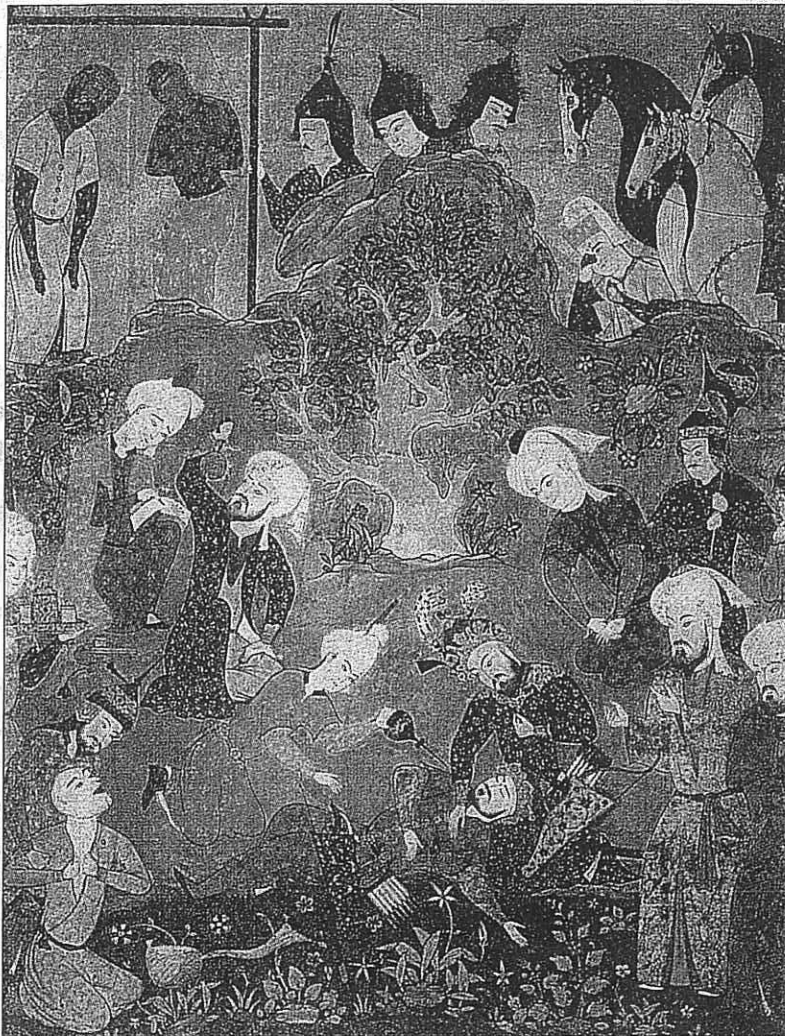


GEOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 The Land and the People
- 2 Early Civilizations
- 3 Judaism and Christianity



The Death of Darius By the time he died, Darius I had expanded the Persian Empire across the Middle East as far as the Indus Valley. He had also sent expeditions to explore the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

Fine Art Although this drawing was done 2,000 years after Darius' rule, how does it show continued respect for him?

Day after day, stone masons chipped away at the rock cliff. High above the surrounding land, they carved the great figure of the emperor Darius I. Smaller figures, hands tied behind their backs, stood before him. They were conquered rulers whose lands Darius had added to the Persian Empire. Dust flew as the masons cut an inscription into the rock. It recorded the emperor's successes.

“ I am Darius, the great King, the King of Kings These are the countries which have fallen into my hands—by the grace of Ormuzd I have become king of them—Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt; . . . Sparta and Ionia; Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacae, the Sattagides, Arachosia, and the Mecians, the total being twenty-one countries. ”

By 516 B.C., Darius ruled an empire that stretched from the Nile River to the Indus Valley.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

FIND OUT

- How has location affected the peoples of the Middle East?
- What are the main physical regions of the Middle East?
- What geographic factors influence population patterns in the Middle East?
- Which ethnic and religious groups live in the Middle East?

Vocabulary oasis

Within its borders lived dozens of different peoples. To rule such a diverse empire, Darius developed an efficient system of government. He then ordered the creation of great carvings and statues to remind his subjects of his power.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

The Persians were one of many peoples who ruled the region we call the Middle East. Located where Europe, Asia, and Africa meet, the Middle East is a cultural crossroads. Throughout history, traders and invaders crossed the region, promoting a constant flow of knowledge and ideas between the Middle East and the rest of the world.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Geographic factors, including scarcity of water, have influenced the cultures of the Middle East.
- ▶ Location has made the Middle East a meeting ground for many peoples and a center from which ideas have spread around the world.
- ▶ Ancient civilizations developed in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile river valleys.
- ▶ The Middle East is the birthplace of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

The Epic of Gilgamesh

Zend-Avesta

Exodus

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

What is the Middle East? Europeans invented the term to describe the region that lies between Europe and distant parts of Asia—what they once called the Far East. In fact, the Middle East lies in southwestern Asia. Today, some people use the term Southwest Asia instead of the term Middle East. The Middle East, they point out, is “Middle” only in relation to Europe. Still, most Americans, including the United States government, continue to refer to the region as the Middle East.

Often, the Middle East includes North Africa. North Africa has a double heritage. It is part of Africa, but it also has strong ties to the Middle East. As you will read in this unit, the religion of Islam and the use of the Arabic language make North Africa part of the cultural region known as the Muslim world.

Crossroads of the World

The Middle East stands at the crossroads of three continents: Africa, Asia, and Europe. Since ancient times, it has connected major trade routes, both overland and on the seas. Caravans from India and China brought goods to the busy markets of the Middle East. From there, traders carried the goods across the Mediterranean into Europe. Other routes

took traders across the Red Sea or down the coast of East Africa.

Cultural diffusion. Over thousands of years, migrating peoples, traders, and conquerors crossed the Middle East. They spread the ideas, inventions, and achievements of many civilizations. Some of these ideas, such as iron making, the alphabet we use today, and the religious traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, originated in the Middle East. Others started in Asia and traveled to Europe by way of the Middle East. Examples include Arabic numerals from India and the lateen sail from Southeast Asia.

Strategic location. Today, Middle Eastern nations command vital sea routes. Some sit

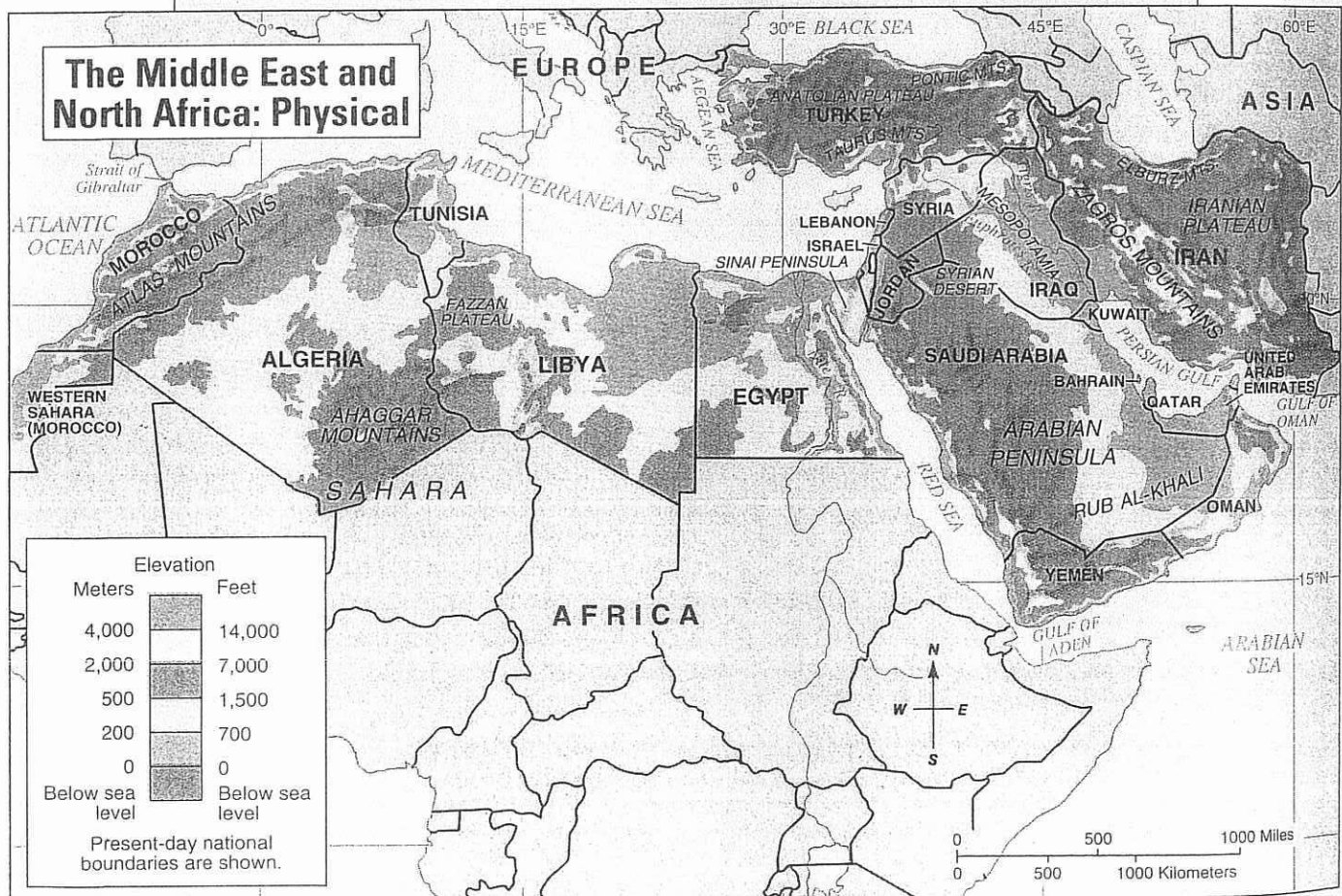
atop vast reserves of oil. As a result, the Middle East has strategic importance—that is, it is important to the world for military and economic reasons.

Egypt, for example, operates the Suez Canal. The canal links the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea, creating a water route to the Indian Ocean. Turkey controls the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, two vital straits that link the Black and Aegean seas. Geographers call these two waterways the Turkish Straits. The Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf is another strategic waterway. Through its waters travel huge tankers loaded with oil for industries and homes half a world away.

MAP STUDY

The Middle East is a region in Southwest Asia that is located at the crossroads of three continents.

- 1. Location** (a) Name the three continents that meet in the Middle East. (b) What bodies of water border the Middle East?
- 2. Region** (a) In which two countries are plateaus the dominant landform? (b) Which mountain ranges have elevations over 7,000 feet (2,000 m)?
- 3. Understanding Causes and Effects** Why do you think early civilizations arose in the valleys of the Nile and of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers?



Major Regions

As elsewhere around the world, physical features have affected human settlement in the Middle East. The five main physical regions of the Middle East are the Northern Tier, Arabian Peninsula, Fertile Crescent, Nile Valley, and the Maghreb.

Northern Tier. The Northern Tier stretches across present-day Turkey and Iran. It is a region of mountains and plateaus. In the west lies the Anatolian Plateau, ringed by the Pontic and Taurus mountains. The Anatolian Plateau has fertile soil and receives enough moisture to support farming. As a result, it has a large population.

The Anatolian Plateau is located in Asia Minor, a large peninsula that connects Asia and Europe. As you will read in Chapter 26, the Ottoman Empire flourished in this region for hundreds of years.

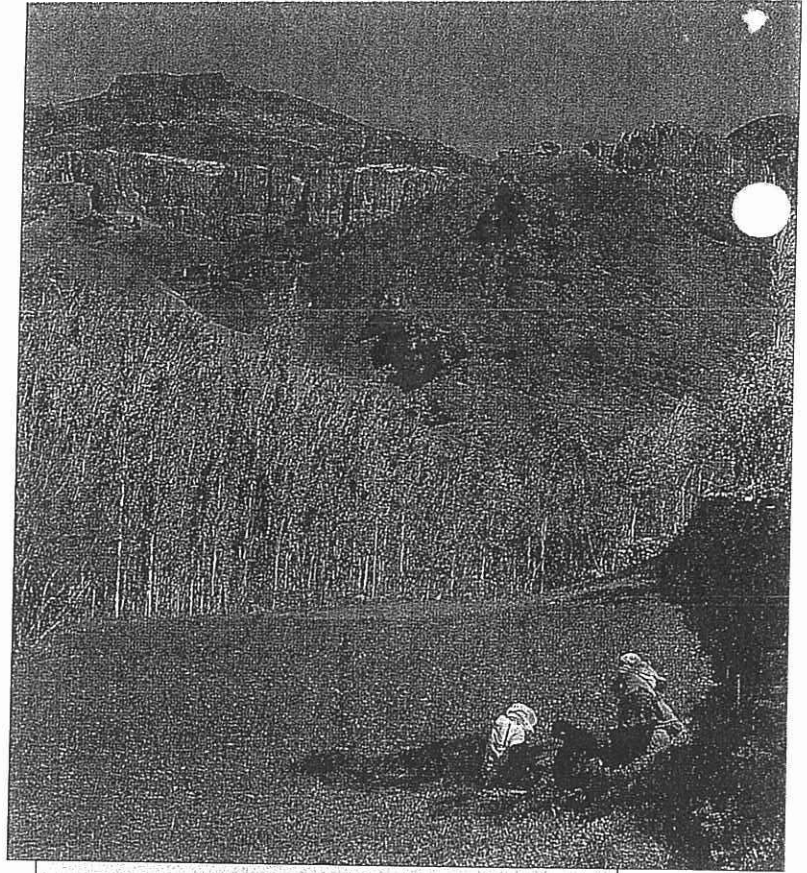
To the east lies the Iranian Plateau. Like Anatolia, it is ringed by mountains, including the Elburz and Zagros ranges. Unlike Anatolia, however, most of the region is dry and the population remains small. Still, several major empires, such as the Persian Empire, were founded on the Iranian Plateau. These empires controlled large parts of the Middle East.

Arabian Peninsula. The Arabian Peninsula is a vast plateau that is about one third the size of the United States. It borders on several important bodies of water, including the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, and the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia is the largest nation in the region.

Despite its size, the Arabian Peninsula has a small population. The reason is lack of water. Except for some fertile areas on the mountainous southern coast, the peninsula is a barren desert. Most people in the region live around scattered oases. An *oasis* is a fertile desert area that has enough water to support plant and animal life.

The Arabian Peninsula plays a major role in the world economy. Beneath its desert surface lie huge amounts of oil. Due to the growing demand for oil, some countries in the region have gained great wealth.

The Arabian Peninsula is important for other reasons, too. It is the birthplace of Islam,



Farming in a Dry Land The Elburz Mountains along Iran's northern border block winds that carry moisture from the north. Thus, the land south of the mountains is generally dry. However, melting snow from the hillsides provides enough water for farmers to grow limited crops of wheat and barley. **Geography** What other geographic features shown in this photograph would make farming difficult?

and the holy city of Mecca attracts Muslims from around the globe.

Fertile Crescent. The Fertile Crescent is an arc-shaped region that stretches from the eastern Mediterranean along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to the Persian Gulf. Rich soil and abundant water have made it a major population center. One of the world's earliest civilizations emerged in the fertile Tigris-Euphrates Valley.

The Fertile Crescent has few natural barriers. Throughout history, invaders have conquered its fertile lands and rich cities. The wealthiest settlements lay in Mesopotamia, the "land between the rivers." Other cities grew up in Syria and Palestine, along the Mediterranean coast.

Clash Over the Euphrates

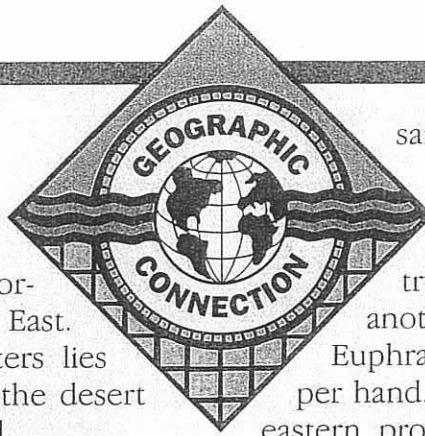
A narrow band of green borders the rivers in the Middle East. Beyond the reach of the waters lies barren desert. Without water, the desert will expand its hold on the land.



For nearly 6,000 years, the Euphrates River, which rises in the mountains of eastern Turkey and flows south through Syria and Iraq, has been the source of life along its fertile banks. Today, it is also a source of strife.

One day in January 1990, the president of Turkey proudly began the process of filling the new Atatürk Reservoir with water from the Euphrates. For several weeks, Turkey siphoned off 75 percent of the water that usually flowed through Syria and Iraq. Syria and Iraq reacted angrily to this move, which they

In the spring or early summer, melting snows from surrounding mountains sometimes cause the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to flood. The flood waters spread fertile soil over Mesopotamia. The flooding is unpredictable, however. Some years, tremendous flood waters sweep over farmlands, bringing disaster and death. In other years, the rivers

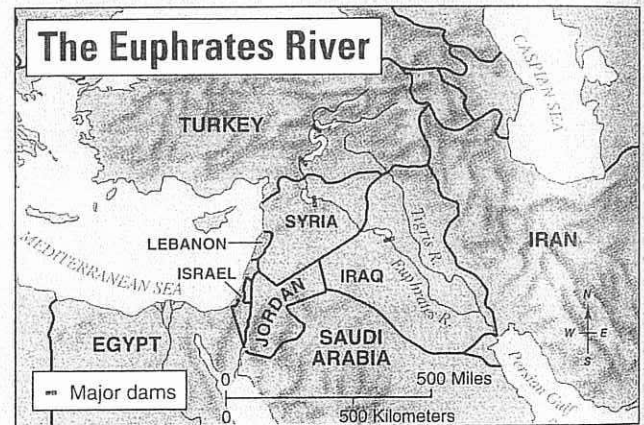


said endangered both their agriculture and their industry.

Water security is a vital issue in the Middle East. One country's source of water often lies in another country. In the case of the Euphrates, it is Turkey that has the upper hand. Turkey's plan to turn its southeastern provinces into the breadbasket of the Middle East threatens Syria's supply of drinking water as well as its irrigation systems and hydroelectric power plants.

As population grows in the Middle East, the demands will become even greater and the shortages more acute. Tensions in the region, already high because of political differences and age-old rivalries, will be heightened.

1. Why will the question of water rights continue to be an issue in the Middle East?
2. **Synthesizing Information** Using the map and the information in the text, explain why Syria is concerned about the security of its water supply.



carry little water, which makes irrigation difficult and causes crops to wither. Today, as in the past, governments help farmers to build dikes and canals to control the flooding.

Nile Valley. As you have read, the fertile Nile Valley in northeastern Africa was a cradle of ancient civilization. The Nile Valley enjoyed geographic advantages that Mesopotamia did

not possess. Forbidding deserts in the east and west protected it from invaders, and the flooding of the Nile River was both predictable and dependable.

In ancient times, trade and other contacts linked Egyptians in the Nile Valley with the peoples of the Fertile Crescent. From Egypt, caravans and armies crossed the Sinai Peninsula, while ships sailed from Nile delta ports to lands adjoining the Mediterranean.

The Maghreb. The Maghreb includes the North African nations of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Five other African nations—Libya, Chad, Niger, Mali, and Mauritania—share geographic and cultural links with the Maghreb.

Maghreb comes from an Arab term meaning “western isle.” To the early Arabs, this region, which lies west of the Arabian Peninsula, seemed like an isolated land surrounded by water, mountains, and deserts. During the 600s and 700s, Arab armies carried the religion of Islam to this “western isle.”

Among the chief features of the Maghreb are the vast Sahara and the rugged Atlas Mountains. Because of the scarcity of water, both areas have few inhabitants. Most people live along the Mediterranean coast, which has fertile soil and plenty of rain.

The Maghreb has long been a major crossroads. It commands the southern rim of the Mediterranean as well as the gateway to the Atlantic. Traders from the Maghreb exchanged goods from West Africa, Europe, and the Middle East.

Climate and Resources

Climate has dictated where people live in the Middle East. Nearly all of the region is desert. People have clustered in well-watered areas along the coasts and in river valleys where they irrigate and farm the land. Settlements were scattered. Many separate nations developed throughout the Middle East.

Adapting to scarcity. Lack of rainfall and scarcity of water have shaped the cultures of the Middle East. Less than 10 percent of the land receives enough water to make farming possible.

From earliest times, people built irrigation systems to carry water from rivers to

crops. Ancient Egyptians used the shaduf, a simple water hoist, to transfer water from ditches and canals to their fields. Modern technology has improved on older irrigation methods, and people have developed new ones such as drip irrigation, which delivers a measured amount of water to each plant. The nations of the Arabian Peninsula also have invested huge amounts of money in desalination plants, which convert the water from the surrounding seas into fresh water. (See the feature on page 613.)

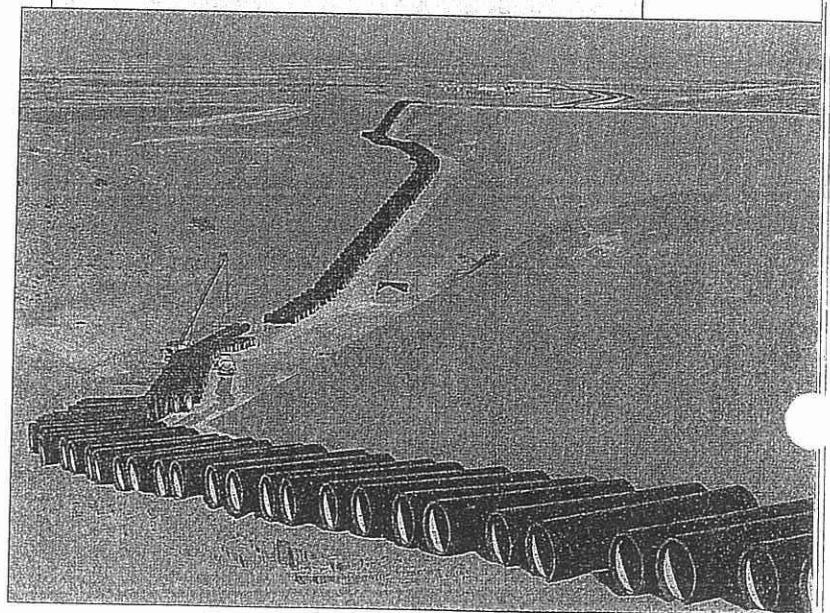
Oil. The Middle East has a variety of resources, including salt, phosphate—which is used in fertilizers—and copper. The most valuable resource, however, is oil.

Oil is unevenly distributed across the region. As a result, great economic differences exist between oil-rich countries and those that lack oil.

Peoples

The Middle East is home to many different peoples with a variety of languages, religions, and traditions. Among the major languages of the region are Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Kurdish, Persian, Greek, and Armenian. Religions

Water in Saudi Arabia Sections of a pipeline are waiting to be hooked up to carry fresh water from a desalination plant. Pipelines carry millions of gallons of treated water to such inland cities as Riyadh. **Scarcity** How has scarcity of water affected the development of nations in the Middle East?



include Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. The region—including the Maghreb—consists of 19 countries and almost 350 million people.

Ethnic diversity. Arabs are the majority group in many Middle Eastern countries. But what is an Arab? Beginning in the mid-600s, Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula conquered many different peoples in the Middle East and North Africa. Over time, the conquered peoples adopted the Arabic language and many adopted the religion of Islam. They, too, became known as Arabs. Today, the term Arab is used to describe anyone whose native language is Arabic. Within this large group, however, Arabs may differ greatly from one another.

Besides Arabs, the Middle East is home to other ethnic groups such as Turks, Iranians, and Kurds. Some of these groups migrated to the Middle East from other parts of Asia. They all have their own languages and traditions.

Religious diversity. Islam is the religion observed by the majority of people in the Middle East. Most Arabs are Muslims. Many non-Arabic people are also Muslims. For example, most Iranians, Turks, and Kurds are Muslims. Yet Islam itself is divided into different sects, or groups. (See Chapter 26.)

A significant number of Christians live in Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, and Syria. Like Muslims, these Christians belong to different sects. They include Coptic, Greek Orthodox, and Maronite Christians.

Judaism is the most ancient of the three religions of the Middle East. In Israel, the majority of the people are Jewish. Many are descended from recent European, Asian, and North African immigrants.

SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Red Sea, (b) Persian Gulf, (c) Tigris River, (d) Euphrates River, (e) Nile River.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Suez Canal, (b) Strait of Hormuz, (c) Asia Minor, (d) Fertile Crescent, (e) Mesopotamia.
- 3. Define:** oasis.
- 4. Why does the Middle East have strategic importance?**

- 5.** (a) What are the five main physical regions in the Middle East? (b) Describe two features of each region.
- 6.** (a) Where do most people in the Middle East live? (b) Why is the population so unevenly distributed?
- 7. Understanding Causes and Effects** How has location contributed to cultural diversity in the Middle East?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Keep a record of your use of water for one day. Then list five ways in which your life would be different if water were as scarce in your area as it is in parts of the Middle East.

2

EARLY CIVILIZATIONS

FIND OUT

What civilizations developed in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley?

What were the major achievements of ancient Mesopotamian civilizations?

How did trade and warfare affect Middle Eastern civilizations?

How did the Greek and Roman cultures blend with the culture of the Middle East?

Vocabulary ziggurat, scribe, cuneiform, satrap

“Whatever I had of gold I loaded aboard the ship; Whatever I had of the seed of all living creatures I loaded aboard. After I had caused all my family and relations to go up into the ship, I caused the game of the field, the beasts of the field, and all the craftsmen to go into it. . . . I entered the ship and closed my door.”

These lines are from an ancient poem called the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. The poem was composed in about 2000 B.C. and includes many stories and myths from the Middle East. In the episode quoted here, Utnapishtim tells how he and his family escaped by boat from a savage flood that swept across the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

Devastating floods were a frequent occurrence in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. Controlling these floods required large-scale cooperation. This need to work together contributed to the rise of the earliest civilizations in the Middle East.

Sumerian Civilization

The first civilization in the Middle East was that of Sumer, in the fertile Tigris-Euphrates delta. As in other early civilizations, rich soil, rivers filled with fish, and a ready source of water for irrigation attracted early settlers. They lived by raising grain and dates. Working together, farmers drained swamps and controlled flood waters by building dikes and canals.

City-states. By about 3500 B.C., the most successful farming settlements had grown into powerful city-states. Each city-state controlled the farmlands that surrounded it. It

had its own ruler as well as its special god or goddess, laws, and army. Rival city-states such as Erech, Ur, and Kish often fought each other. (See Connections With Literature, page 807, "Prologue" and "The Battle With Humbaba.")

Religion. Sumerians believed that the gods were all-powerful. If the gods were angry, they sent disasters such as floods and disease. As a result, Sumerian priests were very important. Only they knew the prayers, hymns, and other rituals that were needed to keep the gods happy.

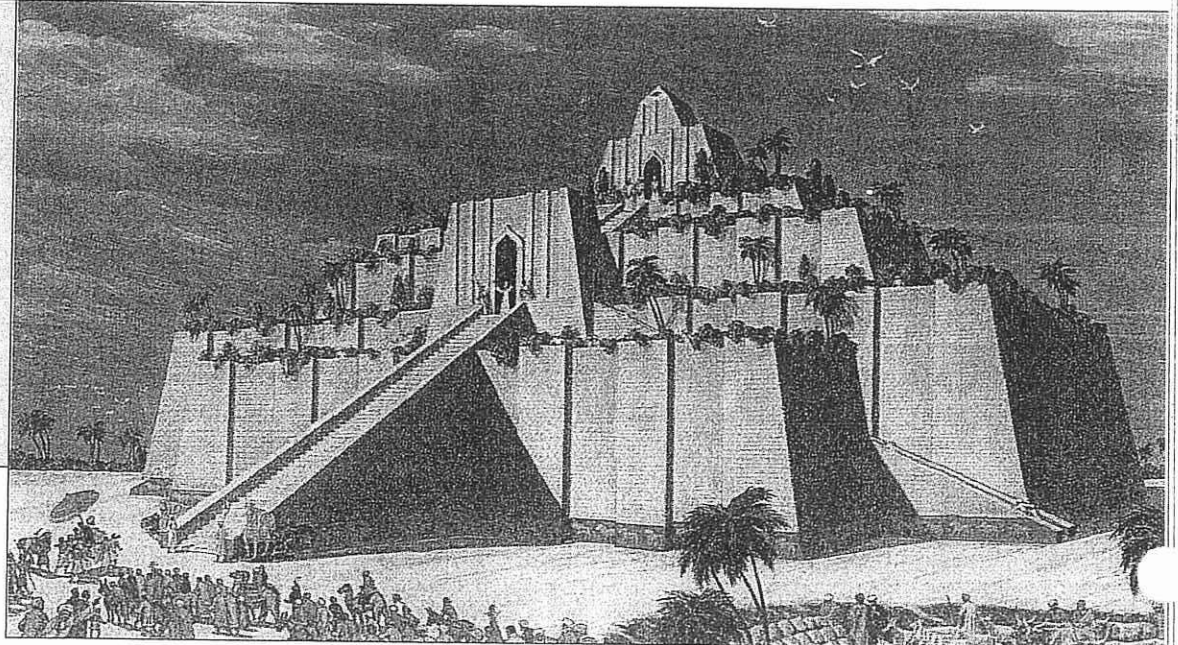
The chief building in each city-state was the *ziggurat*, a huge, many-tiered temple. From the ziggurat, priests controlled the daily lives of the people. They collected taxes in the form of crops. They used grain as offerings to the gods and to support the many activities of the temple. At temple schools, young men learned to read and write. They then became *scribes*, who kept the temple records.

