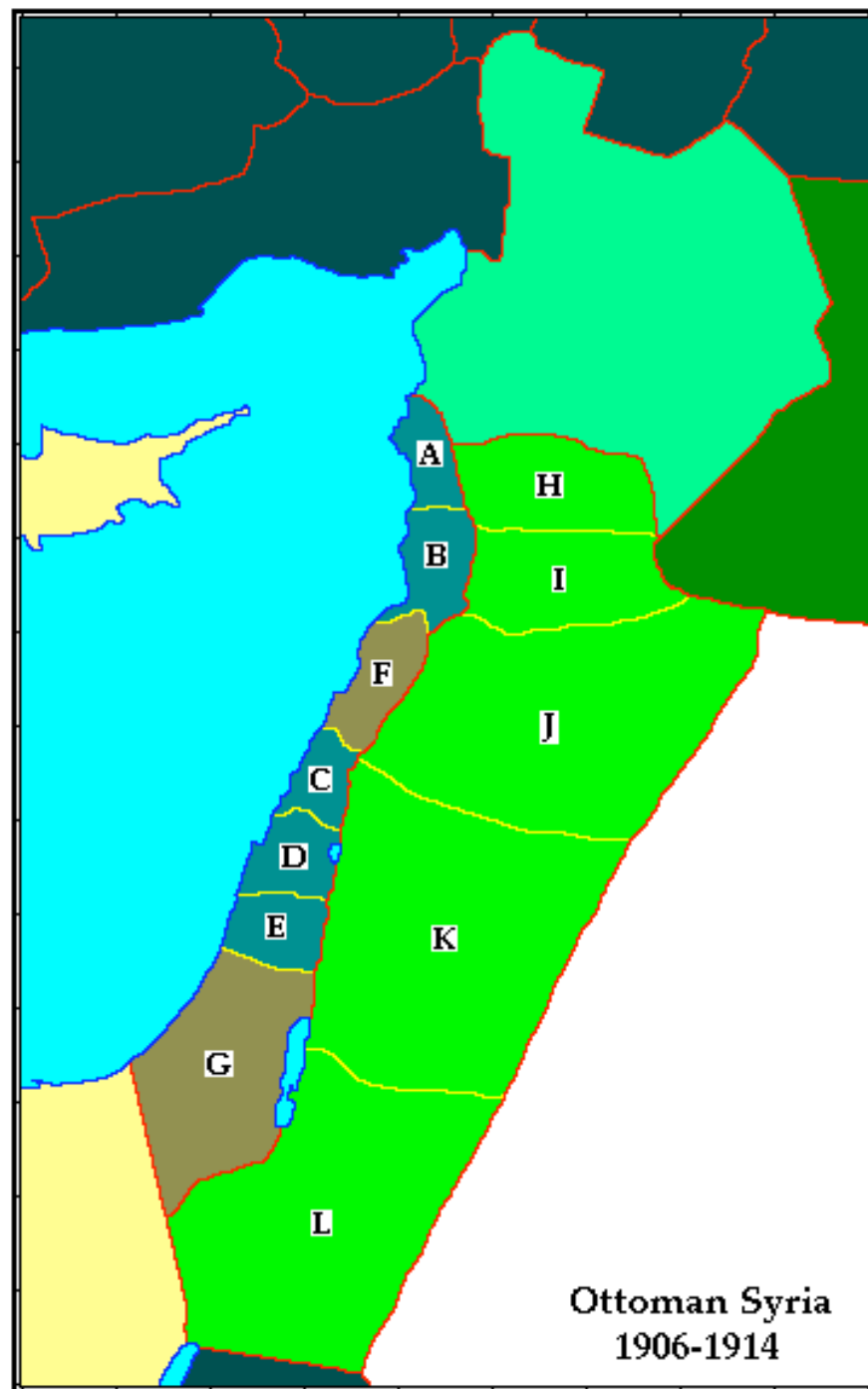


The Middle East after 1920





Close-up on the
Arabic Peninsula



Ottoman Syria 1906-1914

- Ottoman Vilayets outside Syria
- Areas nominally part of the Ottoman Empire
- Vilayet of Aleppo
- Vilayet of Deir ez Zor
- Vilayet of Beirut
- A Sanjak of Latakia
- B Sanjak of Tripoli
- C Sanjak of Beirut
- D Sanjak of Acre
- E Sanjak of Nablus
- F Mutasarrifat of Mt. Lebanon
- G Mutasarrifat of Jerusalem
- Vilayet of Syria
- H Sanjak of Hama
- I Sanjak of Homs
- J Sanjak of Damascus
- K Sanjak of Hawran
- L Sanjak of Ma'an