A system of writing. Like other advanced ancient peoples, the Sumerians developed a system of writing. Writing enabled people to record information pertaining to trade, government, and ideas. Writing was also an important tool for cultural diffusion. With a writing system, the Sumerians could transfer ideas to other people and places.

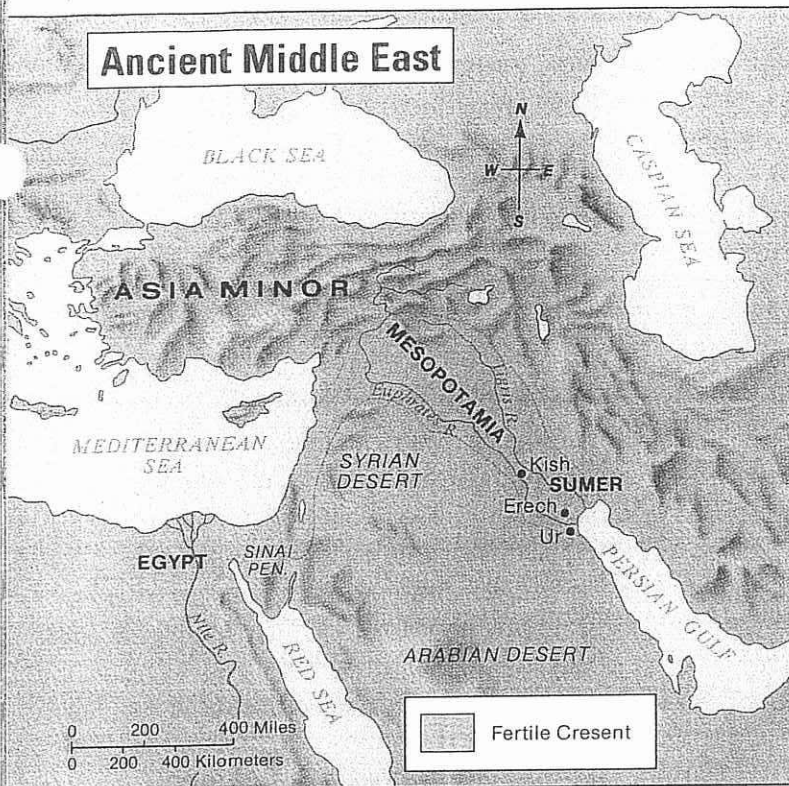
A Sumerian Ziggurat

Large temple complexes were the center of life in the Sumerian city-states. A modern artist drew this picture of the ziggurat at Ur based on the discoveries of archaeologists and historians. **Technology**

What evidence do ziggurats provide about Sumerian building skills?



Ancient Middle East



MAP STUDY

Several important early civilizations developed in the Fertile Crescent of the Middle East. The contributions of these cultures also spread to other world regions.

- 1. Location** (a) What was the earliest civilization in the Middle East?
(b) Describe its relative location.
- 2. Interaction** How might you explain the location of the cities shown on the map?
- 3. Synthesizing Information** How did trade and warfare encourage cultural diffusion among the peoples of the ancient Middle East?

At first, Sumerian writing was in the form of pictographs. To write “ox,” for example, the scribe would draw an ox head. In time, the Sumerians added phonetic symbols to represent sounds. This made it possible for them to represent both objects, such as tables and chairs, and ideas, such as heaven, distance, and anger.

Sumerians wrote on clay tablets. They used a stylus, or sharpened reed, to cut wedge-shaped symbols into wet clay. The clay was then hardened by baking. The Romans, who conquered the Middle East much later,

called this ancient writing *cuneiform* (kyoo NEE uh form), from the Latin word *cuneus*, meaning “wedge.”

Cuneiform gradually spread across the Fertile Crescent. Archaeologists have found thousands of cuneiform tablets that record laws, prayers, treaties, medical knowledge, and other information. Some tablets date from Sumerian times. Others are the records of later civilizations.

Other achievements. The Sumerians made many advances that influenced later peoples. They were the first people who were known to have used the wheel, and they invented the sail. Sumerian wheeled carts and sailing ships carried trade goods and knowledge across the region and even beyond, to the Indus Valley in South Asia.

The Sumerians also invented the plow and developed an accurate calendar. They used arithmetic and geometry to survey fields. They set up a system of measurement based on the number 60. Because of the Sumerians, people today use the 60-second minute, 60-minute hour, and 360° circle.

Warfare and Trade Spread Culture

The Fertile Crescent has few natural barriers, and throughout its long history, a pattern emerged. Nomadic people from the highlands were attracted to the fertile river valleys and rich cities of the plains. They conquered the settled lands. Over time, they adopted the advanced civilization of the peoples they defeated, adding their own ideas and beliefs to those they found.

Despite the frequent turmoil of the region, trade flourished across wide areas. Over thousands of years, warfare and trade created a rich blend of cultures in the Middle East.

A code of law. In about 1700 B.C., the Babylonians, under King Hammurabi (hah moo RAH bee), conquered much of the Fertile Crescent. To provide justice throughout his large empire, Hammurabi drew up a single code of law, replacing the many law codes of earlier peoples.

Hammurabi's Code included 282 laws. They regulated economic, social, and moral affairs. The purpose of the code, Hammurabi declared, was:

“to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak . . . and to further the welfare of the people.”

The code distinguished between major and minor crimes. It also tried to make the punishment fit the crime. The basic principle of punishment was “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.” If one person blinded another, he or she would be blinded as punishment.

Hammurabi had these laws carved in stone and placed where everyone could read them. His law code became an example for later peoples and served as a foundation for future codes of law.

The spread of iron. In about 1500 B.C., the Hittites marched into the Fertile Crescent from their homeland in Asia Minor. After they conquered the region, they adopted cuneiform and absorbed other ideas from the Babylonians. The Hittites carried Mesopotamian culture back to Asia Minor, where it later influenced the Greeks.

The Hittites are best known in history for their mastery of iron. In fact, iron helped them win their empire. Their strong iron weapons gave them an advantage over enemies armed with soft bronze spears and shields. The Hittites tried to keep the technology of iron making a secret, but it soon spread to other peoples.

The Phoenician alphabet. While the Hittites ruled the Fertile Crescent, the Phoenicians (fuh NEE shuhns) moved into what is now Lebanon. They set up small city-states along the eastern Mediterranean coast and earned a living through commerce and trade. They never built an empire, but hardy Phoenician traders sailed the Mediterranean Sea, planting colonies from North Africa to Spain. Today, the Phoenicians are known as the “carriers of civilization” because they

spread the culture of the ancient Middle East across a wide area.

The Phoenicians developed an alphabet that eventually evolved into the one we use today. Unlike the many signs in Egyptian hieroglyphics, the Phoenician alphabet used just 22 symbols and was easy to learn. About 800 B.C., the Greeks adopted the Phoenician alphabet and added four symbols. Later, the Romans adapted the Greek alphabet, which was then passed on to the western world. The Phoenicians also passed their alphabet to other peoples of the Middle East, including the Hebrews, Persians, and Arabs.

The Persian Empire

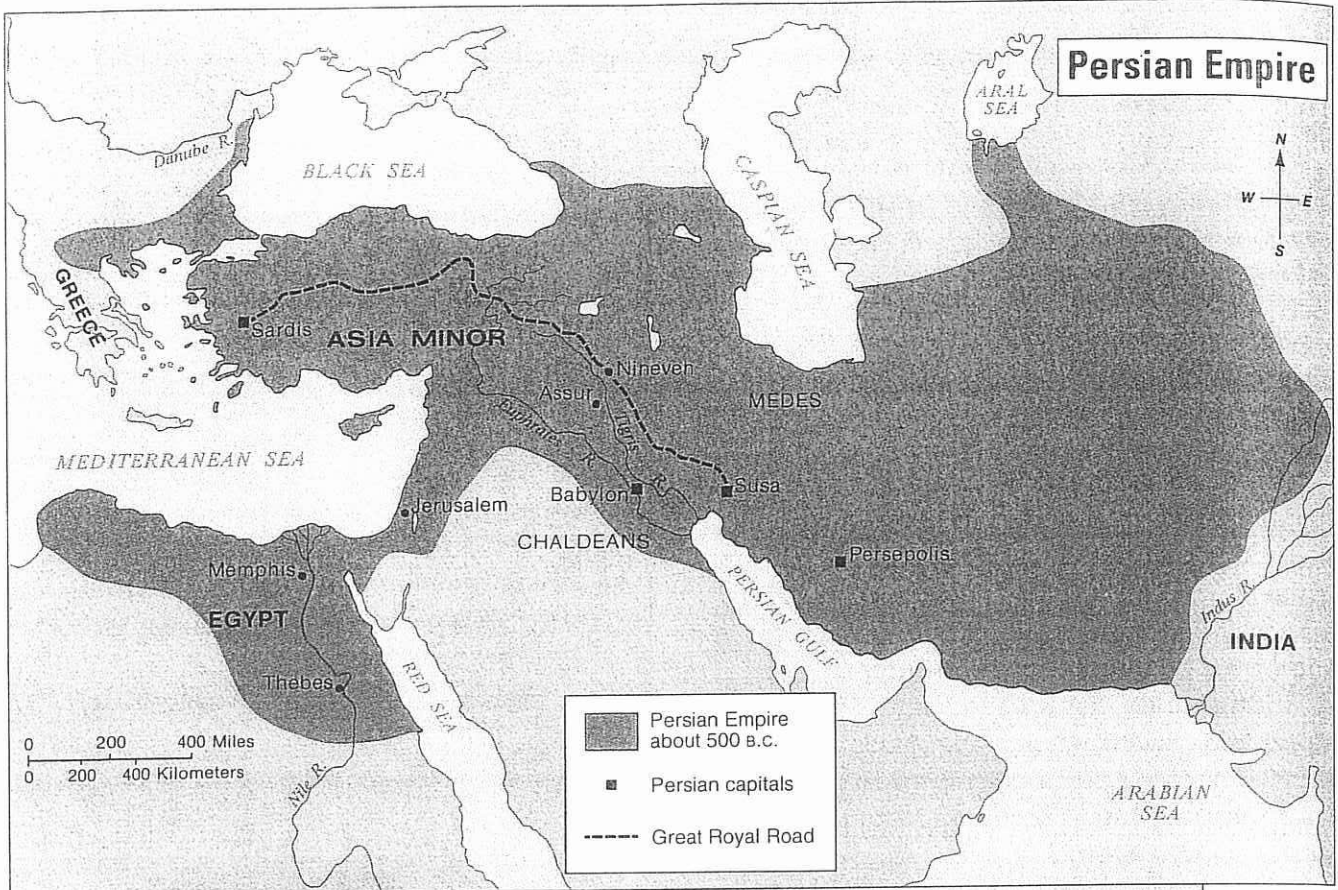
By 500 B.C., the Persians had conquered a vast empire that stretched from Asia Minor to the Indus Valley. As you have read, the emperor Darius I developed an efficient system of government to rule the diverse peoples of his empire. Later rulers modeled their governments on the Persian system.

Government. Darius divided his empire into 20 provinces. Each province roughly corresponded to the homeland of a particular group of people. The Persians tolerated diversity among the peoples they conquered, allowing them to keep their own languages, customs, and religions.

The governor, or *satrap*, of each province was responsible for collecting taxes and for keeping order. To check on the satraps, Darius sent special inspectors, known as the “eyes and ears of the king,” on regular tours of the empire.

Communications and trade. The Persians improved and expanded the road system built by earlier peoples. On the main roads connecting the four capital cities of the Persian Empire stood relay stations. There, royal messengers could get fresh horses as they quickly spread news and information across the empire.

Peace and good roads encouraged trade. To further promote trade, Darius set up a uniform system of coinage—that is, he established a standard value for each coin. Metal coins were first introduced to the Middle East by the Lydians, who lived on the Anatolian

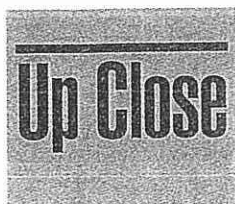


MAP STUDY

At its height, the Persian Empire extended into Europe, Africa, and Asia.

- 1. Place** (a) What river bordered the empire on the east? (b) What body of water bordered it on the west?
- 2. Movement** (a) Name the two capitals that were connected by the Great Royal Road. (b) Why do you think the road was important?
- 3. Comparing** Like the Persians, the Incas in South America built roads to unite their empire. (a) In what ways were the roads of these two civilizations similar? (b) In what ways were they different?

Plateau. The idea of coined money soon spread. Merchants found coins easier to count, store, and carry than the bulky goods they had been using for barter, or trade.



Zoroaster and the Forces of Good and Evil

Zoroaster (zoh roh as tuhr), the founder of the ancient Persian religion Zoroastrianism, is a figure shrouded in mystery. Scholars think he lived in about 600 B.C. Although we know little about him, his ideas influenced many peo-

ples, including the ancient Greeks, Hebrews, and Christians.

In ancient Persia, farmers and herders believed that many gods controlled the forces of nature. They relied on priests, called Magi (MAY jī), to win the favor of these gods.

According to legend, the Magi learned that a child named Zoroaster* had been born who would destroy their idols and magic. They seized the child and placed him on a burning altar, but the fire did not harm the boy. They then left him in the path of a herd of cattle, but the cows turned aside, leaving him unharmed.

* In Persian, he was called Zarathustra.

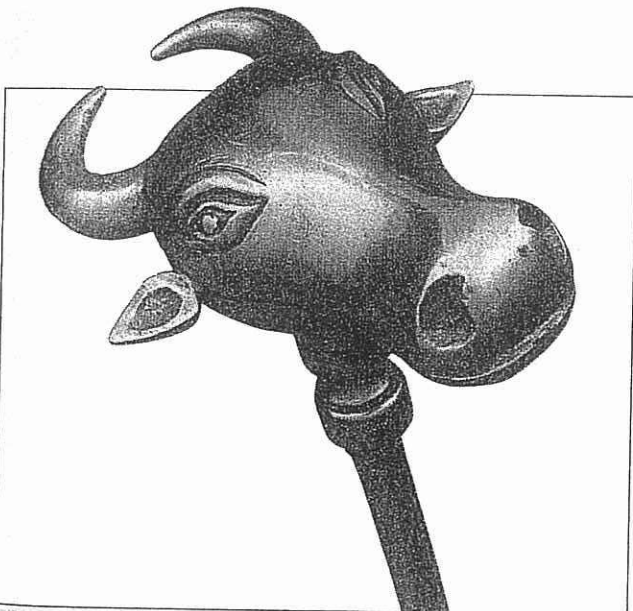
When the child grew up, he became a healer, visiting the poor and the sick. Like the Buddha and other great thinkers of the ancient world, Zoroaster sought to understand why misery and suffering existed alongside good in the world. One day, Zoroaster had a vision that proclaimed:

“ From good must come good; and from evil must come evil. ”

As a result of this vision, Zoroaster became convinced that the world was a battleground between good and evil. The forces of good were led by the god Ahura Mazda (ah HOO ruh MAHZ duh). The god Ahriman (AH rih muhn) commanded the forces of evil. Ahura Mazda appeared to Zoroaster many times. Each person must choose whether to fight on the side of good or evil, Ahura Mazda instructed.

For 10 years, Zoroaster traveled the land, spreading the message of Ahura Mazda. Few people listened, however.

At last, Zoroaster reached the kingdom of Bactria. There, he asked to see King Vishtaspa.



A Golden Bull In Zoroastrianism, the bull was linked with Ahura Mazda. Priests carried this bull's head on a staff to symbolize their leadership in the war against the forces of evil. Priests encouraged people to perform good deeds, such as giving alms and protecting animals. **Choice** How do you think Vishtaspa's conversion strengthened Zoroastrianism?

“ ‘And who are you?’ asked the guard. ‘Go, and tell King Vishtaspa that I, [Zoroaster], have come to preach the True Religion, the religion of the Holy One, Ahura Mazda, and to turn him and his court away from the worship of idols to the worship of the Beneficent One.’ ”

For three days, Zoroaster spoke to the king and his court about the struggle between the forces of good and evil. Said Zoroaster:

“ ‘There will come a day, the Judgment Day, when Ahura Mazda will conquer and banish Ahriman.’ ”

‘And when will that be?’ asked the king's chief priest.

‘When man allies himself with Ahura Mazda and helps him to banish all that is evil, all that is darkness, and all that is death.’ ”

In the end, King Vishtaspa had his scribes write down everything Zoroaster had said. These writings became known as the *Zend-Avesta*. Vishtaspa then made the teachings of Zoroaster the official religion of the land. These teachings played a major role in encouraging the Persians to treat conquered peoples in a humane way. ■

Greek and Roman Influences

The civilizations of Greece and Rome added to the rich blend of cultures in the ancient Middle East.* In 334 B.C., Alexander of Macedonia set out to conquer the world. Macedonia is a mountainous region north of Greece. Alexander led his armies into Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He defeated the powerful Persian Empire and pushed as far east as the Indus Valley.

Hellenistic civilization. Alexander died in 323 B.C., and his empire was divided among his generals. Alexander's most lasting achievement, however, was not military but cultural.

* You will read about the Greek and Roman civilizations in Chapter 29.



Alexander the Great This drawing of Alexander with his troops is from a French manuscript of the Middle Ages. Alexander, wishing to unite the peoples he ruled in Greece and Persia, married a Persian princess. His soldiers also had Persian wives. **Power** Why might Alexander's marriage have helped unite his empire?

His conquests paved the way for the blending of Greek civilization with the cultures of the ancient Middle East. That new culture is known today as Hellenistic civilization.

One center of Hellenistic civilization was Alexandria, Egypt. There, merchants and scholars gathered from all over the Mediterranean world as well as from distant parts of the Middle East. In Alexandria's great library, scholars pursued research in science, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy that continues to influence the world today.

Roman conquest. From its base in Italy, the powerful Roman Empire expanded eastward. By A.D. 115, it ruled much of the Middle East, including Asia Minor, the Nile Valley, and the Fertile Crescent.

Under Roman rule, trade flourished across a huge area that stretched from the

Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. The movement of people and goods that resulted increased the spread of ideas and technologies. The Romans carried their ideas about law and government as well as their engineering and building skills eastward. At the same time, Egyptian and Persian styles, beliefs, and traditions flowed westward. As you will read, followers of a new religion, Christianity, also spread their beliefs across the vast Roman Empire.

Byzantine Empire. By A.D. 395, the Roman Empire had split into two parts. The eastern half, which became known as the Byzantine Empire, included Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and the eastern Fertile Crescent. From their capital at Constantinople, Byzantine emperors ruled much of the Middle East for the next 1,000 years. Their rich civilization blended Middle Eastern, Roman, Greek, and Christian ideas.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Sumer, (b) Persian Empire, (c) Alexandria.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Hammurabi, (b) Hittites, (c) Phoenicians, (d) Zoroaster, (e) Hellenistic civilization, (f) Byzantine Empire.
- 3. Define:** (a) ziggurat, (b) scribe, (c) cuneiform, (d) satrap.
- 4.** What conditions favored the development of civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley?
- 5.** Describe four achievements of ancient Middle Eastern civilizations.
- 6.** Give one example of how trade spread cultural ideas and one example of how warfare spread ideas.
- 7. Applying Information** How is Hellenistic civilization an example of cultural diffusion?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** The Phoenicians were "carriers of civilization" because they spread ideas through commerce. List five ways in which Americans have been "carriers of civilization."

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

FIND OUT

What were the main religious beliefs of the ancient Hebrews?

How did Judaism influence Christianity?

What were the teachings of Jesus?

Why did Christianity attract a large following?

Vocabulary messiah, parable, martyr, pope

In about 1800 B.C.,* drought and famine drove some nomadic Hebrews from Canaan (later called Palestine), on the eastern Mediterranean coast. They migrated to Egypt, where they were eventually enslaved. After many years, a great leader, Moses, helped the Hebrews escape from Egypt. He led them into the Sinai Peninsula. There, according to Hebrew tradition, Moses heard the voice of God:

“ Now then, if you will obey Me faithfully and keep My covenant, you shall be My treasured possession among all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is Mine, but you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. ”

The Hebrews believed that God had made a covenant, or binding agreement, with Moses. Under this agreement, the Hebrews accepted God as the ruler of heaven and Earth. In return, God made the Hebrews the chosen people on Earth.

The Hebrews set up a small state in the area of Canaan. The Hebrew political state lasted for a relatively short time. The ancient

* Many scholars use the terms B.C.E., before the common era, and C.E., common era, instead of B.C. and A.D.

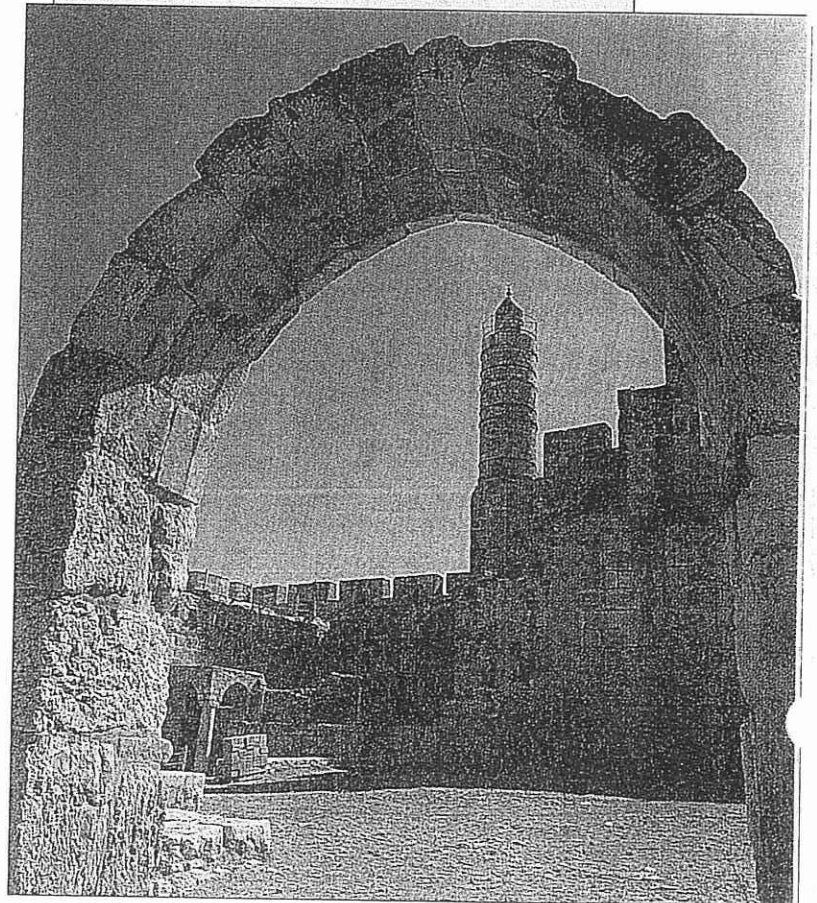
Hebrews were eventually called Jews, from the name Judea given to their land. Jewish religious and cultural beliefs still influence the world today.

The Kingdom of Israel

After the Hebrews emerged from the Sinai Peninsula, they migrated into the Fertile Crescent. In about 1025 B.C., they formed the kingdom of Israel. Ancient Israel was located in Canaan, between Egypt and Mesopotamia. As a result, it was frequently threatened by invaders. Under its two greatest kings, David and Solomon, however, Israel flourished.

King David was a skilled general. He unified Israel and made it a power in the Middle East. David's son, Solomon, was noted for his wisdom, and his reign was marked by peace. Solomon transformed the city of Jerusalem

Ancient Jerusalem The tower and city wall beyond this gateway are among the few remains of ancient Jerusalem. Only one wall of the great temple built by Solomon still stands. **Culture** Why do you think many Jews visit these ancient monuments?



into a magnificent capital. There, he built palaces and a great temple dedicated to God. The outer walls of the temple were made of stone, but inside the walls were made of wood covered with gold.

Conquest. To pay for his many building projects, Solomon taxed the people heavily. Discontent grew, and after Solomon's death in 930 B.C., revolts weakened the kingdom. Foreign rulers soon conquered Israel and forced the Hebrews into exile.

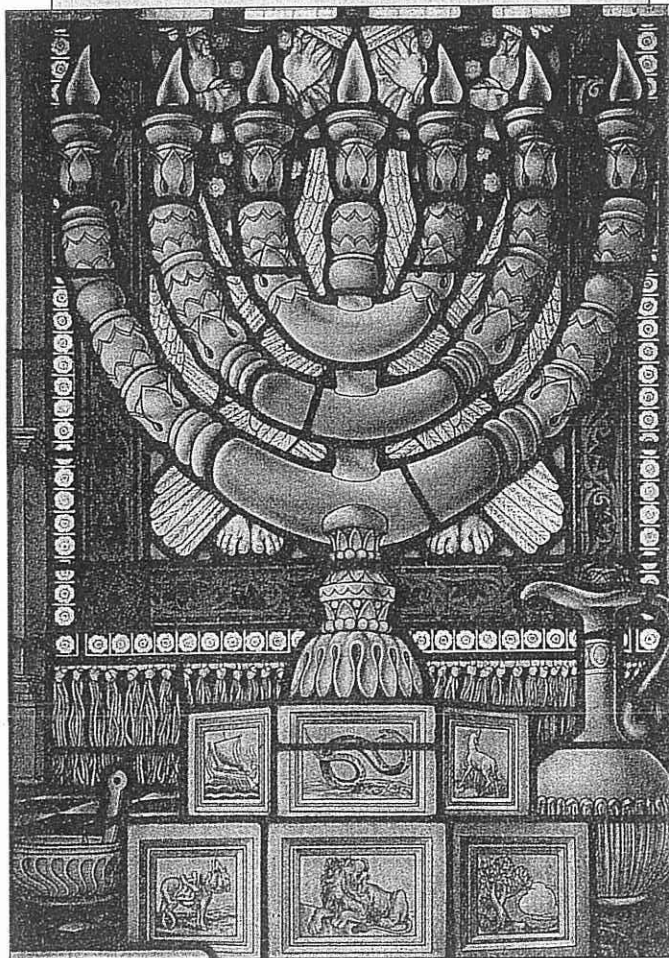
When the Persians conquered the Fertile Crescent in 500 B.C., they allowed the Hebrews to return to Israel. The Hebrews rebuilt Solomon's temple in Jerusalem. However, they came under the rule of one foreign

people after another. After the Persians, the Greeks and then the Romans ruled Palestine.

The diaspora. In A.D. 70, the Jews, as the Hebrews came to be called, revolted against Roman rule. In a savage war, many Jews were killed. The Romans forced the survivors out of Palestine. The scattering of Jews throughout the world is called the diaspora.

In their scattered communities, Jews preserved their religious and cultural traditions. Throughout the centuries, they made important contributions to science, medicine, business, and the arts in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

Menorah in Stained Glass The menorah, a seven-branched candleholder, was used in Jewish worship by the time of the exodus from Egypt. The menorah became a symbol of both the Jews' exile and their freedom from captivity. Today, it appears on the coat of arms of the Jewish state of Israel. **Culture** What teachings of Judaism set Jews apart from other early Middle Eastern peoples?



Teachings of Judaism

Hebrew beliefs developed slowly over time. Unlike nearby peoples, the Hebrews were monotheistic—that is, they believed in one God. The Hebrews called their God Yahweh. He was the Creator and ruler of the universe. The Hebrews recorded their early history as well as the moral and religious laws of God in their sacred book, the Torah.*

The importance of law. The Hebrews believed that God had chosen them as a special people. In the Torah, they recorded how God gave them the Ten Commandments while they were wandering in the Sinai Peninsula. The Ten Commandments are religious and ethical, or moral, laws. They urge people to respect and honor God. They also forbid stealing, lying, cheating, and murder.

The Torah recorded many other laws and set out the duties that people owed to God and to their fellow human beings. Like Hammurabi's Code, the laws of the Torah outlined standards of conduct for everyday life. The Torah differed from Hammurabi's Code in significant ways, however. For example, although slavery was accepted everywhere at that time, the Torah required Hebrews to treat slaves with kindness.

Ethical world view. The religious beliefs of the Hebrews came to be called Judaism. A major feature of Judaism is its ethical world

* Much later, Christians adopted the Torah as the first five books of the Bible.

view—that is, the belief that people and their rulers should lead moral lives.

Religious teachers, called prophets, reminded the Jews of their duties. Whenever Jews strayed from God's laws, the prophets warned of God's anger and punishment. They insisted that rulers, as well as common people, must obey God's laws. Unlike many other Middle Eastern peoples, the Jews did not regard their rulers as gods.

Judaism also taught that individuals were responsible for their actions. The teachings of Zoroaster influenced the Jews. Like Zoroastrians, Jews believed that people had to choose between good and evil.

Rise of Christianity

Palestine, the homeland of the Jews, gave rise to another major religion—Christianity. Christianity grew out of Jewish traditions.

Life of Jesus. Jesus, the founder of Christianity, was born in Palestine while it was under Roman rule. The story of the life of Jesus comes from Christian sources called the Gospels, which were written by his followers after his death. According to the Gospels, Jesus was born in Bethlehem, a small town near Jerusalem. As a young man, he learned carpentry and studied with rabbis—Jewish scholars and teachers.

When he was about 30 years old, Jesus became a preacher, teaching the poor about God's goodness and mercy. The Gospels record that he performed miracles such as healing the sick and raising the dead.

Jesus attracted many disciples, or followers. The Jewish prophets had predicted that a *messiah*, or one anointed by God, would deliver the Jews from foreign rule and restore the kingdom of Israel. Some Jews believed that Jesus was the Messiah. Most Jewish leaders, however, rejected that view. They saw Jesus as a troublemaker who opposed traditional laws.

As Jesus' popularity grew, Roman officials became worried. To them, Jesus was a rebel. Although Jesus taught respect for the Roman emperor, like all Jews, he refused to accept the emperor as a god. In A.D. 33, Jesus was arrested. He was sentenced to die by crucifixion, a

Roman method of execution. Jesus was nailed to a wooden cross and left to die of exposure.

Teachings of Jesus. The teachings of Jesus were rooted in the Jewish tradition of monotheism. Jesus preached belief in one God, the God of the Jews. He also upheld the Ten Commandments of the Hebrews as God's law.

At the same time, Jesus put special emphasis on certain beliefs. He stressed love for God and compassion for other people. He offered his followers a forgiving God who was the loving father of all people, rich and poor, Jew and non-Jew. In the eyes of God, said Jesus, everyone was equal. He taught that people who were humble, merciful, and unselfish would be rewarded with eternal life.

Jesus used *parables*, or short stories with simple moral lessons, to teach people to be kind to one another. He warned that acquiring wealth on Earth did not guarantee salvation.

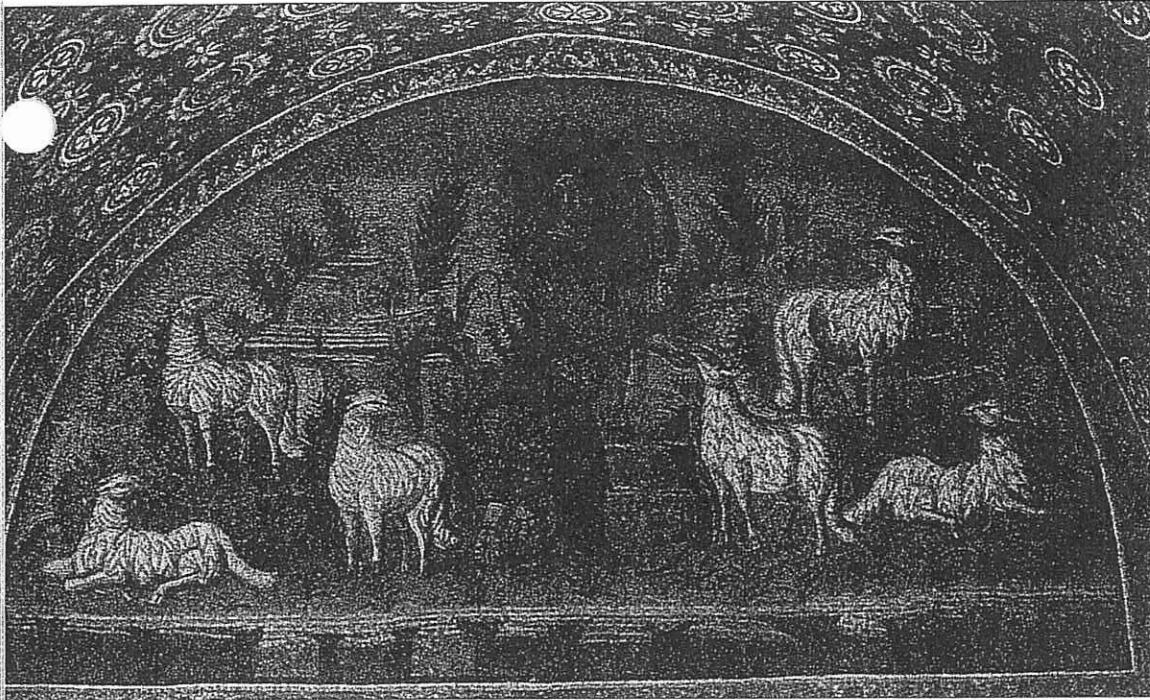
Spread of Christianity

Jesus' followers believed that he was the Son of God, and in the years after his death, they preserved his teachings. In time, these teachings were collected in the New Testament. The followers of Jesus became known as Christians, from the Greek word *Christos*, meaning "anointed."

From its small beginnings in Palestine, Christianity spread across the Roman world. Missionaries like Peter and Paul worked hard to spread Jesus' message. In their travels, they benefited from the good roads and peaceful conditions that existed under Roman rule.

Persecution. In general, the Romans tolerated the religious beliefs of the diverse peoples they ruled. They looked on Christians, however, with suspicion because Christians refused to show respect for Roman gods. As a result, Christians were often persecuted. During the early centuries of Christianity, thousands of Christians became *martyrs*, people who suffer or die for their beliefs.

Persecution failed to destroy Christianity, however. Instead, its numbers grew. As one Roman observed, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Christian Church." Finally, in A.D. 313, the Roman emperor Constantine



Jesus as the Good Shepherd The image of Jesus as shepherd comforted early Christians and strengthened their faith, especially during the Roman persecutions. In the Bible, Jesus tells the parable of the good shepherd protecting his flock, and adds, "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep." **Culture** Why might parables be a good way to teach moral lessons?

converted to Christianity and ended the persecution of Christians. By A.D. 395, Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Appeal of Christianity. Why did Christianity appeal to people? For many people, both rich and poor, the new religion offered hope of salvation and eternal life. The Christian belief that each person could achieve salvation through moral choices gave people a sense of control over their destiny. The poor found comfort in Jesus' teaching that all believers were equal in the eyes of God.

The Christian Church. Christian ideas developed over a period of centuries. In time, a formal church was organized. At first, the highest Church officials were bishops. Eventually, the bishop of Rome became the head of the Church. He took the title *pope*, or father of the Church.

The Byzantine Church. As you have read, the Roman Empire was divided by A.D. 395, and the eastern half eventually became the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine emperor refused to recognize the pope in Rome as the head of the Christian Church. Instead, the emperor controlled the Church himself. In time, the Christian Church also split into two parts: the Roman Catholic Church, with its center in

Rome, and the Eastern Orthodox Church, which was centered in Constantinople.

SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Moses, (b) Solomon, (c) Torah, (d) Ten Commandments, (e) Jesus, (f) Gospels, (g) Eastern Orthodox Church.
- 2. Define:** (a) messiah, (b) parable, (c) martyr, (d) pope.
- (a) List three beliefs that were held by the ancient Hebrews. (b) What was the ethical world view of Judaism?
- (a) How did Christian beliefs reflect Hebrew traditions? (b) What ideas did Jesus emphasize?
- Give three reasons for the spread of Christianity.
- 6. Analyzing Ideas** Review this statement by an early Roman: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Christian Church." (a) What do you think he meant? (b) Why might this be true?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** List five teachings from Judaism and Christianity that influence the values of Americans in their everyday lives.

CHAPTER 25 REVIEW

Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 1. oasis | a. savior chosen by God |
| 2. ziggurat | b. many-tiered temple of the Sumerians |
| 3. cuneiform | c. short story with a simple moral lesson |
| 4. messiah | d. fertile area in a desert |
| 5. parable | e. Sumerian writing |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

1. Why has the Middle East been called “the crossroads of the world”?
2. (a) Compare the geography of the Fertile Crescent with that of the Iranian Plateau. (b) How did geography influence each region’s history?
3. (a) Why are Arabs the majority group in most of the Middle East? (b) Which religion is observed by the majority of people?
4. Why are the Phoenicians known as the “carriers of civilization”?
5. (a) What were the basic beliefs of Zoroastrianism? (b) How did the teachings of Zoroaster influence Judaism?
6. What is the Jewish diaspora?
7. (a) Why did the Romans distrust Jesus? (b) How did they treat the early Christians? (c) How did the Eastern Orthodox Church come into being?

Reviewing Chapter Themes

1. Geographic factors played an important role in the development of Middle Eastern cultures. Discuss two ways in which each of the following helped to shape the cultures of the Middle East: (a) location, (b) water resources.
2. The Middle East was the home of several early civilizations, including Sumer, Persia, and Egypt, which you read about in Chapter 3. Select two civilizations and describe each in terms of the following: (a) government, (b) religion, (c) achievements, (d) cultural diffusion.

3. Judaism and Christianity first arose in the Middle East. (a) Describe the basic beliefs of Judaism. (b) Explain how Christianity is rooted in Hebrew traditions. (c) Discuss two ways in which Christianity differs from Judaism.

Thinking Critically

1. **Synthesizing** Give three examples of cultural diffusion in the ancient Middle East.
2. **Linking Past and Present** King Hammurabi drew up his code of laws to provide justice in his empire. How does Hammurabi’s concept of justice compare with our concept of justice today? Give examples to illustrate your answer.
3. **Making Global Connections** Describe three achievements of Middle Eastern civilizations that play a role in your life today.

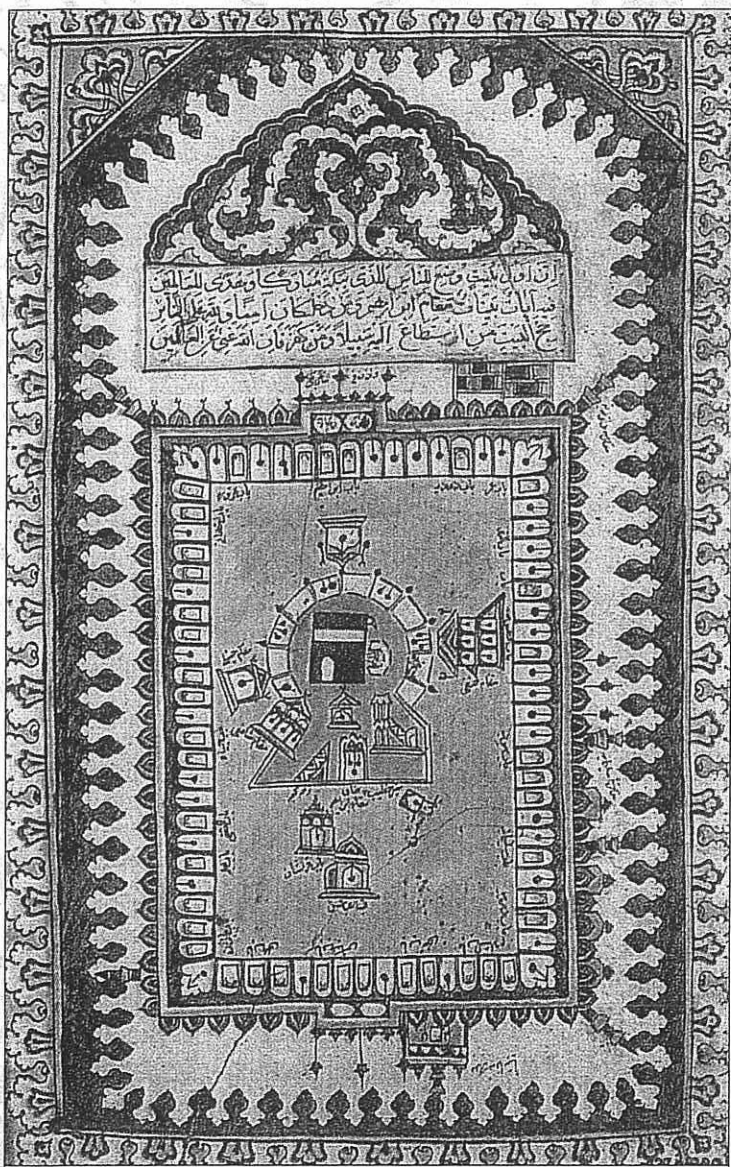
Applying Your Skills

1. **Reading a Map** Study the map on page 560. (a) What is the subject of the map? (b) How many miles did the Persian Empire extend from east to west? How many kilometers? (c) What were the capitals of the Persian Empire? (d) Why do you think the Persians created four separate capitals? (See Skill Lesson, page 48.)
2. **Understanding Causes and Effects** List two causes and two effects of the development of ancient civilizations in the Middle East. (See Skill Lesson, page 628.)

HERITAGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 The World of Islam
- 2 Centuries of Turmoil
- 3 Patterns of Life
- 4 Imperialism and Nationalism



Islam's Holiest Shrine Muslim pilgrims from all over the world travel to Mecca in Saudi Arabia. This ceramic tile shows a plan for Mecca's holiest site, the Kaaba. A cubelike black structure, the Kaaba is in a courtyard that can hold 300,000 worshippers. **Diversity** Why is Mecca such an important center of Islam?

“I left Tangier [Morocco], my birthplace, on Thursday, 2nd Rajab, 725 [June 14, 1325], being at that time 22 years of age, with the intention of making the Pilgrimage to the Holy House at Mecca and the Tomb of the Prophet at Medina.”

For almost 30 years, Ibn Battuta traveled around the world. During the course of his travels, he met at least 60 monarchs and hundreds of governors and other dignitaries. Traveling both on foot and by camel caravan, he covered more than 75,000 miles.

Alone or in the company of merchants and pilgrims, Ibn Battuta visited the Nile Valley, the Fertile Crescent, Asia Minor, India, China, and West Africa. Almost all the lands he visited were under Muslim rule. His colorful book, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, provides a fascinating record of his adventures. It is also an invaluable

source of information about the diverse cultures and peoples of the Muslim world.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

By the early 1300s, the religion of Islam had spread to many parts of the globe. Trade and travel flourished as Muslim pilgrims like Ibn Battuta made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Although the people of the region shared a common religion, the peoples and cultures of the Middle East remained as diverse as they had been in ancient times.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Islam was the third major religion to emerge in the Middle East and to spread its message throughout the world.
- ▶ Islamic civilization preserved the cultures of the ancient world and also made important contributions of its own.
- ▶ The Arabs and later the Ottomans created vast empires that ruled diverse peoples in the Middle East and North Africa.
- ▶ European imperialism fueled nationalist movements among the peoples of the Middle East.

Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter selections from the following works.

Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*

Koran

Ibn al-Athir, *Sum of World History*

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

THE WORLD OF ISLAM

FIND OUT

- What are the basic teachings of Islam?
- Why did Islam spread rapidly?
- Why did Islam split into different branches?
- What were some achievements of Islamic civilization?

Vocabulary hejira, hajj, caliph

Muhammad grew up during an age of violence and lawlessness. Troubled by the evil and corruption he saw in the world, he often withdrew to a cave to fast and pray. According to Muslim belief, one day, while praying, Muhammad heard a voice call out, telling him to “Proclaim.” The voice was that of the angel Gabriel sent by God. Alarmed and puzzled, Muhammad asked, “What shall I proclaim?” The angel replied:

“Proclaim—in the name of your God,
the Creator,
Who created man from a clot of
congealed blood.
Proclaim! Your God is most generous,
He who has taught man by the pen
Things he knew not.”

Gabriel told Muhammad that he was to be a prophet of God. Deeply shaken, Muhammad returned home. Encouraged by his wife, Khadija, he began telling people about the religion of Islam. The words Gabriel spoke to Muhammad over the next 12 years became the Koran, the holy book of Islam.

During the 600s and 700s, Islam spread across the Middle East and beyond, into Africa, Asia, and Europe. Today, Islam remains a powerful influence in the world. Almost one fifth of the world’s people are Muslims.

The Rise of Islam

Islam emerged in the Arabian Peninsula. The region is largely a desert. Unlike the rich plains of the Fertile Crescent, the harsh environment of Arabia could not support large empires. The region was an important crossroads for trade, however.

The setting. At the time of Muhammad, some Arabs lived as nomadic herders. Others lived in towns located at some oases and along the coasts. The two leading towns were Mecca and Yathrib. Located on the busy caravan route that linked the southern tip of Arabia with the Mediterranean Sea, these towns prospered as centers of trade.

Mecca also benefited from a constant flow of pilgrims. They came to worship at the Kaaba, a sacred shrine that housed the images of

Muhammad Journeys to Paradise According to Islam, Muhammad ascended to heaven from a rock in the city of Jerusalem. In A.D. 691, a shrine known as the Dome of the Rock was built over the holy site. The inside of the shrine is decorated with mosaics that contain inscriptions from the Koran.

Change How is Islam similar to Judaism and Christianity?



the many Arab gods. Also in the Kaaba was the sacred Black Stone, a meteorite that Arabs believe was sent from heaven.

The prophet Muhammad. Muhammad was born in Mecca in about 570. His parents died when he was still a child, and he was raised by an uncle. As a young man, Muhammad worked for a wealthy widow named Khadija (kah DEE jah), leading trade caravans across the desert to Palestine and Syria. When he was about 25, he and Khadija married.

Khadija recognized that Muhammad had deep spiritual qualities. She encouraged him to spend time away from the world in prayer and fasting. During one of these retreats, when Muhammad was about 40 years old, he heard the voice of Gabriel ordering him to "proclaim," or preach, to all people.

The experience frightened Muhammad. When he returned home, he confided in Khadija. She urged him to accept the mission that God had entrusted to him. Determined to do his duty as God's prophet, Muhammad set out to spread the message of the one God.

At first, Muhammad won few converts. The Arabs of Mecca rejected the idea that there was only one God. Muhammad's message also angered the town's merchants and innkeepers. They were afraid that if they gave up their traditional gods, the profitable pilgrim traffic to Mecca would end.

In 622, after Khadija's death, Muhammad and his followers were forced to leave Mecca. They went to Yathrib, where Muhammad was welcomed as a respected leader. Later, the name Yathrib was changed to Medina, or "city of the prophet."

The hejira. The migration of Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina became known as the hejira (hij jī ruh). The hejira was a turning point in Islam. It marked the beginning of the expansion of Islam. After Muhammad's death, his followers chose the year of the hejira as the first year of the Muslim calendar.

In Medina, Muhammad increased his following. In 630, he returned to Mecca with a strong army and captured the city. "Truth has come and falsehood has vanished," Muhammad declared as he smashed the images of

the gods in the Kaaba. He then dedicated the Black Stone to God. Before his death in 632, Muhammad had carried Islam across the Arabian Peninsula and brought most of the region under his control.

Teachings of Islam

The basic message of Islam is summed up in the Arabic expression *La ilaha illa Allah: Muhammadun rasulu Allah*—"No god but God: Muhammad is the prophet of God." The word Islam means "submission." A Muslim is someone who submits to God.

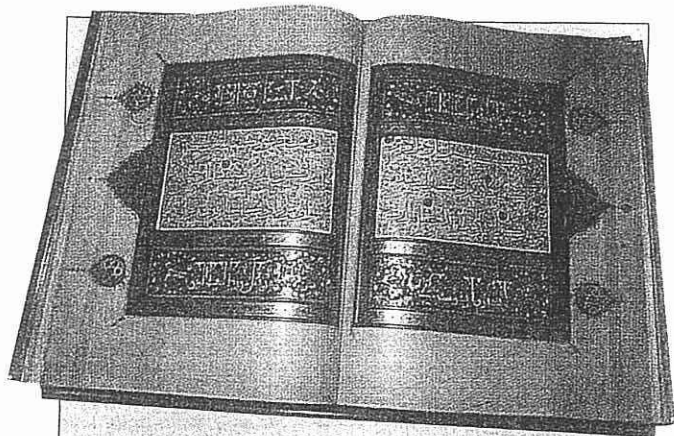
Five Pillars. In submitting to God, Muslims accept five duties, known as the Five Pillars of Islam. As their first duty, Muslims proclaim their belief in one God. Further, they accept that God revealed his message to Muhammad. Muslims honor many prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. To Muslims, Muhammad is the last and most important prophet. Although Muslims honor Muhammad, they do not worship him as a god.

A Muslim's second duty is prayer. Five times a day, Muslims face the holy city of Mecca and pray. Charity to the poor and the aged is the third duty. The fourth duty is fasting during the holy month of Ramadan. Ramadan, the ninth month in the Muslim calendar, is the month when Gabriel spoke to Muhammad as well as the month of the *hejira*. During Ramadan, Muslims may neither eat nor drink from dawn to sunset. A Muslim's fifth duty is the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca. All Muslims who are able are required to make the journey at least once in their lives.


Some Muslims look on *jihad*, or struggle in God's service, as a sixth pillar. *Jihad* includes a person's inner struggle to achieve spiritual peace as well as any battle in defense of Islam.

The Koran. The sacred book of Islam is the Koran. Muslims believe that the Koran contains the exact word of God as revealed to Muhammad. For Muslims, it is the authority on all subjects, including religion, politics, and law as well as economic and social life.

For a long time, Muslims were forbidden to translate the Koran from Arabic. As a re-



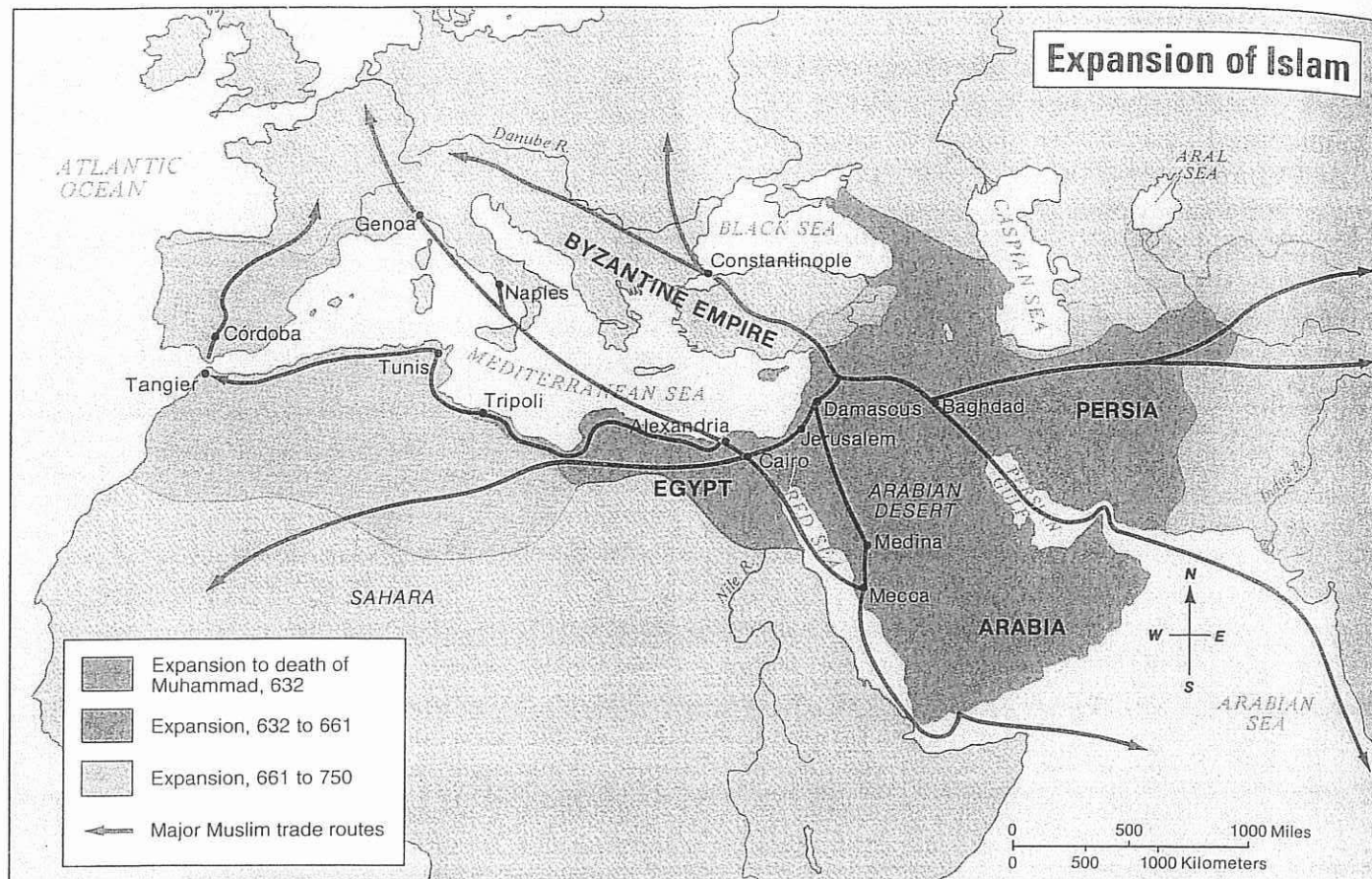
The Koran Borders of gold and decorative patterns called arabesques surround the Arabic script on this page of the Koran. Some devout Muslims memorize the entire Koran. **Fine Art** Why is religion the subject of art in many cultures?

sult, Arabic became a universal language, uniting Muslims around the world. ( See Connections With Literature, page 807, "The Opening," "Power," and "Daybreak.")

People of the Book. Muhammad had met many Jews and Christians on his travels. Their beliefs influenced Islam. All three religions are monotheistic. Muslims believe that Allah is the same God as the God of the Jews and Christians. Like Jews and Christians, Muslims also believe in a final day of judgment. On this day, it is believed, the wicked will be punished with suffering and the faithful will be rewarded with eternal life in heaven.

Muhammad accepted the original teachings of the Jewish and Christian scriptures as God's word. He called Jews and Christians "people of the Book" because they followed God's teachings in the Bible. The "people of the Book" had a special status as *ahl al-dhimma*, or protected people, and Muslims were required to treat them with tolerance.

Ethical conduct. Like Judaism and Christianity, Islam sets ethical, or moral, standards. Muslims must honor their parents, be honest and kind, and protect the weak and helpless. Islam also teaches that all people are equal. "Know that every Muslim is a brother to every other Muslim, and that you are now one brotherhood," declared Muhammad. This idea has helped unite Muslims throughout the world.



MAP STUDY

After Muhammad's death, Muslims spread the Islamic religion to the peoples of many lands. By 732, the Arab Empire extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus River.

- 1. Location** (a) During which period did Egypt become part of the Arab Empire? (b) In which period was the Arab Empire largest?
- 2. Movement** (a) During Muhammad's lifetime, where did Islam spread? (b) When did Islam spread across North Africa?
- 3. Synthesizing Information** How might trade have helped spread Islam?

Expansion of Islam

Islam spread rapidly during the 100 years after Muhammad's death. By 732, the Muslim Arabs had conquered an empire that reached from the Indus River to the Atlantic Ocean. It included the peoples of Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain. At its height, the Arab Empire was larger than any previous empire in the region.