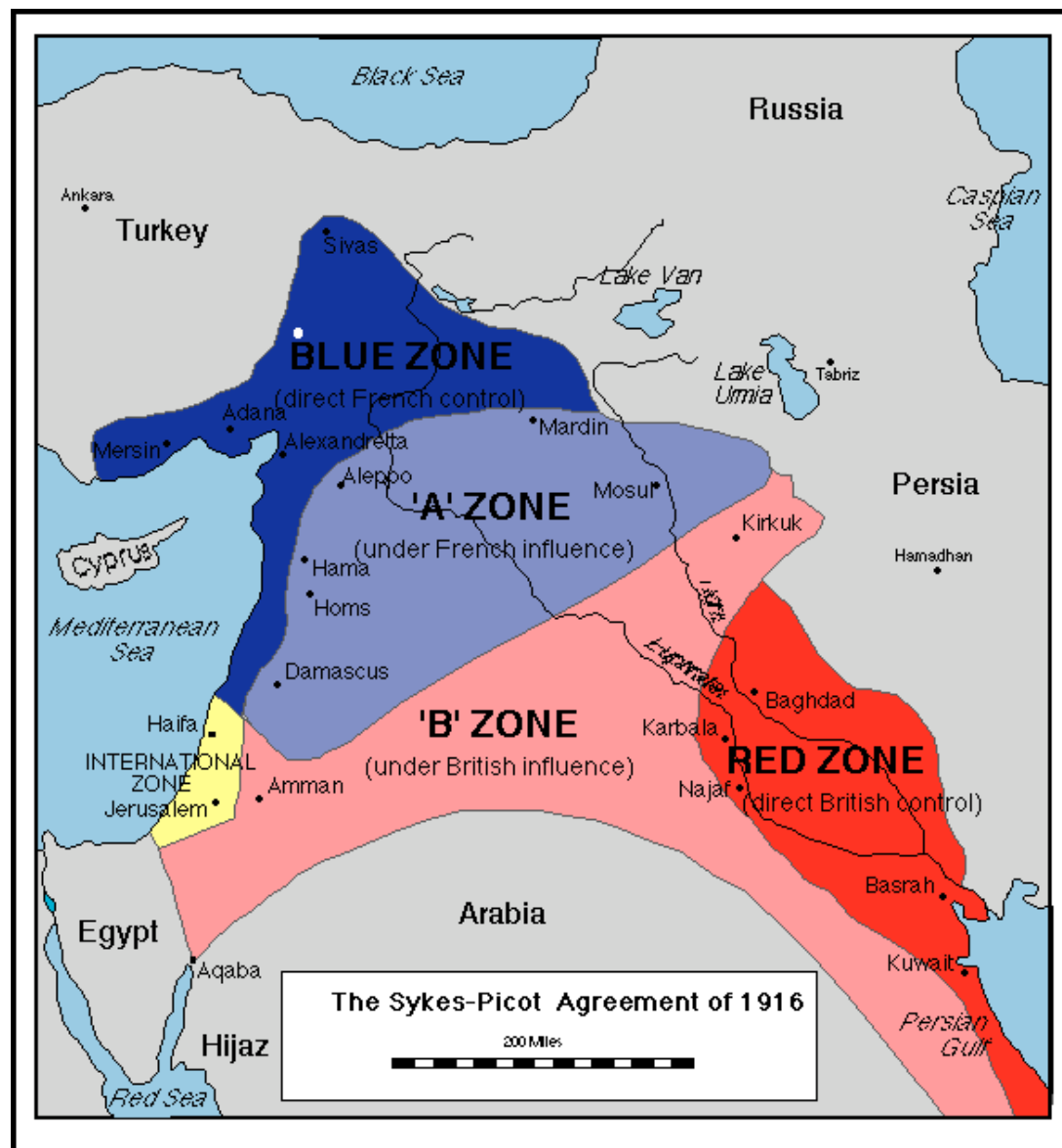


Some “causes” of the First World War

- High competition among European states, expansionism and struggle for hegemony
 - Imperialism and economic protectionism
 - Inability of reaching a stable balance of power
 - A complicate system of alliances
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- -> Colonies and non-European world suffer the most severe losses: Ottoman empire loose the 25% of its total population: 5 millions of victims

A wealth of secret treaties

- 1915: treaty of Constantinople -> Turkish straits and Istanbul will go to Russia
- Treaty of London (patto di Londra), 1915 secret treaty in which Italy joined the Allies – but also she would have received ‘a just share’ in Anatolia
- Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916: partitioning the Arab lands of the Ottoman empire
- Agreement of Saint-Jeanne de Maurienne 1917, new agreement among UK, France and Italy after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia



Partition of Anatolia according to the Treaty of Sevres



But similar promises were made to local allies...