Reasons for success. Why did Islam expand so swiftly? One reason is that the Arab armies were united by their beliefs. Islam taught that Muslim warriors who died in the service of Islam would win a place in paradise. The idea of jihad also motivated many Mus-

lim soldiers. The lure of riches to be won in the conquered lands was another powerful incentive.

In some places, people welcomed the Arabs. The Persian and Byzantine empires, for example, ruled diverse peoples who resented foreign control. Some of these peoples looked on the Arabs as liberators. Furthermore, many conquered peoples found the message of Islam appealing. They eagerly accepted its emphasis on human equality.

The Muslims were tolerant conquerors. They did not force "people of the Book" to convert to Islam. Jews and Christians were free to worship as they pleased, make money

The Arab Empire

in trade, own property, and hold government office. However, they had to pay a special "nonbeliever tax." Treatment of nonbelievers differed across time and place.

Divisions within Islam. Within 30 years of Muhammad's death, a serious dispute permanently split Islam into two separate branches: Sunni (soo nee) and Shiite (SHEE it). The dispute concerned who should become caliph, or successor to the prophet.

After Muhammad's death, several able caliphs led Islam. The fourth caliph was Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law. In 661, Ali was murdered. A rival leader claimed the office of caliph and set up the Umayyad (oo mī ad) dynasty. When Ali's son challenged the authority of the Umayyads, he, too, was murdered.

These murders caused the followers of Ali, the Shiites, to break away. They claimed that only descendants of Ali could become caliphs. However, the majority of Muslims, the Sunni, believed that any devout Muslim could become a caliph.

Over time, the two branches developed other differences. The split between Sunni and Shiite Muslims affects Islam to this day.

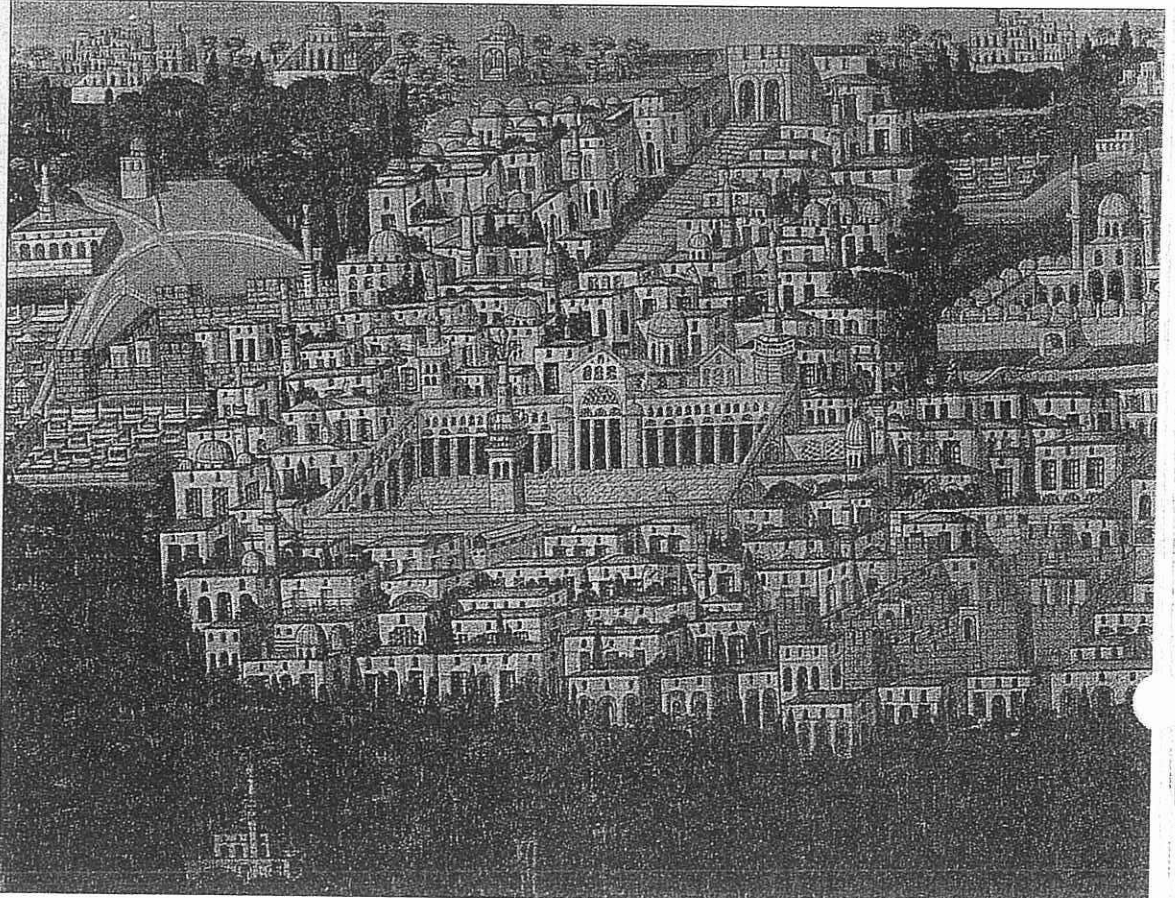
As Islam expanded, the Arabs had to organize their vast empire. Under the Umayyads and later the Abbassids (uh BAS ihdz), the Arab Empire enjoyed periods of stable, orderly government.

Umayyad dynasty. The Umayyads (661–750) made Damascus, Syria, the capital of their empire. Even though the Umayyads adapted ideas from the Byzantines and Persians, they emphasized Arab culture. Arabic was the language of the empire. Also, the highest jobs in government and the army went to Arabs.

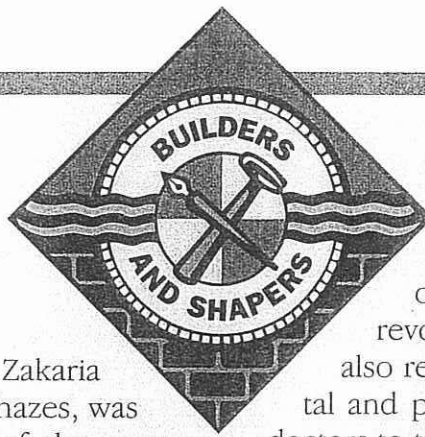
Non-Arab Muslims, such as the Persians, resented this discrimination. They insisted that being a Muslim was more important than being an Arab. In 750, Shiites and other discontented groups overthrew the Umayyads and set up the Abbassid dynasty.

Abbassid dynasty. The Abbassids (750–1258) built a magnificent new capital city at Baghdad, on the banks of the Tigris River. Baghdad, which means "God-given," flourished. At its height, the city was home to more than 1 million people.

Damascus in the 1600s The Syrian capital is one of the oldest cities in the world. The open courtyard in the middle of this painting shows the Great Mosque of Damascus, built in the early 700s. The picture below shows a mosque lamp made of enameled and gilded glass. **Power** Why was Damascus an important city in the Arab Empire?



Muhammad al-Razi, Islamic Physician



Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakaria al-Razi, known in the West as Rhazes, was a man of many talents. One of the most original thinkers and physicians of the Middle Ages, he studied philosophy, music, and medicine. His interest in all of these fields lasted his entire life.

Al-Razi was born in Persia in about 865. He received his medical training in Baghdad and later became head of that city's chief hospital. Patients knew Al-Razi as a kind and generous physician who cared for rich and poor alike. Under his leadership, the Baghdad hospital became one of the leading medical centers of the world.



A free thinker, Al-Razi challenged accepted medical practices. He encouraged patients to eat a balanced diet in order to maintain good health—a revolutionary idea at that time. He also recognized the link between mental and physical health and urged young doctors to treat the mind as well as the body. He set the example, making hopeful comments to his patients as he made his hospital rounds. If patients had a positive outlook, he believed, they would recover more rapidly.

Calling for high professional standards for physicians, Al-Razi urged doctors to continue their education by studying medical treatises, attending lectures, and training at hospitals. He himself taught at the Baghdad hospital, and his skill as a physician-educator attracted many students.

Al-Razi's devotion to medical education led him to write more than 50 books on medicine. His most important work was *al-Hawi*, "Comprehensive Work on Medicine," an encyclopedia that summed up the medical knowledge of the time. Translated into Latin in 1279, the book remained a standard medical textbook in Europe until the 1700s.

1. How did Al-Razi contribute to medical knowledge?
2. **Linking Past and Present** Do Al-Razi's ideas about the study and practice of medicine still apply today? Explain.

The Abbassids supported many building projects, including mosques, irrigation systems, libraries, hospitals, public baths, and schools. Under their rule, not only Arabs but Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Turks, and Indians held high jobs in government and became religious leaders.

Although the Abbassid dynasty lasted for 500 years, many kingdoms broke away. Despite political divisions, religion and culture united the peoples of the Muslim world.

Golden Age of Muslim Civilization

Through trade and conquest, Muslim civilization spread across a large area. It blended Greek, Persian, and Indian influences and also built on the heritage of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Over time, it adapted all of these traditions to its own needs.

Trade and commerce. Wealth from trade and commerce helped make Muslims' golden

SECTION 1 REVIEW

age possible. Muslim fleets controlled the Mediterranean and sailed the Indian Ocean. Caravans carried textiles, steel, and glazed tiles from Baghdad to China. They returned with silk, paper, and porcelain. From India and Southeast Asia, they brought spices. In the markets of Baghdad, Cairo, and Córdoba, buyers could purchase rubies from Central Asia, honey and furs from Scandinavia and Russia, and ivory and gold from East Africa.

As trade grew, Muslim merchants developed new business practices. They set up banks at different trading centers. They issued letters of credit, which were easier and safer to carry than coins. They wrote receipts for payment and used bills of lading that listed all of the goods included in a shipment. Europeans later adopted many of these practices, which are still used by businesses today.

Advances in learning. Respect for learning led to a flowering of Islamic civilization. Islamic scholars translated ancient works from Persian, Sanskrit, and Greek into Arabic. In 830, the caliph Al-Mamun set up the House of Wisdom in Baghdad. It served as a library, university, and translation center. At centers like this, Muslim scholars preserved the learning of earlier civilizations. They also made many contributions of their own.

Brilliant Muslim scholars boasted accomplishments in many fields. The astronomer Al-Khwarizimi, for example, made advances in the field of algebra. The mathematician and astronomer Omar Khayyám (OH mahr kī YAHM) developed an accurate calendar, but he is best known to the western world as the author of the poem *The Rubáiyát*. The physician Ibn Sina—known in the West as Avicenna—wrote more than 100 books on subjects ranging from astronomy, music, and philosophy to medicine and poetry. His medical textbook influenced Europeans for hundreds of years.

Today, western languages use many technical terms that are of Arabic origin. This lasting mark of Arab learning on the West includes terms like zenith in astronomy, alcohol and alkali in chemistry, and soda and syrup in medicine.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Mecca, (b) Medina, (c) Damascus, (d) Baghdad, (e) Córdoba.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Muhammad, (b) Khadija, (c) Kaaba, (d) “people of the Book,” (e) Umayyads, (f) Abbassids, (g) Ibn Sina.
- 3. Define:** (a) hejira, (b) hajj, (c) caliph.
- 4.** What are the Five Pillars of Islam?
- 5.** Give three reasons for the rapid spread of Islam.
- 6.** What issue divided Sunni and Shiite Muslims?
- 7. Analyzing Ideas** Muhammad taught that “the ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr.” (a) What do you think he meant? (b) How do you think this teaching contributed to Islamic civilization?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Consult a dictionary. Write a sentence using each of the following words of Arabic origin: *algebra, genius, henna, mohair, mufti, sandal, sherbet.*

2

CENTURIES OF TURMOIL

FIND OUT

What changes did foreign invaders bring to the Middle East?

What were the strengths of the Ottoman Empire?

Why were the Ottoman and Safavid empires rivals?

Vocabulary *crusade, millet, shah*

By 900, the great Arab Empire forged in the years after Muhammad’s death had broken up into many kingdoms. However, these kingdoms continued to develop as centers of Islamic civilization. Although foreign invaders set up their own kingdoms in the Middle

East, most of these invaders converted to Islam. Islamic civilization flourished despite the turmoil of war.

Foreign Invaders

Beginning in about 1000, waves of nomads from Central Asia overran the Middle East. Like earlier invaders, they sought to control the fertile lands of the Anatolian and Iranian plateaus and of Mesopotamia.

Seljuks. The Seljuks, a Turkish-speaking people, had converted to Islam in Central Asia before migrating to the Iranian Plateau. In 1055, the Seljuks seized Baghdad, but allowed the Abbassid caliph to remain on the throne as a figurehead. Moving west, they then captured Anatolia from the Byzantines. Their success weakened the Byzantine Empire and frightened the Christian rulers of Europe.

Mongols. During the 1200s, horse-riding Mongols charged out of Central Asia and swept westward into Russia and the Middle East. In 1258, Hulagu (hoo LAH goo), a grandson of the great Mongol leader Genghiz Khan, captured Baghdad from the Seljuks. The Mongols looted and destroyed the city, burning its palaces, mosques, and libraries and killing the last of the Abbassid caliphs.

The Mongol invasions continued on and off for more than 100 years. Their armies destroyed many cities and irrigation systems.

Millions of people were killed. Some areas of the Middle East did not fully recover from the effects of the Mongol invasions until many centuries later.

Despite the terrible destruction, the Mongol conquests spurred international trade. Mongols controlled the major trade routes between China, India, and the Middle East. Eventually, the Mongols converted to Islam and were absorbed into the cultures of the Middle East.

Crusaders

A third group of outsiders invaded the Middle East from Europe. As the Seljuks advanced into Asia Minor, the Byzantine emperor called on the Christian states of Western Europe for help. Despite the differences within the Christian Church, Pope Urban II responded. In 1095, he called for a **crusade**, or holy war, against the Muslims. "It is the will of God," cried Christian warriors from France, England, Germany, and Italy as they advanced into the Middle East. Their goal was to capture Palestine. Christians called it the Holy Land because Jesus had lived and died there.

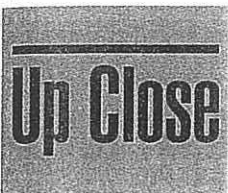
For almost 100 years, Christians poured into Palestine in a movement that became known as the Crusades. On the First Crusade in 1096, crusaders helped the Byzantine emperor recover much of Anatolia. They went on to conquer Jerusalem, slaughtering Mus-



Crusaders Attacking Jerusalem European rulers answered the pope's call for a crusade to reconquer the Holy Land. In 1099, crusaders finally reached Jerusalem, where they besieged the Muslims and Jews. In this painting, Christian armies storm the city. **Power** Why were the European soldiers unable to win a lasting victory in the Middle East?

lim, Eastern Christian, and Jewish residents. They then set up four small Christian kingdoms along the Mediterranean coast.

The Crusades had only a limited effect on the Middle East. At the time, the civilization of Western Europe was less advanced than that of the Islamic world. In 1187, a brilliant Muslim general, Salah-al-Din—better known in the West as Saladin—drove the Christians out of Jerusalem. Christian armies managed to hold on to a few coastal cities for another century, but they never again posed a serious threat to Muslim lands. The Crusades did, however, have a major impact on Europe. (See Chapter 29.)



Saladin: A Noble Warrior

During the late 1100s, the Muslim world was united under a new leader, Saladin. Muslims and Christians alike came to respect Saladin as a noble knight. He was God-fearing, courteous, and generous to friends and enemies—traits admired by warriors of both religions.

For the Muslims, Saladin was a badly needed leader. He united Muslims from Syria and Egypt, surrounded the crusader kingdoms, and forced the foreigners to retreat. As he approached Jerusalem, the Christians were determined to stop him.

In July 1187, the crusaders gathered on the Horns of Hattin, a dry, rocky pass. The dust and intense summer heat choked both men and horses. Without water, they suffered terribly from thirst.

Under cover of darkness, Saladin moved his forces into the pass. At dawn, the Christians found themselves surrounded and greatly outnumbered. Saladin's forces set grass fires to smoke out the enemy. Then they attacked. The battle raged all day. Finally, exhausted by heat and thirst, the crusaders surrendered.

Saladin rejoiced, knowing that he had destroyed the crusaders' strength. Saladin's son, who was with him at Hattin, later recorded:



Saladin When this great Muslim military leader recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, he dealt fairly with Christians and Jews there. However, European rulers soon sent another army to recapture the holy city. This Third Crusade ended in failure. Saladin then ruled Palestine as well as Egypt and Syria.
Fine Art How has the artist suggested Saladin's character?

“My father immediately got down from his horse, prostrated himself before God and gave thanks to Him, weeping tears of joy.”

Saladin pressed forward. By October, he stood outside Jerusalem, a city as sacred to Muslims as it was to Jews and Christians. Christian forces knew that they could not hold out, so they surrendered.

Saladin's entrance into Jerusalem differed completely from the Christian conquest of the city 88 years earlier. A crusader who had witnessed the savage massacres in 1099 said that “men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins.” Saladin, by contrast, forbade his soldiers to kill the inhabitants of the city or steal from the defeated crusaders. He

also issued orders against burning Christian homes or churches.

In Muslim lands, as elsewhere, it was the custom for people who had been defeated in war to become the slaves of the victorious army. Yet, Saladin treated his former enemies well. He freed old people and allowed other Christians to buy their freedom. He even used money from his own treasury to help the widows and orphans of crusaders who had been killed in battle.

As Christians marched out of Jerusalem, Muslims raised the golden banner of Saladin above the city walls. They joyfully reclaimed the Dome of the Rock, the Muslim holy shrine that Christians had converted into a church. Ibn al-Athir, who witnessed the event, described the great rejoicing that occurred:

“There was on the dome . . . a great cross of gold. The day the town surrendered, many Muslims climbed up to pull it down. . . . When the cross fell, cries arose from everyone in the town and the surrounding districts. . . . The noise was such that one might have thought that the end of the world had come. ”

Thanks to Saladin, Muslims were once more masters of the holy city of Jerusalem. ■

Ottoman Empire

During the early 1300s, a powerful people, the Ottomans, emerged in Anatolia. Like the Seljuks, the Ottomans were a Turkish-speaking people from Central Asia who had converted to Islam. The Ottomans conquered an enormous empire that extended from central Europe across much of the Middle East and North Africa.

In 1453, the Ottomans stunned Christian Europe by capturing Constantinople, ending the 1,000-year-old Byzantine Empire. The Ottomans renamed the city Istanbul and made it the capital of their expanding empire.

The Ottoman Empire reached its height under Suleiman I (soo lay mahn), who ruled

from 1520 to 1566. Suleiman made Istanbul one of the world's most splendid cities, adorning it with large, beautiful mosques and filling it with art treasures. He also introduced many reforms to ensure justice and good government for the 50 million people under Ottoman rule. His reforms earned him the title the Lawgiver.

Government. The Ottoman Empire lasted for more than 500 years. During this time, the Ottomans held their diverse empire together with a strong but flexible government.

At the head of the government was the sultan, who ruled with absolute power. He relied on a large number of officials to supervise the government of the vast empire. These officials came from two groups, the “men of the pen” and the “men of the sword.” The first group included lawyers, judges, mathematicians, and poets. Some were experts in Islamic law who ruled on religious and legal matters. The second group were soldiers who guarded the sultan and fought in his armies. The men of the sword were made up of slaves.

Role of slaves. The Ottomans looked on the peoples they conquered as slaves. They took young Christian boys from their families to be trained for jobs in government and the military. When a slave converted to Islam, he gained his freedom.

When the training was over, those who had displayed a talent for book learning and mathematics were trained in the palace school as royal pages. The brightest moved up in the sultan's service and became provincial governors or even grand vizier, as the chief minister was called. Those who excelled in sports and the martial arts became cadets in the Janizary corps, elite military units that guarded the sultan and his palace.

The millets. Within the Ottoman Empire, each province had its own local government. Non-Muslim communities, called *millets*, owed loyalty to the sultan but were ruled by their own religious leaders. Jews, Armenian Christians, and Greek Orthodox Christians were among the many millets that made up the Ottoman Empire.

The Safavid Empire

By the 1500s, the chief rival of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East was the Safavid Empire in what is today Iran. The two powers waged bloody battles for control of Mesopotamia. Religious disputes added to the conflict. The Safavids were fiercely loyal to Shiite traditions, while the Ottomans were Sunni Muslims.

Abbas the Great. The Safavid Empire reached its height under Abbas the Great, who ruled from 1587 to 1629. Earlier Safavid *shahs* or kings, had despised non-Shiites. However, Abbas welcomed them to his court.

Safavid Court Musicians Playing a lute, panpipes, and a large tambourine, these musicians welcome a Mughal ruler from India. Foreigners admired the culture, prosperity, and toleration of the Safavid Empire under Abbas the Great. One French visitor later wrote, "When this great prince ceased to live, Persia [Iran] ceased to prosper." **Change** Was the French visitor's observation accurate? Explain.



European rulers were eager to make alliances with the shah against the Ottomans. For example, one group of English experts helped Abbas train an army to use muskets and also taught the Iranians how to make cannons.

Shah Abbas encouraged trade and commerce. Like the Ottoman rulers, he built a network of roads that had inns for travelers and rest stops for caravans. To take advantage of the growing demand for Chinese porcelain in Europe, he brought hundreds of Chinese potters to his capital at Isfahan (ihs fuh HAHN). Under Abbas, Iranians produced fine-quality goods such as silk, woolen carpets, steel, porcelain, and glassware.

Decline. After Abbas, the empire declined. In 1736, the last of the Safavids was overthrown. Other dynasties gained power for short periods. Iran remained under the rule of a shah, however, until 1979. Today, it survives as a major Shiite state, the Islamic republic of Iran.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Jerusalem, (b) Constantinople, (c) Iran.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Seljuk, (b) Holy Land, (c) Saladin, (d) Suleiman I, (e) Abbas.
- 3. Define:** (a) crusade, (b) millet, (c) shah.
- 4.** (a) List three groups of outsiders who invaded the Middle East. (b) Describe one change that was brought by each group.
- 5.** Describe how the Ottomans treated the diverse groups who made up their empire.
- 6.** What two issues led to war between the Ottoman and Safavid empires?
- 7. Drawing Conclusions** How do you think centuries of invasion by outsiders contributed to cultural diffusion in the Middle East?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Are officials of the United States government divided into "men of the pen" and "men of the sword"? Write a paragraph explaining your answer.

PATTERNS OF LIFE

FIND OUT

What were the main patterns of life in the Middle East?

What was the typical Middle Eastern city like?

What roles did women have in Islam?

Five times a day, from the top of mosques throughout the Muslim world, the muezzin (myoo EHZ ihn), or crier, calls the faithful to prayer:

“ God alone is great.
I testify that there is no god but God.
I testify that Muhammad is the
prophet of God.
Come to prayer.
Come to success.
God alone is great.
There is no god but God. ”

Since the 600s, Islam has been a major force in shaping the patterns of life in the Middle East. However, as everywhere in the

world, geography has played a role in shaping people's lives. Across the Middle East, people adapted to the resources available in the places where they lived. There were farmers in the villages, nomadic herders in the deserts, and merchants and traders in the towns and cities.

Village Life

Most people in the Middle East lived in small farming villages that grew up around sources of water. From one generation to the next, villagers cultivated the land and raised wheat, barley, and olives. In places with a good supply of water, they also grew vegetables and fruits. Some villagers tended herds of sheep and goats in nearby pasturelands.

Farm families divided their labor. Men and boys did the plowing, harvested the crops, and built the houses. Women drew water from the well, fed the animals, gathered wood for fuel, did the spinning and weaving, and cared for the children. Women also worked in the fields. For example, they walked behind the plow and broke up clods of dirt that the plow missed.

Villages included a mosque and a few stores that sold spices, sugar, and other goods that people did not produce themselves. Most houses were made of sun-dried mud, clay bricks, or timber and had only one or two rooms. A section of every house, no



Plowing Fields Middle Eastern farmers made important contributions to agriculture. For example, when the Arabs conquered Spain, they introduced sugar cane into Europe. Arabs also were the first to grow coffee as a crop. **Technology** Do you think this painting tries to show a real Arab farmer at work? Explain.

matter how small, was set aside as the women's quarters. When men outside the immediate family visited, the women remained secluded in their quarters.

Villagers distrusted outside authority. A story from Ottoman times tells what happened when the tax collector arrived in a village. When the tax collector summoned a resident, the village leader instructed the man's son:

“Go to your father, my lad, and tell him that the tax collector is waiting here for him. If your father isn't there, tell him to come all the same, for the tax collector knows that he is there.”

Nomadic Life

Lack of water made much of the Middle East unsuitable for farming. In the desert and dry plateaus, nomadic herders learned to live with scarce water resources. Nomads were constantly on the move with herds of camels, goats, and other livestock. Their movements were purposeful. They traveled to areas where seasonal rains caused plants to grow.

The Bedouins. In Arabia, desert nomads were called Bedouins (BEHD OO ihnz), or “people of the tent.” They lived in small, tightly knit tribal groups that competed for pastures and water holes. They spent the hot, dry summer at oases. During the winter, when there was some rainfall, they migrated in search of pastureland for their herds of sheep, goats, and camels.

Highland nomads. In the mountains and plateaus of the Northern Tier, nomads followed a different pattern. During the summer, they moved with their herds from the parched plains into cool upland pastures where they could find water and grass for their flocks. During the winter, when snows covered the uplands, they returned to the plains.

Conflicts with settled peoples. Many villagers and traders regarded the Bedouins and other nomadic herders as lawless warriors. Groups of nomads sometimes raided houses and shops in nearby towns. Their herds often grazed on villagers' crops or trampled them. Some nomads required trade

caravans to pay tribute before they could pass through certain territories.

Nomads also aroused the anger of powerful central governments. Officials found it difficult to collect taxes from people who were always on the move. At times, governments used harsh measures to force nomads to settle permanently in one place.

City Life

Many cities flourished in the powerful empires of the Middle East. These cities developed for different reasons. Jerusalem had been the capital of ancient Israel. Damascus was a trading center on a key caravan route. Powerful caliphs built Cairo and Baghdad as their capitals. Mecca remained the religious center of Islam. Beirut was a prosperous seaport.

Like most other cities of the time, Middle Eastern cities were protected by high walls. The city streets were dark, narrow, and winding, the houses densely packed together. Shuttered upper stories often juttied out over the streets, blocking sunlight. The ground floors of many houses served as shops. Owners painted pious Muslim phrases, such as “May God forgive the faithful of Islam,” above doorways.

Mosques were at the center of life in Muslim communities. The mosques served as meeting places, centers of study, and inns for travelers.

The commercial heart of the city was the *suq* (sook), or marketplace. It included a network of covered streets filled with shops. Often, each trade had its own section, and streets were named for the goods that were made and sold there. *Suq as suf*, for example, was the wool market, while *suq an nabas* was the copper market. On any day of the year, women, farmers from mountain villages, and nomadic Bedouins, as well as merchants and traders, flocked to the *suq*.

Family Life

As in many other cultures around the world, the family in the Middle East was patriarchal. The father had the final say on all



A Family Celebration A wealthy Muslim family is celebrating a special occasion—the birth of a child. At the top, women care for the new mother and her child. Below them are musicians, a servant with food, and a man handing out coins. At the bottom, a crowd gathers to receive alms. **Fine Art** What does this painting tell you about social classes in Muslim society?

matters. Women usually sought their husband's approval, and children were expected to obey their parents.

The Koran acknowledges the authority of parents. Only obedience to God is considered more important than the respect that children owe their parents.

Marriage. As elsewhere in the world at this time, marriages were arranged. They usually occurred between families that belonged to the same social class or between families that followed the same trade or profession. Although a Muslim man could marry a Christian or Jewish woman, tradition forbade a Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim.

The Koran permits a man to have as many as four wives, as long as he treats each of them equally. This means that he must give them all the same material benefits, the same amount of love, and the same degree of respect. Since few men could afford to support several wives, most men had only a single wife.

Divorce. Divorce was easier for men than for women. To divorce his wife, a man had to recite on three separate occasions, "I divorce you." He also had to make a payment to her or to her family. By contrast, a woman who wanted a divorce had to take her case before a judge. Both divorced men and women could remarry, however.

Lives of Women

Among Muslims, tradition and customs made women subordinate to men. According to the Koran, "Men are the managers of the affairs of women." During childhood, a girl had to obey her father. After marriage, she had to obey her husband and her husband's father.

Muslims believed that women were more likely than men to bring dishonor on the family. Women were expected to be modest and to remain secluded within the home. They wore veils to conceal their faces from men who were not members of their family. In some Muslim homes, women used separate entrances and ate their meals only in the company of other women.

The system gave women security. Women in Islamic societies knew that their fathers, brothers, or husbands would protect and provide for them. Also, within their homes and with their children, many women exercised considerable influence. According to an Arab proverb,

“ If a woman loves you, she can open countless doors to you, but if she hates you, with a spider’s web she can build an iron wall across your path. ”

Rights. Islam gave women protections that they had not had in the past. During pre-Islamic times, for example, poor Arab families frequently killed unwanted girl babies. The Koran outlawed this practice. Under Islamic law, women also gained the right to an education and to own or inherit property. Finally, although the Koran made women subordinate to men, women, like all believers, were equal in the eyes of God.

In early Islamic societies, women had enjoyed greater freedom than they sometimes did at a later time. Customs such as wearing a veil, living in seclusion, and separating men and women in all activities came into practice gradually. In fact, some scholars think the Arabs adapted some of those practices from the Byzantines whose lands they conquered. In many Muslim lands outside the Middle East, women did not observe these customs.

SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Bedouin, (b) suq.
- Describe three different ways of life that developed in the Middle East.
- (a) Why did nomads come into conflict with settled peoples? (b) With the central government?
- (a) Name three Middle Eastern cities and give the reasons they developed. (b) Describe a typical Middle Eastern city.
- (a) Identify two ways in which Islam expanded women’s rights. (b) Identify two ways in which it restricted them.
- 6. Defending a Position** Explain why you agree or disagree with the following statement: “By and large, women benefited from the rise of Islam.”
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Compare the role of women in early Islam to the role of women in the United States today. Write a paragraph noting similarities or differences.

4

IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM

FIND OUT

What challenges did the Ottoman Empire face?

How did imperialism spur the growth of nationalism in the Middle East?

What reforms did nationalist leaders introduce?

Vocabulary mandate, anti-Semitism

Ismail, the ruler of Egypt, beamed with pleasure. The lavish spectacle was going exactly as planned. Cannons roared, bands played, and the crowd cheered. Dozens of ships bearing monarchs and diplomats steamed into the waterway. At 8 A.M. on November 17, 1869, the Suez Canal was officially opened.

In ancient times, Egyptian pharaohs began digging a canal that would link the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. More than 2,000 years later, a French company finally completed the task. Under the supervision of Ferdinand de Lesseps, Egyptian workers labored for nearly 11 years to dig the 100-mile (160-km) Suez Canal. Even more than Egyptians, Europeans welcomed the canal because it reduced the ocean voyage to Asia by thousands of miles.

By the late 1800s, European influence in the Middle East was growing. The Suez Canal was a symbol of that influence. During the Age of Imperialism, European interference in the Middle East would spur the growth of nationalist movements whose effects are still being felt today.

Challenges to Ottoman Power

During the 1700s and 1800s, European imperialism and growing nationalism posed

major challenges to the Ottoman Empire. Russia and Austria-Hungary nibbled away at Ottoman provinces in Europe. At the same time, national groups within the empire sought independence from Ottoman rule. The Greeks revolted and won freedom in 1832. Later, other ethnic groups, including the Serbs, Romanians, and Bulgarians, won independence or at least some degree of self-rule.

Russia encouraged these groups to revolt against their Ottoman rulers. It hoped to gain more lands from a weakened Ottoman Empire. France and Britain, however, became alarmed at Russia's ambitions. They tried to prevent the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Noting the many troubles of the Ottoman Empire, Europeans began to call it the "sick man of Europe."

Reform efforts. During the 1800s, powerful sultans tried to strengthen the empire. They introduced reforms to modernize the government and the army along western lines. They also set up secular, or nonreligious, schools to teach students western ideas in science and technology.

Reform did not go smoothly, however. Some sultans refused reformers' demands for a constitution. Corrupt officials, religious leaders, and other groups opposed changes that threatened their power.

Turkish nationalism. In the late 1800s, a number of young army officers formed a revolutionary group known as the Young Turks. The Young Turks wanted to strengthen the Ottoman Empire and end western imperialism. In 1908, they overthrew the sultan. They placed a new sultan in power, and forced him to carry out their program.

The Young Turks supported a policy of Turkish nationalism. They abandoned traditional Ottoman tolerance of diverse cultures and religions. Instead, they persecuted non-Muslim communities. For example, the Young Turks greatly distrusted Armenian Christians, who had ties with Russia. The Young Turks followed a brutal policy of genocide that caused the death of hundreds of thousands of Armenians.

Despite their shared religion, the Young Turks stressed differences between Turks and Muslim Arabs within the empire. They tried to impose the Turkish language on Arabs and mistreated Arabs in many other ways. These actions fueled growing Arab nationalism.

World War I. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire sided with Germany against Russia, Britain, and France. Defeat brought disaster to the empire. In 1919, at the Versailles peace conference, the Allies stripped the Ottoman Empire of its Arab provinces. Britain received Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine as mandates. A **mandate** was a territory that was administered but not owned by a member of the League of Nations. France gained a mandate in Syria and Lebanon.

Republic of Turkey

Shortly after World War I ended, Greece seized land that was ruled by the Turks in Anatolia. A brilliant general, Mustafa Kemal, rallied Turkish resistance to the Greek advance. After bloody clashes, the Turks succeeded in driving the Greeks out of Anatolia. By 1923, Kemal had become strong enough to overthrow the sultan, abolish the Ottoman Empire, and make Turkey a republic. He later took the name Kemal Atatürk, or "father of the Turks."

Atatürk's reforms. As president of Turkey, Atatürk continued the reforms begun under the Ottomans. He was determined to make Turkey a modern secular state. To encourage economic development, he used government funds to build industries. He also insisted on the separation of religion and the government. For example, he replaced Islamic law with a new law code based on western models. Under the new laws, women won the right to vote and hold public office. He also set up a system of public schools that were separate from religious schools.

To Atatürk, modernization meant adopting many features of western culture. Turkey began to use the western calendar and the metric system of weights and measures.

Atatürk replaced Arabic script with the western alphabet. As a symbol of change, he encouraged western-style clothing. Men were forbidden to wear the fez, their traditional brimless felt hat. Also, women were forbidden to veil their faces in public.

Atatürk's reforms brought many important changes. They were not always popular, however. He had the support of Turkish nationalists, but many Muslims opposed his policies. They feared that western ways would destroy their traditions and values.

Rise of Modern Egypt

During the Age of Imperialism, other parts of the Ottoman Empire came under European control. Egypt became the focus of imperialist rivalry between Britain and France. Both nations wanted to dominate Egypt and build a canal across the Isthmus of Suez. Whoever held the canal would control shipping and trade between Europe and Asia.

In 1798, the French general Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt. Joining forces, the British and Ottomans forced the French to retreat. French influence, however, remained strong in Egyptian culture.

Muhammad Ali. In 1805, Muhammad Ali, an Albanian soldier who had fought against the French, became governor of Egypt. Officially, Egypt was still a part of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, Ali pursued his own policies.

Ali introduced many reforms to modernize Egypt. He invited French experts to train Egyptians in the latest European military and scientific techniques. He also introduced new farming methods, improved irrigation, and promoted the growing of cash crops such as cotton, sugar, and tobacco. Before long, cotton exports were booming, and Egypt itself was setting up textile mills.

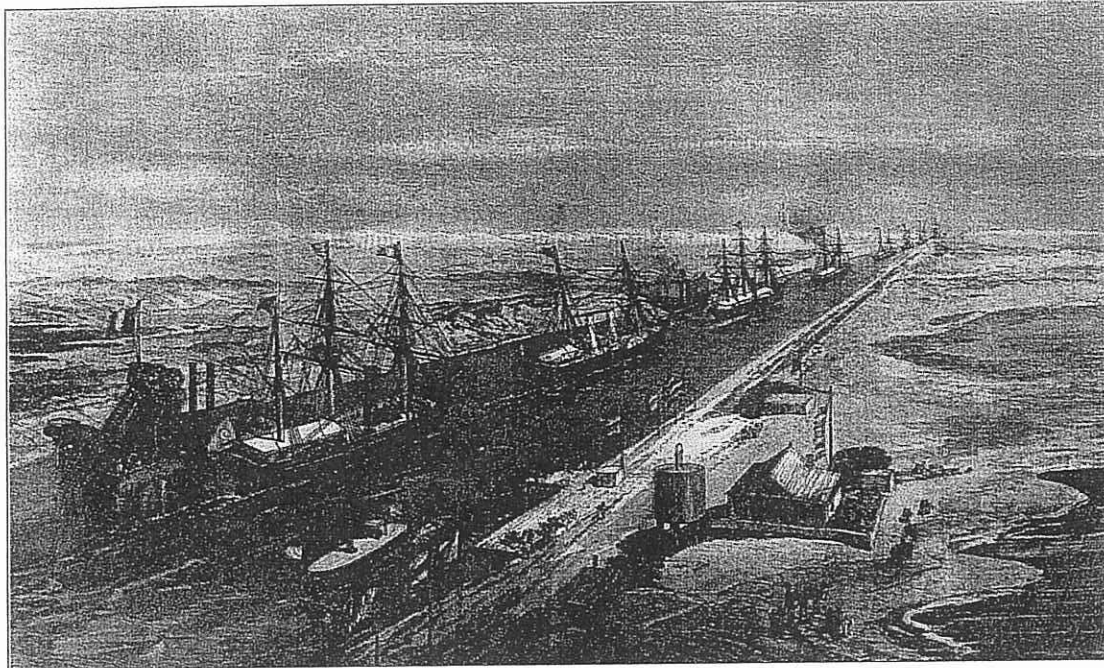
Growing foreign influence. Ali's successors continued his policies, but they had to borrow money from European banks in order to pay for them. The increasing debts gave France and Britain an excuse to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs.



Atatürk and His Wife Atatürk broke with the tradition of arranged marriages by choosing his wife himself. His wife, Latifah, accompanied him on many official trips in Turkey. Among the changes supported by Atatürk were new laws that discouraged the practice of segregating women in public places. **Change** Why did Atatürk's reforms stir controversy?

During this period, the French won the right to build the Suez Canal. Faced with huge debts, the Egyptian ruler, Ismail, sold his shares in the canal to the British. As Egypt's financial problems worsened, Britain and France took control of its economy.

Outraged at this foreign intervention, Egyptians rebelled. British forces crushed the rebels and occupied the country in 1882. Both Muslims and Egyptian Christians, known as Copts, supported efforts to end British



Opening Day of the Suez Canal The Egyptians celebrated the opening of the canal in 1869 as a symbol of progress. Yet, the canal led to British occupation of Egypt in 1882. **Power** How was the canal a symbol of European imperialism in the Middle East?

control. Although Egypt declared its independence from Britain in 1922, the Suez Canal remained in British hands until 1956. (See Chapter 27.)

Struggle for Iran

Like the Ottomans, the rulers of Iran faced the challenge of European imperialism. Both Russia and Britain acquired spheres of influence in Iran. Both nations were competing for influence elsewhere in Asia, and each sought access to the Persian Gulf.

During the Age of Imperialism, the shahs who ruled Iran were weak, and their governments lacked the power to resist European expansion. By the early 1900s, however, Iranian nationalists were demanding reform. In 1925, Reza Khan, an army officer supported by some nationalists, seized power. He set up the Pahlavi dynasty and made himself shah.

Like nationalist leaders elsewhere, Reza Khan set out to end foreign control and create a modern industrial state. He built roads and factories, modernized the army, and reduced the power of the Muslim clergy.

Under the Pahlavis, westernization increased. In the cities, men and women adopted western clothing. Women gained more freedom to move about in public. In addition, schools emphasized western courses of study,

and the government used western models for its law code.

Arab Nationalism

World War I fueled Arab nationalism in the lands controlled by the Ottomans. During the war, some Arabs helped the British fight the Ottomans. In return, they expected the British to help them set up independent kingdoms after the war.

The Arabs felt betrayed by the peace settlement that ended World War I. Britain and France gained control of many Arab lands that had been part of the Ottoman Empire. Only in Saudi Arabia did an Arab ruler gain independence.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Arab nationalists continued their demands for self-rule. The growing importance of oil from the Middle East, however, made Britain and France unwilling to withdraw from the region. Still, in 1932, Iraq gained independence. Lebanon won its freedom in 1943, and Syria became independent in 1946.

Conflict Over Palestine

During the 1920s and 1930s, the British mandate of Palestine became the center of conflict between Jewish and Arab nationalists.

Zionism. During the late 1800s, persecution of Jews led to the modern form of Zionism. This movement sought to reestablish a Jewish state in Palestine. As you read in Chapter 25, the Romans had expelled the Jews from Palestine in A.D. 70. Since then, Jews had dreamed of returning. The desire for a Jewish homeland grew as anti-Semitism, or hatred and fear of Jews, increased. In Eastern Europe and Russia, thousands of Jews were killed in organized massacres. The violence led many European Jews to migrate to Palestine.

In 1897, Theodor Herzl (HER tshl), a Hungarian Jew living in Austria, formed an organization to promote Zionism. With his

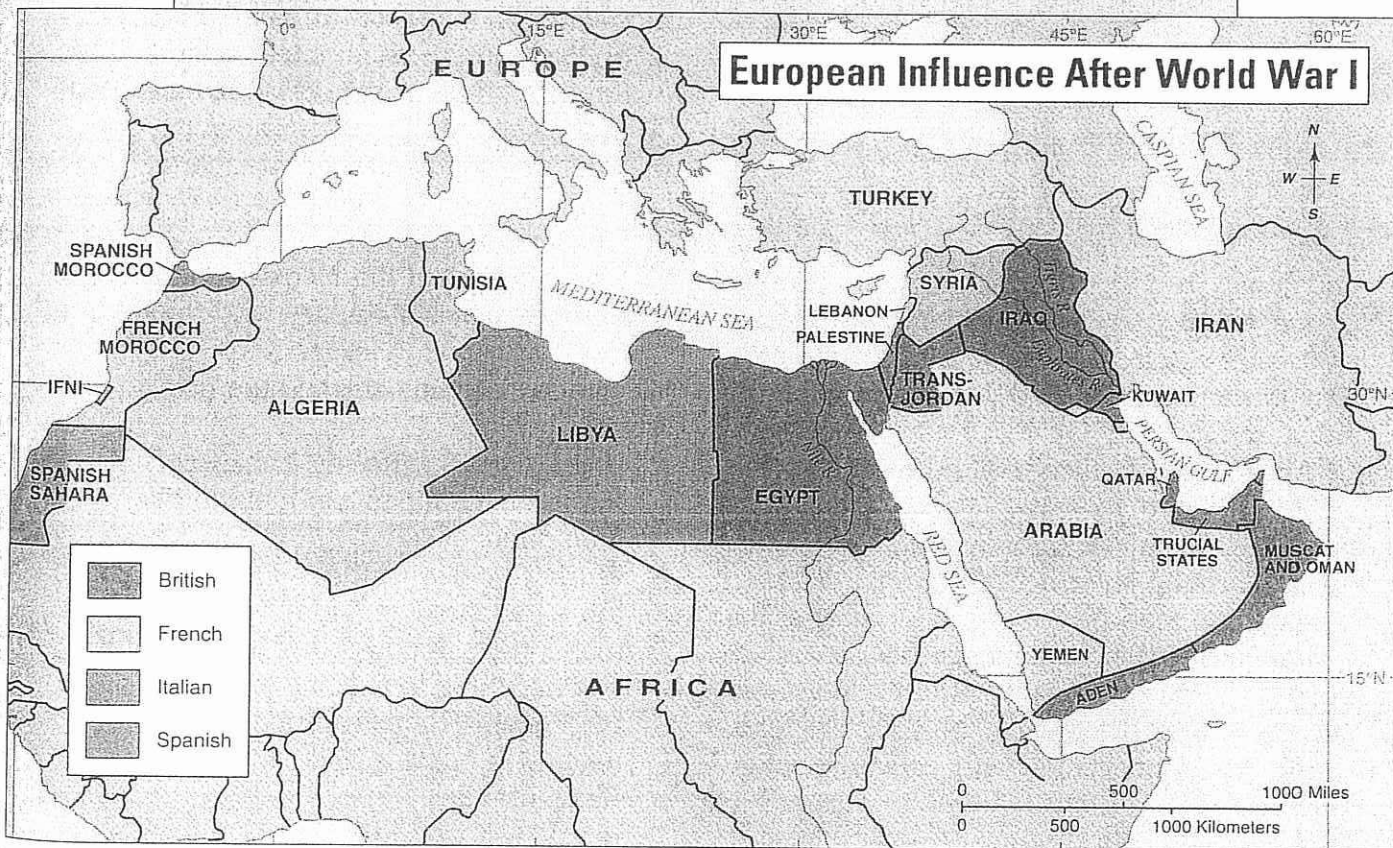
encouragement, Jews from Eastern Europe began migrating to Palestine. They set up communities there and called on Britain and other European powers to support them. In 1917, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration. The key paragraph declared:

“His Majesty’s Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. . . .”

MAP STUDY

After the Ottoman Empire was defeated in World War I, Britain and France gained control of lands in the Middle East.

- 1. Location** (a) Where were the British mandates? The French mandates? (b) Which Middle Eastern countries or territories did each nation rule?
- 2. Region** How did Palestine become a center of conflict between the Arabs and European Jews?
- 3. Applying Information** “During the early 1900s, Arab nationalism became a powerful force that reshaped the Middle East.” Explain the meaning of this statement.






Early Jewish Settlers in Palestine In 1922, two years after this photograph was taken, Palestine's first census recorded a Jewish population of 84,000—11 percent of the total. Many early immigrants set up cooperative farms, called *kibbutzim*, where people owned all property in common. **Human Rights** What were the roots of Zionism?

Arab response. The “existing non-Jewish communities” were those of the Palestinian Arabs. At the time, Arabs—both Christian and Muslim—greatly outnumbered Jewish settlers in Palestine. There, as elsewhere in the Arab world, nationalism was stirring. In time, nationalism would lead Palestinians to call for their own independent state.

During the 1930s, Jewish immigration increased as anti-Semitism worsened in Europe. As a result, tensions between Arabs and Jews in Palestine heightened. Zionist groups helped Jews to buy land from Arab landowners. Often, these Arab landowners lived in the cities. They did not farm the land and were happy to make a profit by selling it.

Arab tenant farmers on those lands were suddenly forced to leave. Many migrated to the cities. With no money and few skills beyond farming, they faced severe hardship.

Landless Arab peasants joined other Arabs in attacking Jewish settlements. Jewish settlers fought back. Eventually, the conflict in Palestine erupted into war, as you will read. ( See Connections With Literature, page 807, “The Diameter of the Bomb.”)

SECTION 4 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Zionism, (b) Theodor Herzl, (c) Balfour Declaration.
- 2. Define:** (a) mandate, (b) anti-Semitism.
- 3.** (a) How did European imperialism affect the Ottoman Empire? (b) What happened to the Ottoman Empire after World War I?
- 4.** What developments encouraged the rise of nationalism in (a) Egypt, (b) Iran, (c) Arab lands?
- 5.** How did each of the following leaders try to modernize his country: (a) Atatürk, (b) Muhammad Ali, (c) Reza Khan?
- 6.** What two groups claimed the right to live in Palestine?
- 7. Understanding Causes and Effects** How did Turkish nationalism fuel the rise of Arab nationalism?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Imagine that you are a Panamanian. Write a letter to a friend in Egypt comparing the role of the United States in building and controlling the Panama Canal with that of European nations in building and controlling the Suez Canal.

CHAPTER 26 REVIEW

Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. hejira | a. hatred of Jews |
| 2. hajj | b. pilgrimage to Mecca |
| 3. crusade | c. Christian holy war against the Muslims |
| 4. mandate | d. territory administered but not owned by a member of the League of Nations |
| 5. anti-Semitism | e. Muhammad's migration to Medina from Mecca |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

- Why did the people of Mecca oppose Muhammad at first?
- What were three major contributions of Muslim civilization?
- (a) Why did Christian crusaders invade the Middle East? (b) Why did the Crusades have a limited effect on the Middle East?
- Describe the contributions of (a) Saladin, (b) Suleiman I, (c) Abbas.
- (a) What way of life did most people in the Middle East follow? (b) How was work divided among family members?
- Why did Europeans call the Ottoman Empire the "sick man of Europe"?
- How did Britain and France gain power in Egypt?
- Why did many Arabs feel betrayed by the peace settlement that ended World War I?
- (a) How did Jewish immigration cause tension in Palestine? (b) What was the result of this tension?
- Non-Arab invaders brought many changes to the Middle East. Describe two changes caused by each of the following: (a) Mongols, (b) Ottomans, (c) Safavids.
- After World War I, nationalism became a major force in the Middle East. Choose one country discussed in the chapter. For that country, (a) identify a nationalist leader or group, (b) describe one nationalist goal, (c) describe an action taken to achieve that goal.

Thinking Critically

- Making Global Connections** Islam has been a unifying force in the Middle East. (a) What force or forces unified the United States during its early history? (b) Is there a unifying force in the United States today? Explain.
- Analyzing Information** Why do you think religious leaders in the Middle East objected to some programs for westernization?

Applying Your Skills

- Reviewing Chapter Themes**
 - Islam arose in the Middle East during the 600s and spread rapidly. Discuss the reasons for Islam's appeal.
 - Islam united and shaped the culture of the Arab Empire. How did each of the following contribute to the unity of Islam: (a) Arabic language, (b) Koran, (c) Five Pillars?
- Analyzing a Painting** Study the painting of Damascus on page 573. What impression does the artist convey about life in a Middle Eastern city? (See Skill Lesson, page 428.)
- Using Your Vocabulary** Use the Glossary on pages 794–803 to review the meaning of the following terms: *imperialism*, *nationalism*, *westernization*, *secular*, *mandate*. Use each term in a separate sentence about the Middle East after World War I.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN TRANSITION



Istanbul This city, which lies partly in Europe and partly in Asia, has a long, rich history. More than 2,500 years ago, Greeks founded a colony called Byzantium on the site of present-day Istanbul. It was later the capital first of the Byzantine Empire and then of the Ottoman Empire. Today, Istanbul is the largest city and seaport in Turkey.
Geography What makes Istanbul's location so strategic?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

1. Political Directions
2. Changing Economic and Social Patterns
3. Three Nations on the Road to Modernization

Despite the July heat, thousands of Egyptians crowded into the main square of Alexandria. They cheered as their president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, denounced European domination of Egypt. Then, as he complained that the Suez Canal was still controlled by Britain and France, Nasser seemed to lose his place. "Lesseps, Lesseps," he said, loudly repeating the name of the French engineer who had designed the canal.

The Frenchman's name was a signal. Egyptian troops, listening on the radio, swung into action when they heard it. Soldiers burst into the canal offices and ordered French and British officials to turn on the radio. The astonished officials heard Nasser thunder:

“The sovereign state of Egypt will run the canal. The Suez Canal belongs to us. . . . The canal was built by Egyptians. . . . The canal will be run by Egyptians, Egyptians, Egyptians!”

Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956 led to war. British, French, and Israeli armies invaded Egypt, but in the end Egypt kept control of the canal. Nasser's bold action made him a hero in the Arab world. By taking over the canal, he toppled the last symbol of European imperialism in the Middle East.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

During the 1950s, nationalism was a powerful force in the Middle East. Although many Middle Eastern nations had won their political independence, they resented economic domination by foreign powers. Strong-willed leaders like Nasser moved forcefully to erase all traces of colonialism and set their countries on the road to modernization.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism reflected the desire of the Muslim nations of the Middle East to end western domination.
- ▶ Middle Eastern governments have taken a strong role in planning and supervising economic development.
- ▶ Oil wealth has divided the Middle East into rich and poor nations.
- ▶ Rapid population growth and urbanization have brought changes to the Middle East.
- ▶ Iran, Egypt, and Turkey each followed its own route toward modernization.

Literature Connections

For literature suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

POLITICAL DIRECTIONS

FIND OUT

- What role has pan-Arabism played in the Middle East?
- What different kinds of government have emerged in the Middle East?
- Why did civil war break out in Lebanon?
- What changes do Islamic fundamentalists seek?

As a high school student, Gamal Abdel Nasser worked actively in Egypt's nationalist movement. He believed nationalism would help "rebuild the country so that the weak and humiliated Egyptian people [could] rise up again and live as free and independent men."

After World War II, a strong sense of national pride emerged among the newly independent nations of the Middle East. Nationalists revived memories of the great Arab empires that had ruled the Middle East in the centuries after Muhammad. They called on Arabs to join forces and free themselves of domination by the West.

Pan-Arabism

By 1950, most Middle Eastern nations had won independence. Yet, they still felt the effects of western imperialism. Their borders had been drawn by Europeans, and their economies depended on the West. Although Muslims wanted western technology, some bitterly opposed the growing influence of western culture.

Goals. During the early years after independence, some nationalists turned to pan-Arabism. This movement sought to unite all Arabs based on their common language and culture. To promote Arab unity, nationalists formed the Arab League in 1945.

Political Traditions

Arab nationalists believed that a unified Arab state would be a major world power. Such a state would be strong enough to end European domination of the Middle East.

Various Arab leaders tried to make pan-Arabism work. In 1958, Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, organized Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic. The new nation was short-lived, however. Within three years, Syria broke away, charging that Egypt was dominating the union.

Obstacles to unity. Although many leaders talked about a shared Arab culture, national, ethnic and kinship ties proved to be stronger than pan-Arab unity. In Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq, many people felt greater loyalty to their own country than to a pan-Arab state.

Pan-Arabism faced other obstacles. Arab lands included many ethnic and religious groups that opposed the creation of an Arab state. In addition, Arab lands had no geographic unity. They included settlements scattered across a wide area. An economic gap between rich and poor nations as well as rivalries within the Arab world created other stumbling blocks.

Although Arab states failed to unite, pan-Arabism remains a goal of some Arab leaders. Calls for Arab unity continue to be heard in the Middle East.

In general, the period after independence was a time of experimentation as Middle Eastern nations struggled to define their individual identities. Most states built powerful central governments. In some, strongman rulers emerged.

Forms of government. Most Middle Eastern nations today are republics, though in some dictators hold power. At independence, many nations were monarchies. Some, like Egypt, Iraq, and Iran, later became republics. Others retained monarchies. Saudi Arabia and Jordan, for example, are ruled by kings.

The degree to which citizens participate in government varies greatly from one country to another. Saudi Arabia has a monarch who has absolute power. On the other hand, Jordan is a constitutional monarchy. It has an elected parliament, although the king holds most of the power.

Turkey and Israel are multiparty states that hold free elections. Their citizens are generally much more free to express their political opinions than are citizens of other nations in the region. However, certain groups, such as the Kurds in Turkey and Arabs in Israel, face discrimination. In both Syria and Iraq, by contrast, a strongman ruler and a single party, the Baath party, dominate. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein has brutally si-



The Saudi Ruling Family
Crown Prince Abdullah, center, holds a *majli*, or audience, at which his subjects can ask for help. Saudi princes and government officials grant similar audiences to hundreds of people each day. Subjects might request help in paying a daughter's dowry or in arranging an overseas trip for medical treatment.
Political System How might these meetings help the royal family maintain its power?

lenced critics and crushed opposition groups. In Iraq and Syria, many people have been killed for opposing Baath party leaders.

Islamic law. In the past, Islam was both a religion and, in theory, the basis of governments in the Middle East. The Koran is held by Muslims to be the revealed word of God. It is the highest authority for Islamic law, known as *Shariat* (shuh REE uh). Muslims recognize the Koran as governing all aspects of life. It provides guidance for political, social, and economic life, as well as for private behavior.

Today, only a few countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, rely on Shariah. Most Middle Eastern nations have western-style law codes. Even so, the influence of Shariah is gaining. It has shaped legal ideas across the region.