- The Arab Revolt of 1916 -> from Jedda to Damascus (1918), lead by the war-lord King Sharif Hussein and his sons Faysal and Abdallah





Sayyid Hussein bin Ali,
GCB (1854 — June 4, 1931)

His son Faisal, future king of Iraq

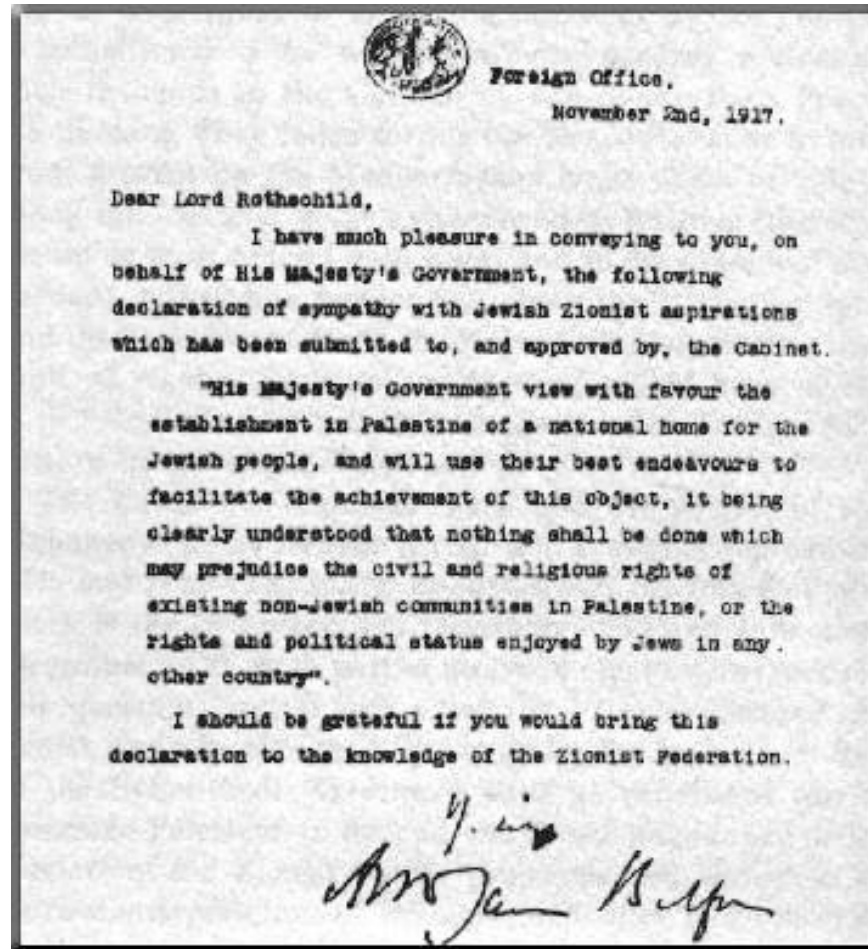


MacMahon Declaration to King Hussein in October 1915

- *The districts of Mersin and Alexandretta, and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, cannot be said to be purely Arab, and must on that account be excepted from the proposed delimitation. Subject to that modification, and without prejudice to the treaties concluded between us and certain Arab Chiefs, we accept that delimitation.*
- *As for the regions lying within the proposed frontiers, in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to interests of her ally France, I am authorized to give you the following pledges on behalf of the Government of Great Britain, and to reply as follows to your note: That subject to the modifications stated above, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and uphold the **independence of the Arabs** in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sharif of Mecca*

And even more declarations....

The Balfour declaration, 1917



"His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

PUBLICLY stated, published in The Times, London

After the WW1

- State construction by decree: Iraq, Trans-Jordan Kingdom, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria
- State construction by revolution and revolt: Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Egypt
 - Other north-African states are not touched by these events: Morocco (1912), Tunisia (1881) and Algeria (1830) are well under the control of France; Libya is with Italy since 1911

But new concepts: annexed territories are MANDATES

- 14 Points of Wilson, 1919
 - Open markets, open seas and self-determination
 - The rightful state structure of the non-European territories should not be the colony, but the nation-state
 - There should be a global governance system, a collective management of conflicts -> League of Nations

Benedict Anderson (1983), Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism

- "In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the **nation**: it is an **imagined political community** - - and **imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign**."
- It is **imagined** because the members of even the smallest nation **will never know most of their fellow-members**, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. Renan referred to this imagining in his suavely back-handed way when he wrote that 'Or l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun, et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses.'
- With a certain ferocity Gellner makes a comparable point when he rules that 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.' In this way he implies that 'true' communities exist which can be advantageously juxtaposed to nations. In fact, **all communities larger than primordial villages** of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are **imagined**. ... Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined

- *"The nation is imagined as **limited** because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has **finite, if elastic boundaries**, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet.*
- *"It is imagined as **sovereign** because the concept was born in an age in which **Enlightenment** and Revolution were **destroying** the legitimacy of the **divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm**. Coming to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living pluralism of such religions, and the allomorphism between each faith's ontological claims and territorial stretch, **nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so**. The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state.*
- *"Finally, it is imagined as a **community**, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, **the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship**. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as **willingly to die** for such limited imaginings."*
- *These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? I believe that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism."*

Three 'brands' of nationalisms

- Regionalism (Phoenicianism, Pharaonism, Turkism)
- Arabism, Sati al-Husri, 'On Arab Nationalism'
- -> Ba'atism
 - Founded by Michel Aflaq, Salah al-Din al-Bitar and Zaki al-Asruzi in the early 1940s
 - Centered on the ideas of Wahda, Hurriya, Ishtiraqiyya: Unity, Freedom, Socialism
- Islamism: the salafist movement changes: Rashid Rida (1865-1935) and Amir Shakib Arslan(1869-1946)