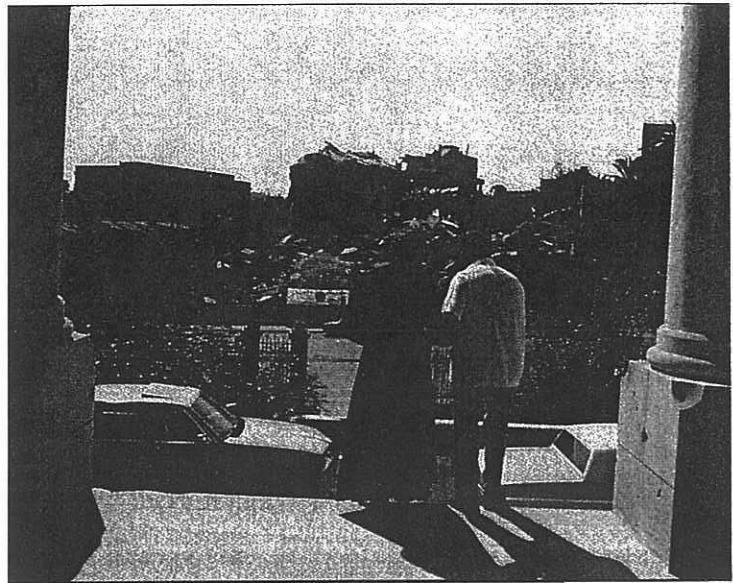
Challenges to Stability

Most Middle Eastern governments have faced challenges to their rule. The causes of unrest vary. In Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, for example, minority ethnic groups such as the Kurds have demanded self-rule. Rapid population growth and urbanization have also caused severe strains. Widespread poverty and illiteracy have added to discontent.

Civil war in Lebanon. For many years, Lebanon was one of the most unstable places in the Middle East. The country was home to a number of different Christian and Muslim groups. The Lebanese constitution divided power among the various groups. However, it gave less political power to the fast-growing Muslim population than to Christian groups. Many Muslims resented this. In 1975, Lebanon was plunged into a civil war that lasted 16 years.

Other problems fed the conflict. Many Palestinians who had fled their homes in Israel lived in Lebanon. Some backed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO launched terrorist attacks on Israel from bases in Lebanon.

Foreign involvement. In time, Syria, Israel, Iran, and the United States all became involved in the struggle. Syria and Israel occupied parts of Lebanon. Thousands of



Beirut Under Siege More than 150,000 were killed in Lebanon's long civil war. The fighting devastated the capital city of Beirut, the home of half of the population. A settlement was finally reached in 1991. Since then, much of Beirut has been rebuilt.

Diversity How did Lebanon's ethnic diversity lead to civil war?

Lebanese were killed in the fighting, and the once-thriving economy was destroyed.

Finally, in 1991, the Lebanese agreed to a power-sharing agreement that gave Muslims a greater say in government. Peace was restored to the battered country.

The Force of Islamic Tradition

After independence, Middle Eastern nations inherited many elements of western culture and technology. Leaders set up secular governments and schools. They replaced Islamic law with law codes based on western-style principles. In cities, especially, many young people embraced western music, clothing, and cultural values. Women gained more freedom to go out in public, and some stopped covering their heads and faces.

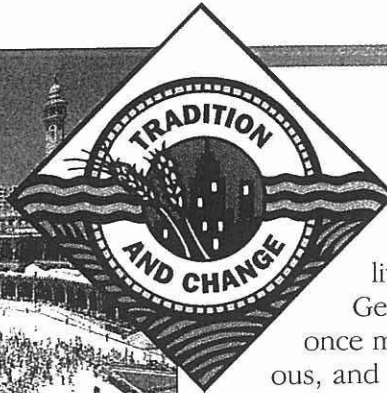
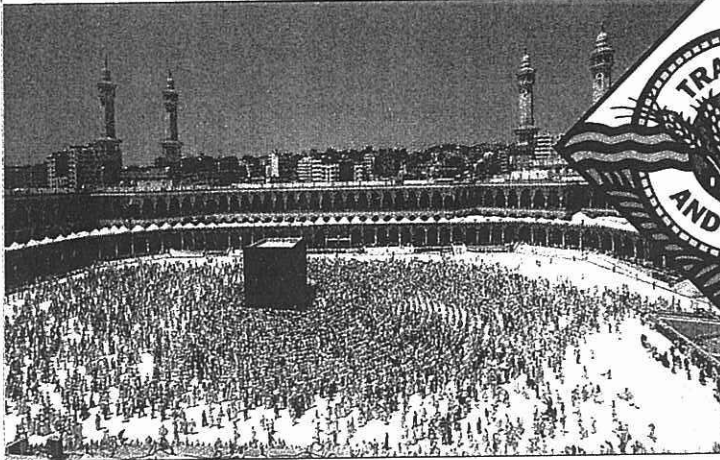
The Islamist movement. Some Muslims saw westernization as a form of colonialism. To them, it was an evil force undermining

Islamic society. They found in religion a powerful way to express their grievances. Followers demanded a return to what they saw as values set out in the Koran and early Islamic traditions. However, people in Muslim lands often disagreed about if this should be done.

The Islamists insisted that governments use the Shariah as the basis of law. They also

wanted to restore authority to religious leaders and to enforce the strict separation of men and women in public places, such as the workplace and schools.

The Islamist view spurred a religious revival throughout the Muslim world. It seemed to offer a balance to the rapid social and economic changes sweeping the Muslim world.



A Pilgrimage to Mecca

Today, as in the past, hundreds of thousands of pilgrims travel to Mecca each year. They come by plane, car, and bus. On the outskirts of Mecca, pilgrims purify themselves by washing from head to foot. Then, they wrap themselves in identical seamless white garments as a reminder that all people are equal before God. Together they proclaim:

“Here am I, O my God, here am I; no partner hast Thou, here am I; verily the praise and the grace are Thine and the empire.”

Upon entering Mecca, the thousands of white-clad pilgrims go directly to the Kaaba. They circle the holy shrine seven times, reciting prayers glorifying God. Some pilgrims touch or kiss the Black Stone, which they believe was sent by God.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam. All Muslims who can do so are expected to make the journey at least once during their lives.

Geography, war, and other factors once made the journey long and dangerous, and thousands of people and camels died along the way. In 1784, a group of pilgrims from India traveled so slowly that they arrived late for the hajj of 1785! Once the pilgrims reached Mecca, however, they forgot all the hardships they had suffered. They were thrilled by the powerful religious experience and the opportunity to meet people from all over the world. As one person noted: “the shouting of the men, the dust and sweat and the wildly excited faces around me [created] a sudden, glad stillness within me.”

Today, the hajj continues to bring together Muslims from all corners of the world. Every year during the month of pilgrimage, about 2 million Muslims stream into Mecca. Jets have reduced the travel time to a matter of hours.

The meaning of the hajj, however, remains unchanged. For devout Muslims, the hajj is the greatest moment of their life. It is an act that will count in their favor on Judgment Day.

1. What is the significance of the hajj to Muslims?
2. **Analyzing Information** How would the hajj encourage cultural diffusion?

Extremism. While most Islamists did not promote violence, one branch has turned to terrorism. Extremist groups such as al Qaeda have used terror and violence to promote their values. They claim to be involved in a holy struggle against the enemies of Islam.

Extremists have targeted the United States for attack. They accuse it of spreading its culture and values in a new form of imperialism. They also condemn the United States for aiding Israel and for helping oppressive governments stay in power.

Most Middle Eastern leaders reject the actions of Islamic extremists. They say that westernization is a natural process, not the fault of any one country. Even before the terrorist attacks on the United States, governments in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Algeria had cracked down on Islamic extremists.

However, they were not able to destroy the movements. In many Muslim countries, people who feel they have no future continue to be drawn to the extremists.

SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) pan-Arabism, (b) Shariah, (c) Islamic fundamentalism.
- (a) What was the goal of pan-Arabism? (b) What obstacles did it face?
- (a) What different kinds of governments are found in the Middle East? (b) Which countries are multiparty states that hold free elections?
- (a) Which religious groups shared power in Lebanon before 1975? (b) Why did fighting erupt among these groups?
- What are the goals of the Islamist movement?
- 6. Analyzing Ideas** How were both Arab nationalism and the Islamist movement responses to western domination?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Review the obstacles to the creation of a united Arab state. Then list some of the obstacles that might exist if the United States considered uniting with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Write a paragraph explaining why it may be difficult for several independent nations to form a single unified nation.

2

CHANGING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PATTERNS

FIND OUT

- What economic goals have Middle Eastern nations pursued?
- How have Middle Eastern nations improved their agriculture?
- How has oil affected Middle Eastern nations?
- What are some effects of rapid population growth and urbanization?

Vocabulary desalination

In Arab nations, like Syria, the middle class is growing. In 1962, Riyadh Seif and his brothers bought some sewing machines and set up a workshop. In time, the shop grew into a real factory. By 1989, Seif had become Syria's largest private employer and was making women's clothing for export. Seif credits his success to his policy of distributing profits among workers.

"I take the workers' youth and their labor," he says, "so, why shouldn't I pay them as well as possible? Every worker who stays five years at my company will be able to buy an apartment. And they will return their wages with even bigger efforts."

In Syria, the state controls most basic industries. At the same time, it supports private enterprise. People like Seif operate manufacturing businesses that produce consumer goods such as clothing, shampoo, and toys. Often, these workshops employ mostly family members. Taken together, however, they provide jobs for a large number of people.

Economic Goals and Growth

After independence, a major goal of Middle Eastern nations was to reduce European economic influence. Most nations relied on Europe for manufactured goods. Foreigners owned key industries. They also controlled the region's greatest asset—its oil resources.

Arab socialism. Some Arab nations turned to socialism as a way of taking charge of their own destinies. Under socialism, governments took control of large sections of their economies.

In the 1950s, a number of Middle Eastern countries nationalized foreign-owned companies in industries such as banking, oil, and food processing. This nationalization reduced reliance on the West to some degree. However, most countries still depended on Europe, Japan, and the United States for both high-technology goods and technological know-how.

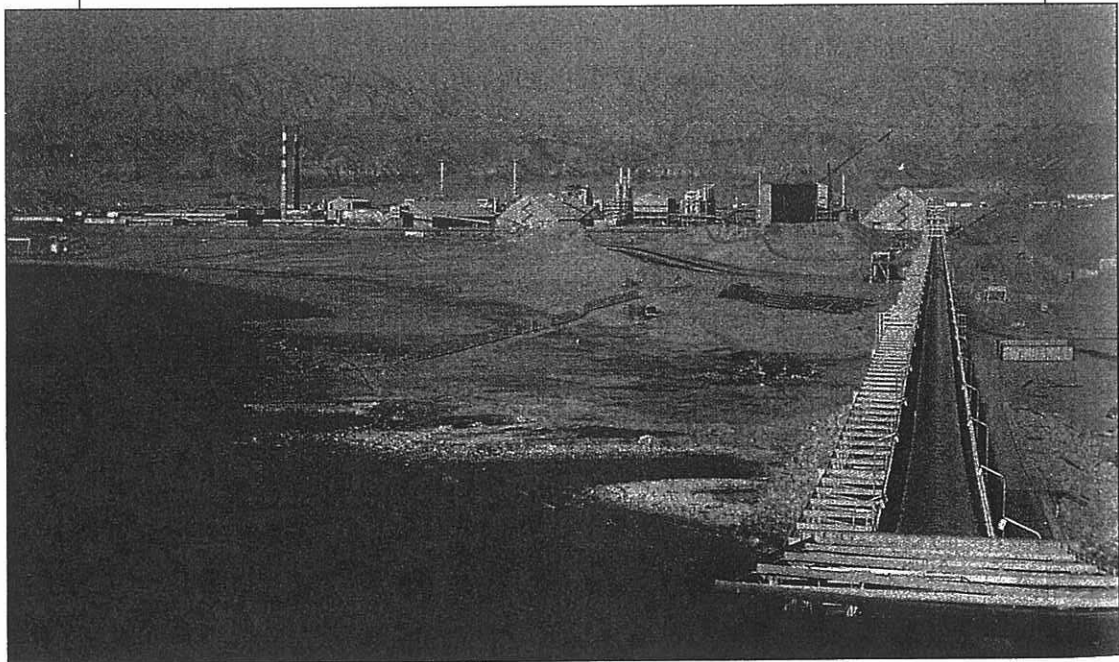
Government's key role. Throughout the Middle East, governments have taken a lead-

ing role in promoting industrial growth. In socialist countries like Iraq and Syria, the state owns nearly all businesses. Even in nonsocialist countries, the government owns most medium-size and large industries, including transportation, telephone, and utility companies. Smaller businesses, however, remain in private hands.

Some governments believe that centralized control is necessary to achieve modernization. Only governments can raise the capital to invest in factories, steel mills, roads, irrigation systems, and schools. Also, governments are able to make long-term plans. In Turkey, for example, the government has designed a huge project to turn the southeast into a rich agricultural region. (See the feature on page 554.)

Recent trends. Government control of the economy has had mixed results. Industrial output has grown since the 1950s, but state-run factories are often inefficient. By the 1990s, some countries had begun to move

Fertilizer Plant in Jordan The economy of Jordan is based on free enterprise, but government plays a key role as well. Public funds helped build this factory at the port city of Aqaba on the Red Sea. It processes phosphate, Jordan's main mineral resource, into fertilizer. **Choice** What are two advantages of centralized control of the economy?



away from strict government control toward a free market economy. They privatized some government-owned industries by selling them to private investors.

The Population Challenge

In the Middle East, as elsewhere in the developing world, rapid population growth poses a challenge to modernization. Egypt's population has tripled since 1962, jumping from 17 million to more than 58 million in 1993. In the same period, Iraq's population grew from less than 7 million to 19 million. At the current growth rate, the population of the Middle East will double in 24 years.

The population explosion puts a huge strain on the region's resources. Limited farmland and the scarcity of water make population growth an especially critical problem in the Middle East.

Some governments have tried to slow the population boom. Egypt encourages couples to delay marriage in the hope that they will have fewer children.

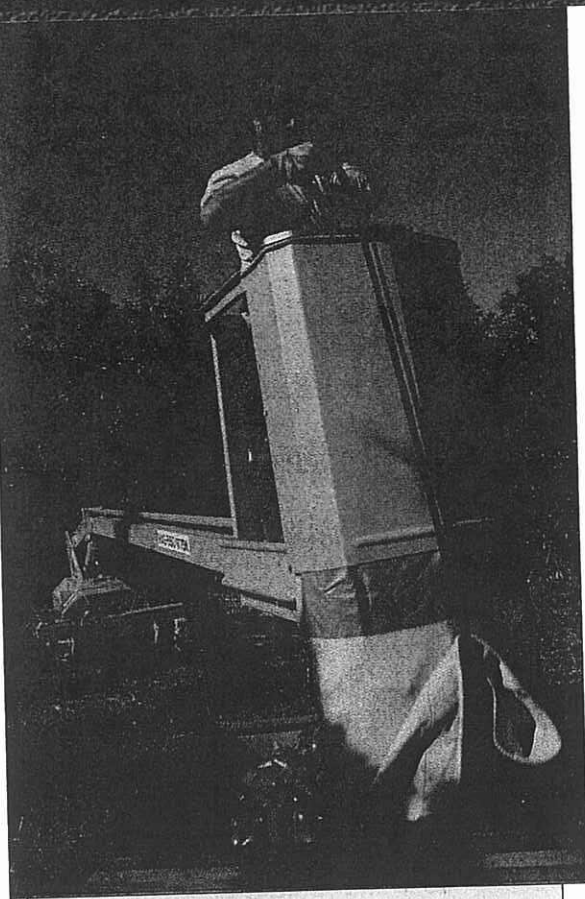
Urban dwellers tend to have smaller families because of the cost of raising children. In rural areas, however, the tradition of large families remains strong because farm families need children to help work the land and support aging family members. As a result, family planning has had only limited success.

Developing Agriculture

Most people in the Middle East still earn a living from the land. Yet, as populations grow, governments have had to import more food. To improve food production, governments have poured resources into modernizing agriculture. They have also tried to increase the output of cash crops that earn much-needed income.

New water supplies. Governments have worked to increase the amount of farmland that can be cultivated. In the Middle East, this means developing dependable water supplies such as irrigation systems.

Many countries have constructed dams, such as the Aswan High Dam in Egypt and the dams built by Syria and Turkey on the Eu-



Harvesting Avocados in Israel Mechanized farming helps produce bumper crops. Less than 5 percent of Israel's labor force works in agriculture, but fruit and vegetables are an important source of foreign earnings. Israel's major crop is citrus fruit, which is exported mainly to Britain, Germany, and Italy.

Technology How does Israel's work force differ from that of other Middle Eastern nations?

phrates River. Dams provide water for irrigation as well as hydroelectric power. Iraq and Iran have restored and modernized networks of irrigation canals.

Modern technology has allowed people to tap other water sources. They have dug deep wells and carried out specialized scientific studies to find underground reservoirs. In the Arabian Peninsula, governments have built huge plants for **desalination**, or converting sea water into fresh water for drinking and irrigation. (See the feature on page 613.)

Improved farming methods. Farmers have increased crop yields by using better seeds and fertilizers, which were developed during the Green Revolution. Machines such as seed

drills, tractors, and threshing machines have also helped increase output.

Israel has pioneered new farming methods such as "fertigation," a method for pumping water and fertilizer directly to the roots of plants. Computers control the flow of liquid, enabling farmers to raise bumper crops of grain, fruit, and vegetables. The high cost of fertigation, however, puts it beyond the reach of many developing countries.

Land reform. In the 1950s, countries such as Iran, Turkey, and Syria undertook land reform programs. By redistributing land to poor farmers, the governments of these countries hoped to increase food output, end rural poverty, and reduce the power of landlords.

Under Nasser, Egypt forced large landlords to sell much of their land to landless peasants. The government set up programs to teach peasants modern farming methods and provide them with fertilizers and other basic supplies. Land reform was politically popular, but it had limited economic success because farmers still lacked the training and supplies they needed to produce efficiently.

The Role of Oil

The Middle East has 60 percent of the world's oil reserves. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, and several small states along the Persian Gulf are rich in oil. Except for Iran, all of these states have small populations. A clear division exists between them and their more densely populated, poorer neighbors.

Oil-rich nations have enjoyed remarkable growth. Using the enormous profits from oil, they have developed industries, built handsome new capital cities, invested in modern hospitals, and raised the standard of living of their people. Kuwait, for example, provides free education and health care for all its citizens. Oil-producing nations have also built pipelines, ports, and refineries to handle their oil exports.

Oil resources are unevenly distributed, but since the late 1960s, the entire Middle East has benefited from oil wealth. Oil-rich

nations have given money and loans to poorer neighbors. More important, in the 1970s and 1980s, several million workers from Egypt, Jordan, Yemen, and other Muslim countries found jobs in oil-producing countries. These "guest workers" sent much of their earnings to families back home. In this way, they helped spread the oil wealth to poorer nations.

Urban Growth

Modernization and the population explosion have contributed to the rapid growth of Middle Eastern cities. Baghdad, Iraq, has grown from a city of 550,000 people in 1965 to one that has more than 5 million today. The population of the Iranian capital, Tehran, soared from nearly 2 million to more than 13 million in the same period. Many newcomers are landless farmers looking for work. Others are young people from prosperous rural families who move to the cities seeking higher education and better jobs.

Adjusting to city life. Cities are bewildering places for newcomers. They often live packed together in crowded neighborhoods and compete for scarce jobs. Some find only part-time or short-term work. Others become peddlers, selling bread, fruit, tea, clothing, and hundreds of other goods on the streets.

Because housing is limited, millions of people live in flimsy shacks on the edge of the city. In Turkey, these shantytowns are called *gecekondu*, which means "houses built overnight." Moroccans call them *bidonvilles*, or "tin-can cities." In Egypt, nearly a million residents in Cairo have crowded into makeshift houses built among the tombs and monuments of the City of the Dead, a cemetery outside the capital.

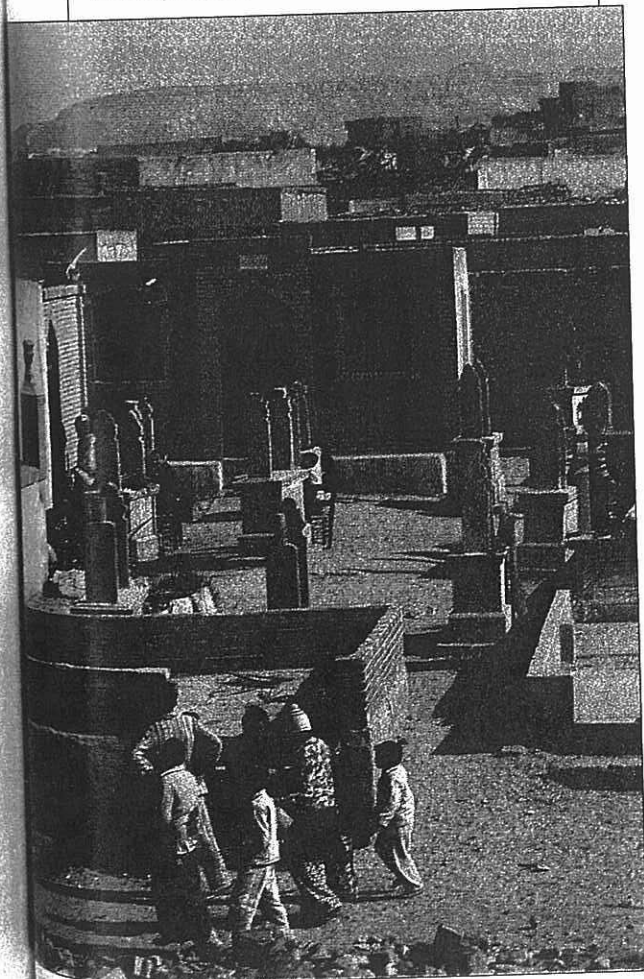
In cities, people from the same village often cluster together in the same neighborhoods. They worship at the same mosque and gather at the same coffeehouse to exchange news and gossip. Networks of families and friends help each other find jobs and housing. A Lebanese engineer who worked

for an airline proudly noted the help he had given family members. "About 40 of my relatives work for the airline," he said.

Conflict between generations. Children usually adapt to city life more quickly than do their parents. One reason is that children attend school and learn to read, while their parents often remain illiterate. Differences in education and attitudes can create conflict between the generations.

Cairo's City of the Dead Living space is so limited in Cairo that people have put up small houses among the tombs of this ancient cemetery. Many newcomers from rural areas who cannot afford the scarce and expensive apartments in Cairo live here.

Scarcity Why is decent housing unavailable in many Middle Eastern cities?



Many young people want fashionable clothing, cassette tapes, and other items that their parents think are foolish luxuries. Teenagers watch music videos and go to see foreign films. Parents worry that foreign ideas are undermining traditional values. Some Middle Eastern governments agree. Saudi Arabia and Iran have banned western music, television shows, and movies.

Dating is rare in much of the Middle East. In many families, parents still arrange marriages for their children. Today, however, most young women and men expect to have some say in choosing their marriage partner.

Women's Lives

The status of women varies from one country to another in the Middle East, depending on each nation's government, laws, and social traditions. In conservative places like Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, or Tehran, Iran, the law requires women to be veiled when they go outside their homes. In other Middle Eastern cities, such as Ankara, Cairo, Damascus, and Amman, most women walk along the streets freely and remain unveiled.

Education and work. Everywhere, the number of women completing high school and earning university degrees is growing. Women are entering the work force as doctors, lawyers, journalists, and government officials.

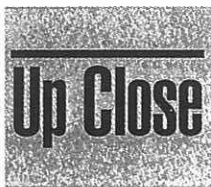
Whether or not they work outside the home, women are responsible for the housework and child care. Hadiya, a factory worker in Cairo, gets up at 5 A.M. to prepare food for her husband and son. She takes the boy to nursery school, works a full day on the job, then returns home to cook, clean, and take care of her son until he goes to bed. She says:

“ Sometimes my husband will shop or take the boy out if he sees me tired. But all of this is a matter of whim. If I complain, he tells me to leave work and get along without my pay. But he knows we couldn't do that, not in today's conditions. ”

Recent trends. The spread of Islamic fundamentalism has affected Muslim women from all social classes. Many women are choosing to return to traditional dress—a floor-length garment and a scarf that covers the head and neck. To them, these clothes reinforce their identity as Muslims and women in the face of growing western influence. “This dress is to protect my dignity as a woman,” says an Egyptian journalist. Another Egyptian woman, who disagreed with the fundamentalists, observed:

“As long as women are covering their heads and not their minds, it is an individual expression.”

In Arab countries, some women have organized themselves to challenge the social patterns of the past. They argue that Islamic law regarding women was developed to protect women in the 600s. Islam, they say, must adapt to the modern world. Muslim women often face difficult choices, however, as they try to change social attitudes inherited from the past.



Up Close

Pioneering Change

Boutaina Shaaban faced a difficult dilemma—to live her own life or obey her parents’ wishes. Shaaban and her eight brothers and sisters grew up in a Syrian village. Her father “did his utmost to ensure his daughters had an equal education to his sons.”

Shaaban did brilliantly in high school. However, when she graduated, everyone urged her to get a two-year teaching certificate, she said, “so that I could help my father bring up my younger brothers and sisters.” Shaaban wanted to study English literature at the university. With her father’s help, she managed to fulfill her dream. She became the first young woman to leave her village on her own to study at the University of Damascus in the Syrian capital. From there, she went to England for a graduate degree.



Boutaina Shaaban Ever since she made the difficult decision to break with tradition in her own life, Boutaina Shaaban has encouraged other Arab women to do the same. Now a professor at Damascus University, Shaaban has written a book describing her talks with Arab women about their lives. **Change** Why do most Arab women continue to follow Islamic traditions?

In England, Shaaban fell in love with an Iraqi named Khalil Jawad. She returned home to get her parents’ approval before marrying. But her parents rejected the young man.

“The real problem was that I was the first woman they had known to choose her husband quite independently of her father’s and brothers’ wishes. My father [repeated] that people in the village were going to say I had brought my husband with me and that, like a coward, my father had to endorse my choice. Although all my older brothers got married to women of their own choice, . . . they all denied me the same right because . . . I was a woman.”

Shaaban angrily rejected the double standard that gave men rights that were denied to

women. Yet, she loved her family and felt great pressure to obey them. Eventually, her father told her to either leave Jawad or leave home and never see her parents again. Sadly, she said goodbye to her family and has not seen them since.

In Arab countries, as well as elsewhere, families are closely knit. Children learn to respect male authority and preserve the family honor. Shaaban recalls that when she married in 1981 some people thought she was ungrateful. After all, her family had given her an excellent education, and she had abandoned them to marry as she wished.

Yet, Shaaban does not regret her decision. Today, she says, women feel more free to "marry men of their choice, regardless of family pressures or social considerations."

“In a way, I became a pioneer for a younger generation which reaped the fruits of my sacrifice. One of my younger sisters, for example, just had to name the man she chose to be given my father’s blessing and many wonderful presents besides.”

Unlike Shaaban, many women have made the choice to follow traditional social customs. They make that decision to preserve

family life. They believe that crime, drugs, alcoholism, and other problems in western society are the result of the failure of the family. They accept Muslim traditions as a guide for contemporary behavior. ■

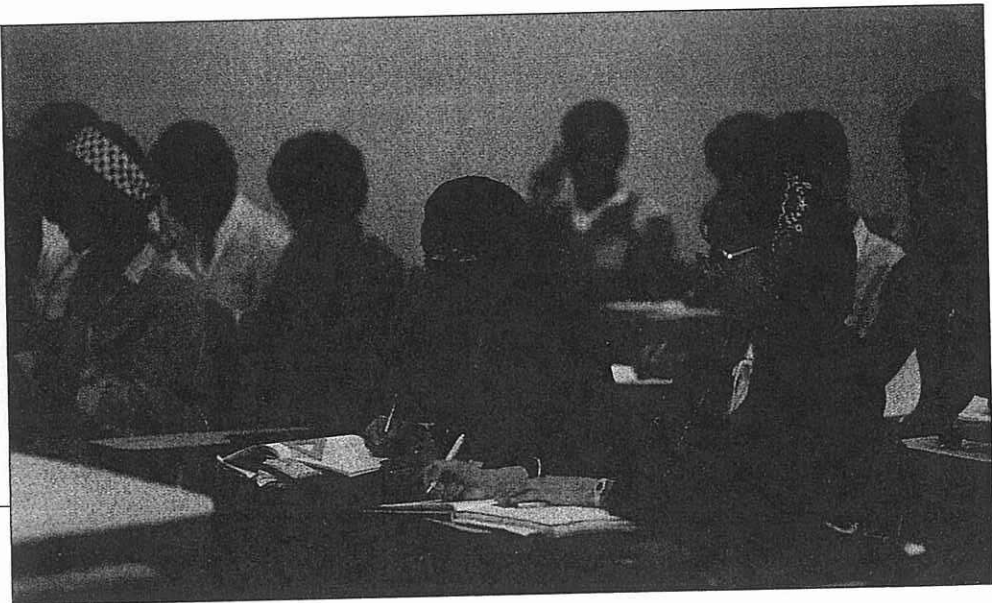
Education

Middle Eastern nations have placed great emphasis on education. At independence, the new nations of the Middle East depended on foreign engineers and skilled workers. "Almost all the architects who build new houses, new factories, and new schools are foreigners," complained an Iranian. "In the secondary and high schools, courses are given by . . . French, German, and American professors!"

In most Middle Eastern countries, few people had the technical training needed to run modern factories. Literacy rates were low, and most children had little if any schooling.

Since the 1950s, Middle Eastern nations have made rapid progress toward expanding education. Oil-rich countries like Kuwait as well as poorer countries like Turkey have invested millions in building schools and training teachers. Other countries have not only raised literacy rates but also doubled and tripled the number of high school graduates.

A Classroom in Yemen
Middle Eastern countries with low literacy rates are working to improve education. When Yemen first began public education in the 1950s, only 5 percent of its people could read and write. Today, this figure has increased to almost 40 percent and is steadily growing. **Change**
Why do you think these men and women are attending school?



Despite great progress, education is uneven. Literacy varies from one country to another, between urban and rural areas, and between social classes. For example, the adult literacy rate in Yemen is less than 40 percent, and in Israel it is more than 90 percent.

Although most boys attend school, education for girls lags in many countries. In rural families, where a child's labor is needed, one or more boys may go to school, but the girls do not. Many parents think girls do not need to learn to read and write. Still, the enrollment of girls is growing. In Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, and the United Arab Emirates, for example, all girls attend school.

The population explosion has created problems in education. Each year, the growing number of school-age children outpaces the number of schools and teachers. Countries must spend an ever-larger part of their limited budgets on education. They do so, however, because a skilled and literate population is essential to a modern nation.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** fertigation.
2. **Define:** desalination.
3. (a) List three economic goals of Middle Eastern nations. (b) Give an example of how they have tried to achieve one of these goals.
4. Describe three ways in which Middle Eastern nations have tried to expand agriculture.
5. (a) How have oil-rich nations benefited from oil profits? (b) How has oil wealth affected the poorer nations of the Middle East?
6. What social changes has urbanization brought to the Middle East?
7. **Analyzing Ideas** Why is a skilled and literate population essential to a modern nation?
8. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a paragraph comparing the issues that create conflicts between generations in the United States and in the Middle East.

3

THREE NATIONS ON THE ROAD TO MODERNIZATION

FIND OUT

What were the causes of the Islamic revolution in Iran?

What economic policies have Egyptian leaders followed?

How has Turkey progressed toward modernization?

Vocabulary theocracy

In 1971, Iran's ruler, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, organized a fantastic spectacle to celebrate 2,500 years of Persian (Iranian) monarchy. His own family was a newcomer among the many dynasties that had ruled Iran. Yet, the shah turned to Iran's splendid past to strengthen his own image in the eyes of his people and the world.

Eight years later, the shah and his family had to flee their homeland as religious revolutionary forces swept into power. The new rulers of Iran also appealed to the past. Their Islamic revolution grew out of deep attachments to Muslim traditions dating from the time of Muhammad.

In this section, you will read about three of the largest and most influential nations of the Middle East: Iran, Egypt, and Turkey. Each has a history that is rooted in ancient civilizations. Each has followed its own path to modernization.

Iran

Iran is the second-largest country in the Middle East and has the third-largest population. Its huge oil resources, strategic location

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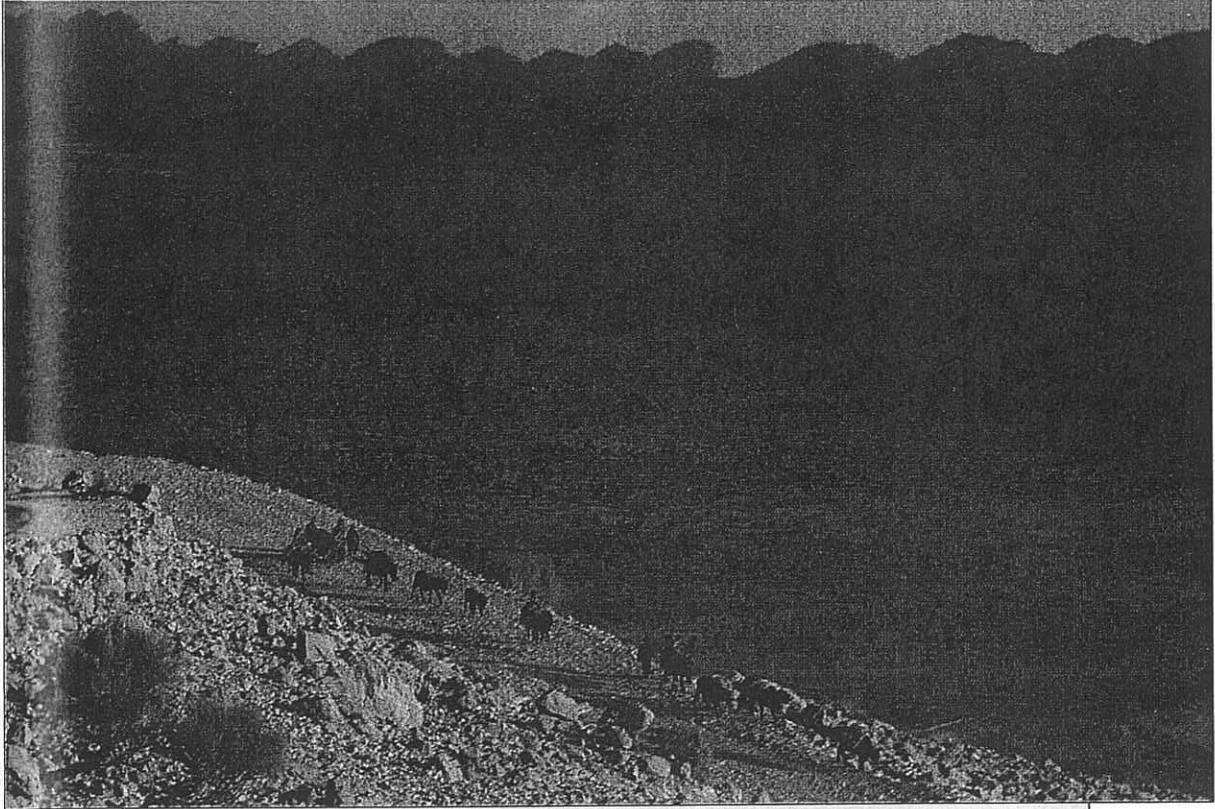
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Nomads in Iran The mountainous land of south-central Iran is the home of the Qashqai, a nomadic group of about 400,000 people. In search of pasture lands for their sheep, Qashqai often travel several hundred miles between summer camps in the highlands and winter camps in the lowlands. **Environment** Why might the Qashqai have to travel so far to find pastures?

on the Persian Gulf, and Islamic revolution have made it a focus of world attention.

Land and resources. Much of Iran is a dry, rugged plateau. Most Iranians live in the northeast, where the rainfall is adequate for farming. Tehran, the capital, is located in this fertile region. Like other Iranian cities, Tehran has grown rapidly. Still, about one third of Iranians are farmers who produce a variety of crops.

Oil plays a dominant role in Iran's economy, accounting for more than 25 percent of the national income and 75 percent of the value of its exports. Iran's oil reserves are the third largest in the Middle East and the fourth largest in the world. Output decreased sharply after the 1979 revolution and a long war with Iraq. Today, the country is struggling to return to prewar levels of oil production.

The people. Iran is home to more than a dozen ethnic groups, including Persians,

Kurds, Baluchis, and Armenians. Only a small percentage of the people are Arabs. Most Iranians speak Persian, a modern form of the language of ancient Persia. Most Iranians are Muslims, but Iran is the only Middle Eastern nation where Shiites are in the majority.

Modernization. As elsewhere in the developing world, nationalism fueled a drive to modernize. Iran was the first Middle Eastern country to end western control of its oil resources. In 1951, it nationalized its oil wells and refineries. During the 1950s and 1960s, the shah used wealth from oil to launch sweeping economic and social reforms. His goal was to make Iran "comparable to the most developed countries in the world."

Under a land reform program, the shah broke up large estates and distributed the land to peasants. He improved health care and education. The government financed water projects and new roads and encouraged

industrial growth. The shah's social reforms also gave women new rights, including the right to vote.

The reforms provoked angry protests, especially from religious leaders. Critics denounced government corruption and the shah's failure to help the poor. They bitterly criticized Iran's alliance with the United States and the shah's use of secret police to silence dissent. They also condemned the shah's efforts to replace Islamic traditions with secular, western ideas.

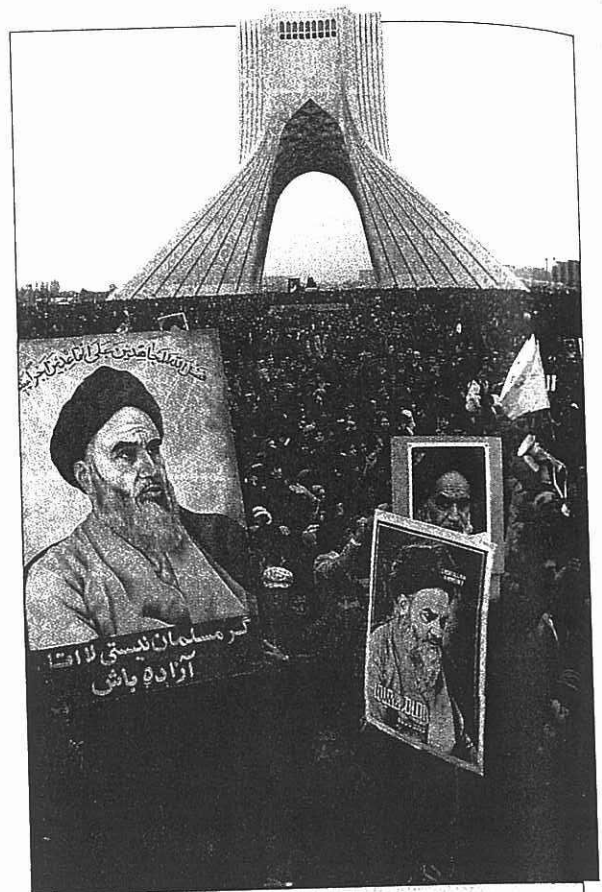
Islamic revolution. The shah's policies did not improve life for many Iranians. Instead, a growing gap separated the small group of westernized Iranians from the rest of the Iranian people. These conditions led many Iranians to embrace the ideas of an outspoken cleric, the Ayatollah* Ruhollah Khomeini (eye uh TOH loh roo HOH loh koh may nee). In angry sermons, Khomeini called on Iranians to defend their values. "An enlightened heart cannot stand by silently and watch while traditions and honor are trampled upon," he said.

In 1979, supporters of Khomeini overthrew the shah. They made Iran into a theocracy, a government ruled by religious leaders. They replaced secular courts with religious courts and enforced Muslim traditions, such as the requirement that women wear veils in public. Strict new laws banned western music and movies. As part of their antiwestern campaign, revolutionaries held 52 American citizens hostages for more than a year.

Iran's revolutionaries hoped to spark an Islamic revolution that would sweep the Muslim world. While the Islamic religious revival had an impact outside Iran, it did not trigger revolutions elsewhere. Predominately Sunni countries were not open to the message of Iran's Shiite leaders. Furthermore, most Muslim countries spoke a different language and had different political and social conditions.

Economic patterns. Iran's economy slowed after the revolution. Because of a United

**Ayatollah* is a Persian word that means "sign of Allah." It is the highest title that can be held by a Shiite Muslim religious leader.



Demonstration in Tehran These Iranians are carrying pictures of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Islamic fundamentalists like these strongly supported his rule. Iran today seeks closer ties with other nations, but not with the United States, which it calls "the symbol of bullying . . . and cruelty to the weak nations of the world." **Culture** Why does Iran accept some western practices but reject others?

States trade boycott, Iran could not get spare parts for factories. This forced many of them to close. A long and destructive war with Iraq further disrupted the economy. You will read about this war in the next chapter.

The new Islamic government promoted land reform and irrigation projects. When the Iran-Iraq war ended, the government moved resources from fighting to rebuilding the economy. Today, Iran has industries ranging from food processing to auto assembly plants.

Iran faces many economic challenges. Perhaps the greatest arises from its huge population of young people. They will soon need education and jobs. To provide food, agricultural output must keep up with demand. Crops require water, but Iran faces severe water shortages from long-term drought. The price of oil is another concern. When oil prices fall, Iran's income declines.

Recent trends. After Khomeini died in 1989, new leaders slowly made changes. They renewed some ties to western nations that had been cut after the revolution. In 1999, Iran celebrated 20 years of its Islamic revolution. By then, the country was slowly moving toward democracy by holding elections.

The elections were limited to Islamic candidates. Still, the results revealed tensions between reformers and traditionalists within the Islamist movement. Reformers want to quicken the pace of economic and social change. Traditionalists

reject modernizing influences that they believe might undermine Islamic principles.

Egypt

As in Iran, nationalism helped shape modern Egypt. Egypt, however, lacks Iran's vast oil resources, and its geography poses obstacles to development.

Land and people. Egypt has the largest population in the Middle East and ranks third in area. Because most of Egypt is desert, about 95 percent of Egyptians live on just 5 percent of the land. Cities, towns, and villages border a narrow strip of land along the Nile River. Almost 12 percent of Egypt's people live in Cairo.

Despite urban growth, about 40 percent of the Egyptian people are still farmers. Today, as in the past, the fertile Nile Valley is Egypt's greatest natural resource. Developing

Downtown Cairo With a rapidly growing population, Egypt is troubled with high unemployment. As a result, many young men travel to other Arab countries in search of jobs. In the early 1990s, over 2 million Egyptians were working abroad and sending money home to support their families. **Geography** How might Egypt's geography contribute to unemployment?



agriculture is a major goal of the government's economic policies.

Nasser's policies. In the 1950s, President Gamal Abdel Nasser promoted Arab socialism. He increased the economic power of the government by nationalizing industries and taking control of foreign-owned businesses, including the Suez Canal. He redistributed land to poor farmers and increased the wages of urban workers. Nasser's goal was to expand farm output and end economic dependence on the West by developing Egypt's industry.

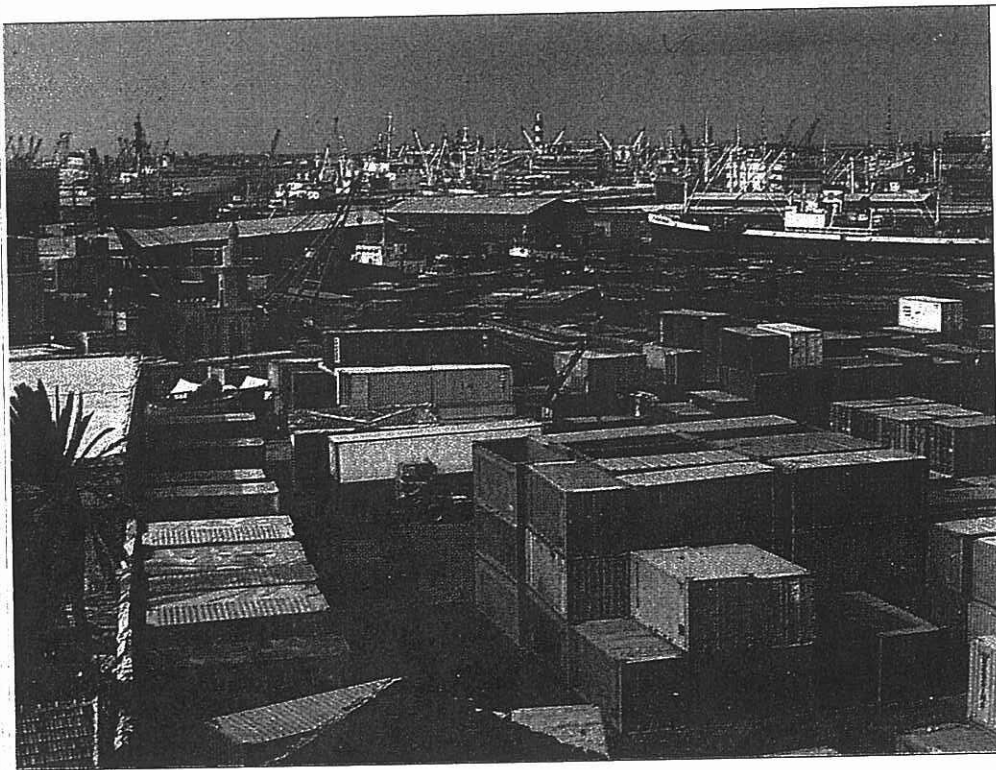
With foreign loans and grants, first from the United States and then from the Soviet Union, Nasser financed the building of the Aswan High Dam. This huge dam allowed Egypt to irrigate more farmland, control Nile flooding, and produce low-cost hydroelectric power for factories and homes. Lake Nasser, which formed behind the dam, also supported a fishing industry.

The dam has had environmental costs, however. It ended the annual Nile flood, which brought fertile soil to the valley. Today, Egyptian farmers must buy costly chemical

fertilizers. Without new deposits of soil at the Nile delta, coastal erosion has increased. Also, changes in the Nile water led to reduced fish life in the Mediterranean.

Economic patterns. Under Nasser, Egypt made some economic progress. It built new industries, such as textiles, chemicals, and steel. However, Arab-Israeli tensions led to two disastrous wars. Also, Egypt had trouble getting the capital it needed to invest in industry. Western nations distrusted Nasser's socialist economic policies and feared they would not be repaid if they lent money to Egypt. In addition, they were concerned about Nasser's close relationship with the Soviet Union.

Nasser's successor, Anwar Sadat, moved away from Arab socialism. However, the government continued to play a major role in the economy. Sadat encouraged an economic "open door" policy. He welcomed foreign investment and supported private industry. He also took Egypt on a new course in foreign affairs and became the first Arab leader to make peace with Israel. (See Chapter 28.) Other



The Port of Alexandria
Much of Egypt's trade passes through Alexandria. Egypt remains an agricultural nation, whose main export is cotton. However, Egypt also is building steel mills, light industries, and food processing plants as it becomes industrialized.
Choice How does the rapidly growing population of Egypt encourage the growth of industry?

Arab nations condemned his action. In 1981, after several years of economic distress, Sadat was killed by Muslim extremists.

Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's new president, focused on the country's economic ills. He tried to balance the needs of a large population with the requirement to repay Egypt's foreign debts. However, cuts in social programs hurt thousands of Egyptians. Islamist groups won popular support by setting up aid programs among the poor.

Some Islamist groups turned to terrorism to fight Mubarak. The worst attack came in 1997. In a bid to destroy Egypt's tourist industry, a band of terrorists brutally murdered 58 foreign tourists, including women and children. These tactics brought a harsh government crackdown and cost the terrorists popular support.

In foreign affairs, Mubarak took a cautious approach. He supported peace with Israel but improved ties with other Arab nations. He remained a key ally of the United States, which provided much aid to Egypt. Islamic extremists, however, bitterly criticized American support for Mubarak's rule.

Turkey

Turkey links the Middle East and Europe. Most of Turkey, including its capital, Ankara, lies in Asia Minor. A tiny area is located in Europe. Several bridges across the Bosphorus link Europe and Asia.

Turkey's location gives it control of the sea route that connects the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Ships from the former Soviet Union and parts of Eastern Europe must pass through the Turkish Straits to reach the Mediterranean, Africa, and beyond.

During the Cold War, Turkey built close economic and military ties with the West. It joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a western military alliance.

For years, Turkey also has sought to join the European Union (EU). Membership in the EU would help increase its trade and other ties with Europe. However, many Europeans are reluctant to open their borders to Turkey's large Muslim population.

Land and people. Unlike other Middle Eastern countries, Turkey has no deserts. Like Iran, it has high, arid plateaus. Its land varies from a tropical southern coast to cooler interior highlands. In these diverse climates, farmers cultivate crops ranging from bananas and olives to wheat and potatoes.

Although nearly all Turks are Sunni Muslims, they are not Arabs. Turks take pride in their distinct language, culture, and history. For hundreds of years, their huge Ottoman Empire dominated the Middle East and parts of Europe.

About 10 to 12 million Turkish people are Kurds. Most of them live in the mountains of the southeast. As in Iran and Iraq, Turkish Kurds faced discrimination and repression. In an attempt to suppress Kurdish culture, the Turkish government forbade teaching the Kurdish language in schools.

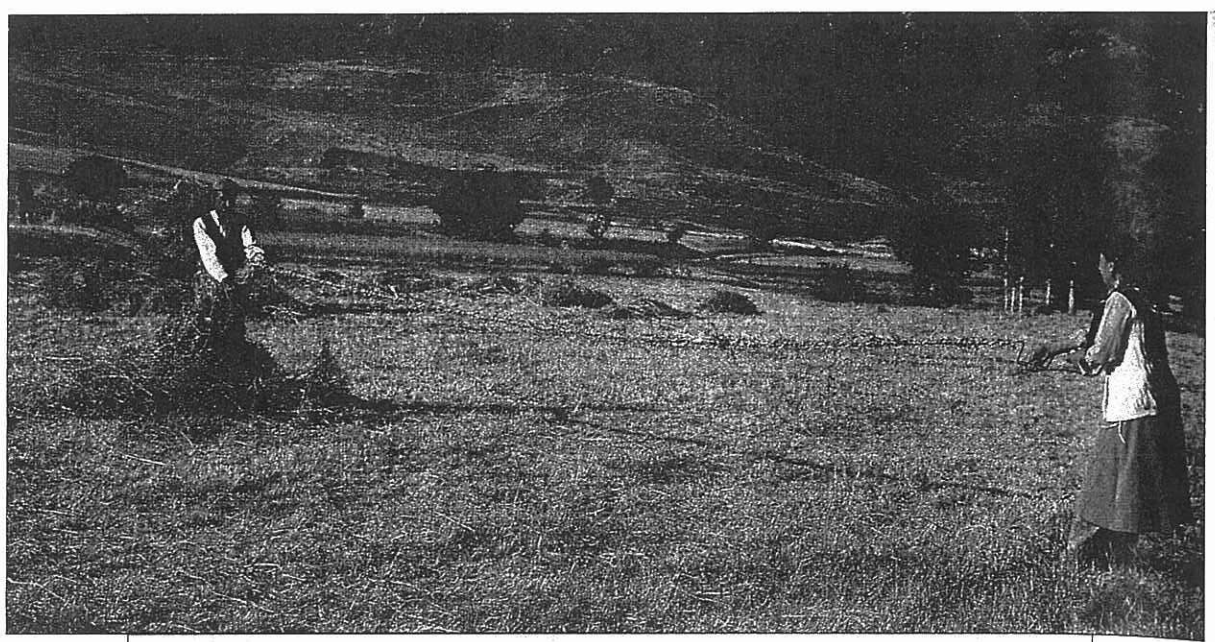
This policy fed violence in Turkey. It has led to Kurdish demands for self-rule or an independent state. Kurdish separatists have battled government forces, and some have turned to terrorism. Kurds have also launched guerrilla attacks in nearby countries, such as Iraq and Iran, which have large Kurdish minorities. At present, hopes remain dim for peaceful settlement of the Kurdish issue.

Economic patterns. Since the 1920s, Turkey has built itself into a modern, secular state. Today, Turkey has one of the most balanced economies in the Middle East. It has a mix of modern industry and trade, along with traditional agriculture. Irrigation projects, new fertilizers, and better seed have helped Turkish farmers increase food output.

At the same time, Turkey has developed a number of industries, such as automobile manufacturing, textiles, and food processing. To make up for its lack of oil, Turkey has built dams that provide hydroelectric power.

In the past, the government exercised substantial control over the economy. More recently, it has reduced its role in the economy. It has privatized some industries and set up joint ventures with European companies.

Challenges. Despite progress toward modernization, Turkey faces many challenges. Its



Kurdish Farmers in Turkey About half of the world's 20 million Kurds live in Turkey. The Kurds have always resisted foreign rulers. For centuries, they have tried to establish their own nation in the mountainous region where the borders of Turkey, Iran, and Iraq meet. **Human Rights** Why might Turkey, Iran, and Iraq discriminate against the Kurds?

population is growing faster than the economy's ability to create new jobs. Many Turks have been forced to find work in Western Europe. The money they send home helps their families and the Turkish economy as well. However, economic slowdowns and anti-foreign feeling in Europe have forced some Turks to return home.

At times, economic or political crises have led to violence. Turkey has many political parties, and rivalry among them has sometimes caused unrest. On occasion, the military has seized power to restore order. Each time, however, the military has voluntarily handed power back to civilian hands.

Islamic political parties have gained support in recent years. Islamic reformers reject western values. Furthermore, their religious goals clash with Turkey's secular constitution.

The Turkish government and the military oppose any change in the separation between government and religion. The government has banned some Islamic political parties. Thus, Turkey today stands at a crossroads between the demands of Islamic reformers and those in the government and military who favor modernization.

SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Iran, (b) Egypt, (c) Turkey, (d) Ankara, (e) Istanbul.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, (b) Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, (c) Gamal Abdel Nasser, (d) Aswan High Dam, (e) Anwar Sadat, (f) Hosni Mubarak, (g) Kurds.
- 3. Define:** theocracy.
- 4.** (a) Why did Islamist clerics in Iran dislike the reforms made by the shah's government? (b) How have the clerics changed Iran?
- 5.** (a) What economic policies did Nasser introduce? (b) How did Sadat and Mubarak change Nasser's policies?
- 6.** (a) Describe three steps that Turkey has taken toward modernization. (b) Describe three challenges that Turkey faces today.
- 7. Comparing** (a) What goals do Iran, Egypt, and Turkey have in common? (b) Compare the ways in which each nation has pursued its goals.
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** In a brief paragraph, describe how your life might be different if you lived in Iran.

CHAPTER 27 REVIEW

Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. pan-Arabism | a. method of pumping water and fertilizer to the roots of plants |
| 2. Shariah | b. nation ruled by religious leaders |
| 3. fertigation | c. movement to unite all Arabs based on their common language and culture |
| 4. desalination | d. Islamic law |
| 5. theocracy | e. process of converting sea water into fresh water |

Reviewing the Main Idea

1. How has Islamic law influenced Middle Eastern governments?
2. Describe three causes of instability in the Middle East.
3. What steps have Middle Eastern governments taken to promote economic growth?
4. How has rapid population growth in the Middle East affected agriculture?
5. Why did the shah's efforts to modernize Iran face opposition?
6. Why has Egypt had difficulties in its efforts to modernize?
7. (a) How is Turkey similar to other Middle Eastern nations? (b) How is it different?
4. Middle Eastern governments have taken a leading role in overseeing economic development. (a) Describe the steps taken by the governments of Egypt and Turkey to encourage modernization. (b) How have their economic policies affected Islamic clerics?

Thinking Critically

1. **Analyzing Ideas** How does the Islamist movement offer an alternative to westernization in some nations of the Middle East?
2. **Making Global Connections** If the population of the United States were distributed like that of Egypt, most Americans would live in an area the size of Montana. (a) How has geography created hardships for Egypt? (b) How has it favored the United States?

Reviewing Chapter Themes

1. Middle Eastern nations have tried to reduce western domination in various ways. (a) How did Arab socialists seek to reduce dependence on the West? (b) What alternative does the Islamist movement offer to western cultural influences?
2. Oil has divided the Middle East into "have" and "have-not" nations. (a) How have oil-rich nations used their wealth to modernize? (b) How have poorer Middle East nations benefited from the wealth of other nations?
3. Rapid population growth poses a challenge to modernization. Describe what problems the population boom creates in (a) food production, (b) cities, (c) education.

Applying Your Skills

1. **Comparing Points of View** Review the section titled "Women's Lives" and the Up Close, "A Bitter Choice," on pages 600–601. (a) What different points of view about women are presented? (b) What arguments does each side use to support its point of view? (c) With which side do you agree? Explain. (See Skill Lesson, page 629.)
2. **Making a Generalization** Make a generalization about the challenges Middle Eastern societies face as they try to modernize. Then, give at least two facts to support your generalization.

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Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East



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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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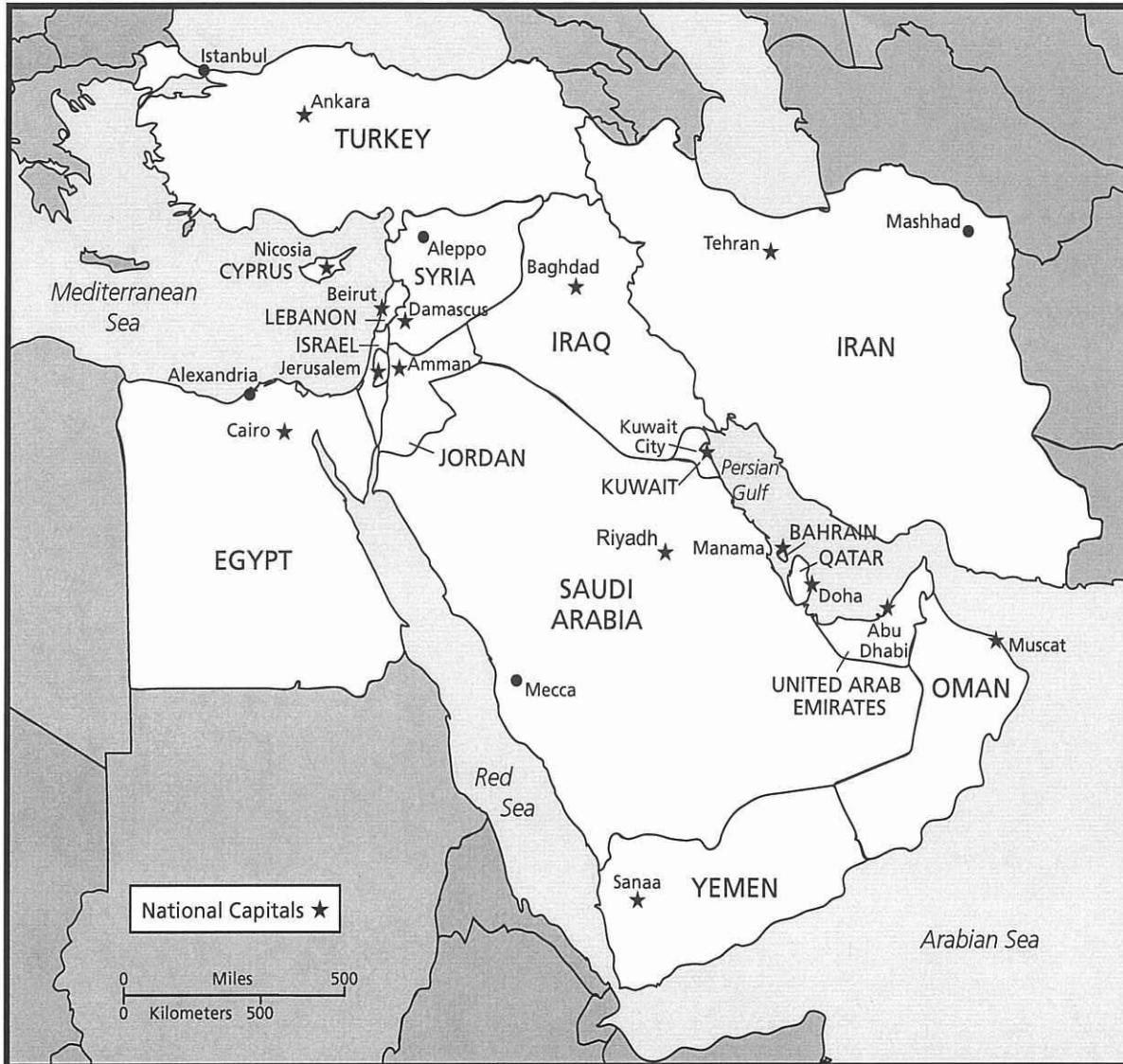
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The Middle East



Note to Students

Western geographers originally coined the term “Middle East” in the early twentieth century to indicate the land between the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia. Today, the term “Middle East” can be used to describe a region spanning countries as far apart as Morocco in North Africa to Pakistan in Southeast Asia. In this reading, the term “Middle East” refers to the countries highlighted above, stretching from Egypt in the west to Iran in the east. The term “Arab world” refers to the countries in which Arabic is widely spoken. This includes countries in North and East Africa and extends to the Persian Gulf. It does not include Iran.



Introduction: After September 11

On September 11, 2001, terrorists angry about the U.S. military's presence in Saudi Arabia and the U.S. role in the Middle East attacked the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. The terrorists were followers of Osama bin Laden, a multi-millionaire originally from Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden had been implicated in attacks on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998. Other reports linked him and his organization, al Qaeda (loosely translated as "the base"), to the bombing deaths of U.S. military personnel in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and the attack on the USS *Cole* by suicide bombers in 2000 that killed nineteen U.S. sailors.

Before September 11, 2001, the United States had cut its defense budget. Some U.S. troops had been withdrawn from overseas bases. Foreign aid spending on most parts of the world had been slashed. After September 11, U.S. leaders and the U.S. public began to reconsider carefully U.S. policies in the Middle East as well as the nation's role in the world. In early 2002, President George W. Bush identified two Middle-Eastern countries, Iran and Iraq, as part of an "axis of evil" that threatened the security of the United States and the world.

In the spring of 2003, U.S.-led military forces raced through the Iraqi desert, swept aside Saddam Hussein's military, and occupied Iraq. Now in its sixth year, the war in Iraq has caused divisions both at home and abroad. The political and economic consequences of the occupation, as well as the physical destruction in Iraq, promise to ripple across the landscape of the Middle East for years to come.

In addition to the September 11 attacks and the war in Iraq, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and concerns about Iran's nuclear ambitions also put the Middle East on the forefront of the minds of many U.S. citizens.

Why does the United States maintain an active role in the Middle East?

The United States maintains an active role in the Middle East for four main reasons. First, the United States wants to ensure the steady flow of oil, the fuel which currently drives most of the world's economies. Second, the United States is concerned about long-term stability and about retaining power and influence in this important area of the world. The U.S. involvement in Iraq and its promotion of democracy fall under this category. Third, the United States is concerned about nuclear proliferation, so it keeps a close eye on Iran, which the U.S. government believes is trying to develop nuclear weapons. Finally, the United States has long been enmeshed in efforts to settle the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Each of these reasons overlaps with the others, making the U.S. role in the Middle East very complex.

In the following pages, you will read about the debate regarding U.S. policy in the Middle East. You will confront the same questions facing U.S. policymakers: Which interests and values should provide the basis for the role of the United States in the region? How should the Middle East's enormous oil reserves and the United States' close relationship with Israel figure into our calculations? Does the importance of Islam in the politics of the Middle East challenge the United States?

The reading will prepare you to wrestle with these questions. In Part I, you will explore the history of U.S. involvement in the Middle East since World War I. In Part II, you will examine the critical issues facing the United States in the Middle East today. Finally, you will have the opportunity to consider four options for the future of the U.S. role in the Middle East.



Part I: The Middle East in the World

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most people in the United States were introduced to the Middle East through the Bible. The territories that are at the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict today were referred to as the “holy land.” The Middle East, which is often called the cradle of civilization, is the birthplace of three of the world’s major religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

During the Middle Ages, Islamic empires in the region were at the center of the world’s science, scholarship, and commerce. By the 1500s, the Ottoman Turks, one of those empires, had skillfully ruled over the diverse peoples and religions of the area which stretched from the Persian Gulf to the western end of North Africa for three centuries. This empire was militarily strong as well. In 1683, an Ottoman army invaded Europe, conquering Eastern Europe as far as the Austrian city of Vienna before being stopped.

To the east of the Ottomans, the Safavid Empire of Iran was a thriving center of Persian culture and commerce from 1501 to 1736. A well-administered and stable governmental system allowed the Safavid capital of Isfahan with its population of over 400,000 to become renowned for its poetry, paintings, and scholarship.

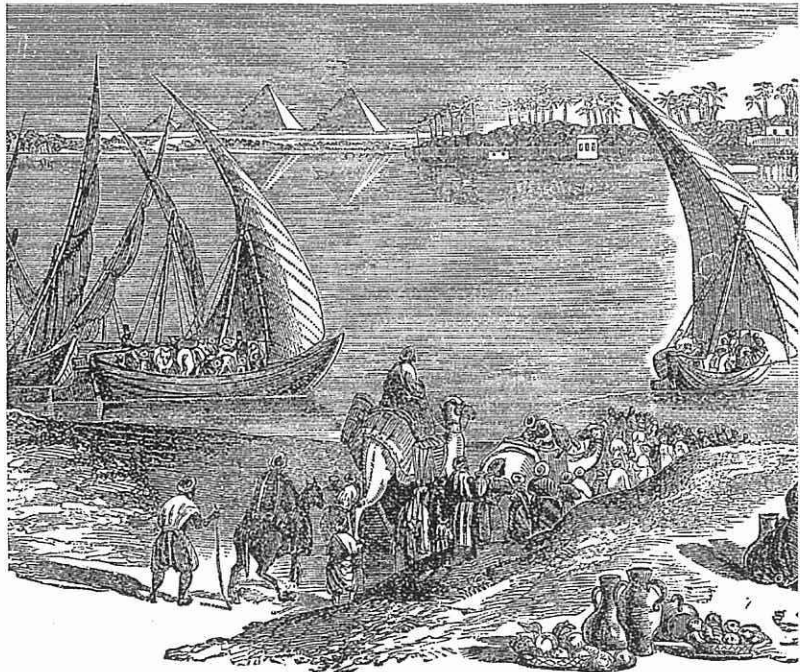
The Middle East Meets the West

In the early 1800s Protestant missionaries traveled to the Middle East, hoping to convert the Muslims of the region to Christianity. To a large extent, U.S. impressions of the Middle East were filtered through the eyes of these missionaries.

Despite the earlier wealth and scholarship of the Otto-

man and Safavid Empires, by the nineteenth century the Middle East had fallen behind the nations of the West. The advances in science and technology that fueled the Industrial Revolution in Britain, the United States, and other Western nations were slow to reach the Middle East. The Middle Easterners who greeted the missionary pioneers were surprised when they began to understand that their region lacked much of what Westerners took for granted. For instance, the Ottoman military was unable to match the new firepower of its European rivals, and the traders who followed the missionaries brought items Middle Easterners had not seen before.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire was in decline, often called the “sick man of Europe.” Throughout Europe and the Middle East at that time nationalist movements challenged large, multinational empires. For the Ottomans, this trend, as well as European imperialism, ultimately destroyed the empire. In southeastern Europe, local independence movements took territory away from



From *A History of the Empire and People of Turkey*.

The nineteenth century Middle East in the Western imagination.



the Ottomans. In the northeastern reaches of the empire, ambitious Russian tsars interested in gaining more land drove them out. Meanwhile, the Ottoman economy increasingly fell under the domination of European nations eager to gain access to oil, a material growing in importance for military and civilian uses. Britain and France, nations with no oil fields of their own, were especially interested in controlling the region.

To the east of the Ottomans, Russia and Britain competed to control Iran and its resources throughout the nineteenth century. Iran's economy and infrastructure suffered from being in the middle of the two great powers' struggle. In 1907, Russia and Britain, fearing that the newly-established constitutional regime would limit their role in Iran, agreed to cooperate with each other. In 1912, they invaded Iran to assure "stability" and "security."

How did World War I affect the Middle East?

World War I, which began in 1914, destroyed the Ottoman Empire. In the early months of the war, the Ottoman Empire allied itself with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although the decisive battles of the war took place in Europe, the Middle East was thrown into turmoil as well. British forces, with the assistance of their Arab allies, drove Ottoman armies out of most of the empire's Arab provinces. Fighting between Russia and the Ottomans along the Caucasus front turned vast areas into wasteland.

During the war, parts of Iran were occupied by the Ottoman Empire, by Russia, and by Britain. Iranian leaders had hoped to free themselves from European influence after World War I. But after the Ottomans were defeated and the Russians left to focus on their own revolution in 1917, the British took steps to make sure they could continue to access Iranian oil.

What was the Sykes-Picot Accord?

Meanwhile, much of the most important action took place away from the battlefield.

In 1916, diplomats from Britain and France signed a secret treaty concerning the postwar division of the Ottoman Empire. Under the terms of what was known as the Sykes-Picot Accord, the British and French agreed to carve up the Arab provinces of the empire between themselves.

“It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments.... That...France and... Great Britain shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.”

—from the Sykes-Picot Agreement

How did President Wilson's principle of “self-determination” affect the Middle East?

U.S. President Woodrow Wilson presented the main obstacle to British and French designs. When the United States joined World War I in 1917, Wilson insisted that his country was fighting for a higher set of ideals than the European powers were. He announced a sweeping fourteen-point peace plan which he hoped to implement at the end of the war. Among the key principles of Wilson's proposal was a call for a postwar international system (a “League of Nations”) based on the “self-determination,” or right to govern oneself, of nations.

“The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development....”

—Point XII of the Fourteen Points,
Woodrow Wilson, 1918

Arab leaders applauded Wilson's views. They saw the president's emphasis on self-determination as an endorsement of Arab efforts



to govern themselves without outside interference. In contrast, the British and French realized that self-determination undermined their plan to impose the Sykes-Picot Accord on the Middle East.

Ultimately, at the Paris Peace Conference following World War I, Wilson backed down from his call for self-determination. His European counterparts forced a compromise which allowed European nations to keep their colonial possessions.

When Wilson returned to the United States, he encountered strong opposition to U.S. participation in the new international system he had envisioned. In 1919, the U.S. Senate soundly rejected the treaty that Wilson had helped negotiate. Wilson's defeat was a turning point for the United States. Over the next two decades, U.S. leaders chose to be involved in international affairs only in ways

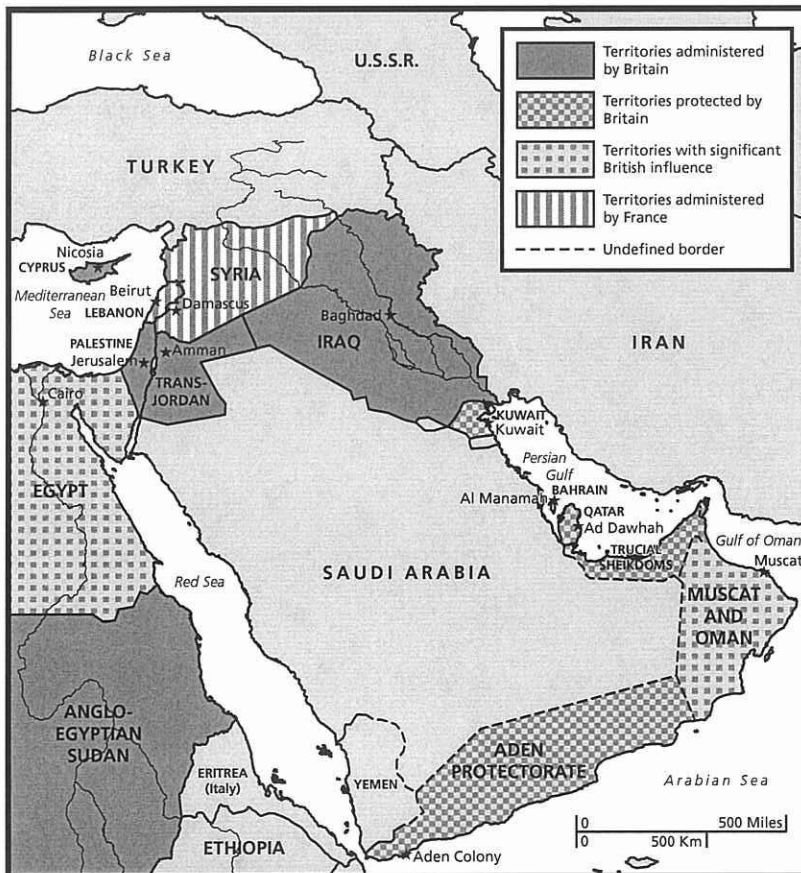
that were beneficial to the United States. Once the United States had retreated from the international scene, Britain and France were free to divide the defeated Ottoman Empire.

What were "mandates"?

The newly-formed League of Nations, precursor to the United Nations, decided that many of the areas that had been controlled by the Ottoman Empire were unprepared for self-government. The League established "mandates," which gave Britain and France the authority to control and manage the new states that had been carved out of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. While France took over Syria and Lebanon, the British controlled Iraq, Kuwait, Palestine, Jordan, and most of the coastal areas of the Arabian peninsula. Although these areas were not officially called "colonies," the Arabs within these mandates saw themselves as subjects of European colonialism.

With Russia weakened by civil war, Iran increasingly fell within Britain's sphere of economic domination as well. Turkey and Saudi Arabia were the only Middle Eastern countries to attain complete independence after World War I. In Turkey, a nationalist movement overthrew the last remnants of the Ottoman Empire and established a republic in 1923. In the Saudi Arabian kingdom, leaders preferred not to have connections with the international world.

Despite being dominated by European nations, the outlines of the countries of today's Middle East were clearly recognizable by the 1920s. With few changes, the map that the Allies drew at the Paris Peace Conference is the same one that exists today.



British and French influence in the Middle East, 1926.

Oil Politics

The contest for European control of the Middle East during and after World War I was driven largely by oil. The war effort had been powered mostly by coal, but far-sighted military strategists understood that the next major war would be fueled by oil. Oil was quickly becoming the lifeblood of economies around the world.

“I am quite clear that it is all-important for us that this oil should be available.”

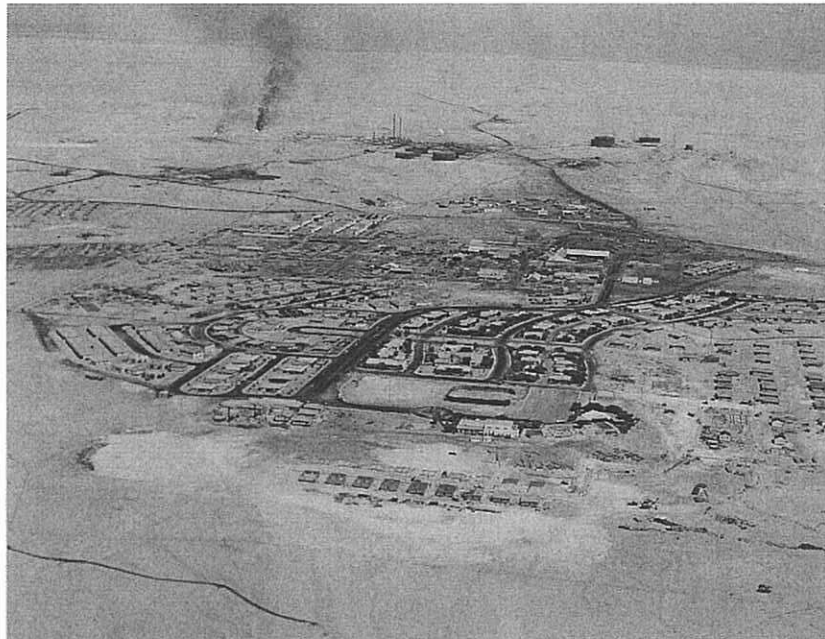
—Lord Balfour, British foreign secretary, 1918

How did the United States become involved in the oil politics of the Middle East?

Compared to the European Allies, the United States was a latecomer to the oil politics of the Middle East. Unlike Britain and France, the United States was an oil giant and produced roughly two-thirds of the world’s oil output during World War I. Nonetheless, U.S. policymakers encouraged U.S. oil companies to begin looking overseas for new oil reserves.

To maintain good relations with the United States in the 1920s, the British agreed to allow U.S. oil companies to participate in the development of the Middle East’s oil resources. At the time, the two main centers of oil production in the region were northern Iraq and the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf.

Serious oil exploration in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait did not take place until the 1930s. Leading members of the Saudi royal family were reluctant to open their country to foreign oil firms in the 1920s because they were worried that their traditional way of life would be disrupted.



R. S. Leonard/Saudi Aramco World/PADIA. Used with permission.

SOCAL changed its name to ARAMCO in 1944. This aerial photograph of the ARAMCO headquarters and workers’ community in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia was taken in 1947.

But the Saudis also wanted to increase their wealth and reduce poverty in their kingdom. In 1933, they signed a sixty-year agreement with Standard Oil of California (SOCAL). In exchange for \$175,000 up front and the promise of royalty payments on any oil produced, SOCAL was permitted to explore 360,000 square miles of eastern Saudi Arabia (an area larger than Texas and Oklahoma combined). SOCAL invested \$10 million before making a major discovery in 1938. At about the same time, a British-American partnership also struck oil in Kuwait.

What was the first oil war?

World War II illustrated the geopolitical importance of oil. The eruption of war in 1939 dashed hopes of turning a quick profit from the newly-discovered oil fields of the Middle East. Instead of expanding production, U.S. and British leaders tried to prevent the energy resources of the Middle East from falling into the hands of Nazi Germany. In 1941, British and Soviet troops jointly occupied Iran to block German ambitions. Technicians even

made plans to destroy the oil wells of the Persian Gulf in case Germany invaded the region. World War II had a profound impact on the position of the Middle East in international affairs.

As strategists in World War I had foreseen, oil was essential for the armies of World War II. The decisive weapons of the conflict—airplanes, tanks, and military trucks—all ran on fuels derived from oil. The war aims of the leading Axis powers, Germany and Japan, were shaped by their quests for oil resources.

The United States was the industrial engine of the Allied victory in World War II. Protected from enemy attack by two oceans, U.S. industry boomed. By the end of 1942, U.S. military production surpassed the output of Germany and Japan combined. During the next year, U.S. factories turned out roughly 100,000 warplanes. The United States was also blessed with abundant oil reserves. In 1940, for example, the United States produced 63 percent of the world's oil (compared to less than 5 percent from the Middle East). The United States' wartime leaders feared that demand would soon outstrip supply. Like their British and French counterparts in World War I, U.S. officials in World War II wanted to secure their country's access to oil.

“If there should be a World War III it would have to be fought with someone else's petroleum, because the United States wouldn't have it.”

—Henry Ickes, U.S. secretary of the interior, 1943

Why was Saudi Arabia so important to the United States?

The U.S. strategy included fresh attention to Saudi Arabia. Before 1939, the United States did not have a single diplomat in the country. But in 1943, President Franklin Roosevelt began providing aid to the Saudi monarchy, which was on the verge of financial collapse because of the war. Over the next decade U.S. involvement in Saudi Arabia increased dramatically as U.S. citizens consumed more gasoline in their cars and industry boomed.

SOCAL's 1938 discovery of a huge oil field brought increased cooperation between Saudi Arabia and the United States. (SOCAL changed its name to ARAMCO, or Arab-American Oil Company, in 1944.) Since then, oil has been at the center of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

The Birth of Israel

The creation of Israel in 1948 complicated U.S. efforts to retain friends in the Persian Gulf. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the Jewish quest for a homeland gained support in the United States. But most Arab leaders opposed Israel because the country was carved out of lands where Arabs already lived. Saudi King Saud Ibn Saud even threatened to break his contract with ARAMCO to protest U.S. policy. Nonetheless, the United States played a key role in bringing the Jewish state into existence. The story of Israel's creation starts in the late 1800s.

What was Zionism?

“Zion” is a Hebrew word for the land of Israel. Zionism, the movement for establishing the state of Israel, had its origins in Europe, where Jews had long been subjected to persecution. At the end of the nineteenth century, some Jewish intellectuals argued that their people could flourish safely only by establishing an independent state. They looked in East Africa and South America before settling on Palestine, a significant region in Jewish history, as the best choice. In the early 1900s, these Zionists started buying land there for Jewish settlements.

“One fundamental fact—that we must have Palestine if we are not going to be exterminated.”

—Chaim Weizmann, Zionist leader, 1919

What promises did Great Britain make to Arabs and Jews during World War I?

In 1917, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, pledging to help establish “a national home” for Jews in Palestine. The British hoped



that the declaration would rally Jewish opinion, especially in the United States, behind the Allied war effort in World War I. At the same time, the British promised Sharif Hussein, the ruler of Mecca, that they would help to set up an independent Arab state across all of the Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire after the war. In exchange, Hussein began a rebellion against the Ottomans in Arabia, which helped the Allies to win the war. These dual promises proved to have long-term effects on the Middle East.

Between 1922 and 1939, as Zionists moved to Palestine, the Jewish population in Palestine rose from 84,000 to 445,000, or about 30 percent of the total population. But the Zionist movement increasingly found itself at odds with the aspirations of Palestinian Arabs to forge a state of their own. British efforts to strike a balance between Palestinians and Jews failed to hold down the escalating tensions.

Why did so many Jews head to Palestine in the 1940s?

Zionism might not have fulfilled its mission without the tragedy of the Holocaust. During World War II, Adolf Hitler sought to exterminate all of the Jews of Europe. Six million Jews were put to death by the Nazis.

After the war, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees saw immigration to Palestine as the only hope for rebuilding their lives. The Holocaust also won the Zionists widespread sympathy in the West. President Truman became personally committed to the Zionist cause.

In 1947, the British announced they would leave Palestine within a year, turning over responsibility for the mandate to the newly-formed United Nations (UN). A plan to partition the mandate between Jews and Palestinian Arabs passed the UN General Assembly by two votes, thanks in large part to U.S. lobbying.

How did Israel's creation plant the seeds of conflict?

The Zionists viewed the UN partition

UN Partition of Palestine, 1947



Arab State designated by the UN
 Jewish State designated by the UN

plan as their best hope for a Jewish state, and accepted it. The Arab world did not, fearing that Arabs, who were in the majority, would become subject to a minority immigrant population. Arabs also felt that the creation of Israel would lead to instability in the region.

Knowing the British would pull their troops out the day the partition went into effect, Zionists began to take control of the territory allotted to them by the UN, including many predominantly Arab towns that had been included in the Jewish zone. As the date of the British departure approached, violence



erupted as each side fought to extend its control. Fighting soon engulfed much of Palestine. This violence was intense; there were terrorist acts on both sides.

With the withdrawal of the last British forces in May 1948, Israel proclaimed itself a state and immediately won recognition from the United States and the Soviet Union. The Arab states refused to recognize Israel.

For some time, Palestinian Arabs had been supported in their fight by men and arms from neighboring Arab countries. The day after Israel declared itself an independent state, forces from Egypt, Syria, Transjordan (now known as Jordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel.

“It does not matter how many [Jews] there are. We will sweep them into the sea.”

—Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha,
Secretary General of the Arab League, 1948

Fearing just such an attack, Zionist leaders had been collecting weapons for years. By the time a truce was reached in January 1949, the Zionists had seized a large portion of the land that the UN had designated for the Palestinians. What was left of the former mandate was claimed by Transjordan (which absorbed the West Bank) and Egypt (which held the Gaza Strip). More than 750,000 Palestinians became refugees. Arab countries refused to make peace with or to recognize the fledgling Israeli state. Without a treaty, the cease-fire lines in effect became the borders between Israel and its neighbors. The animosity set the stage for decades of conflict.

Although the Truman administration approved a \$100 million loan for Israel, U.S. policy remained torn. Within the State Department (the governmental body responsible for carrying out U.S. foreign policy), many officials advised against supporting Israel. They feared an Arab backlash against the United States. These fears were based in part on the United States' need for oil from Arab nations, and also on the growing presence of the Soviet Union following World War II.

The Middle East in the Midst of the Cold War

Since the early 1800s, Britain had been the leading power in the Middle East. Britain controlled the Suez Canal (linking the Red Sea and the Mediterranean) and most of Egypt after 1882. British naval forces patrolled the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, guarding shipping lanes to India, the jewel of the British Empire.

World War II brought down the old order of international relations. In 1947, British officials told their U.S. allies that Britain could no longer maintain its presence in the Middle East. World War II had nearly bankrupted Britain. Britain's postwar leaders saw their enormous empire as a financial burden. They urged the administration of U.S. President Harry Truman to fill the vacuum in the Middle East ahead of the powerful Soviet Union. Both Britain and the United States saw the Soviet Union as a dangerous expansionist power. They believed protecting the Persian Gulf's oil reserves from Soviet control was critical to the West's economic survival. Indeed, in 1948, for the first time, the United States imported more oil than it exported.

In fact, the Soviets had already begun to increase their activities in the Middle East. In Iran, the Soviets delayed the withdrawal of their troops after the war. In Turkey, they raised territorial claims along the Soviet border and insisted on sharing control of the straits connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

What was the Truman Doctrine?

In 1947, President Truman announced a \$400 million foreign aid package to Turkey and Greece. In what became known as the “Truman Doctrine,” Truman pledged U.S. support for governments resisting communism.

The Truman Doctrine confirmed that the United States was willing to step into the shoes of the British in the Middle East. For U.S. policymakers, this meant that the Persian Gulf would rank second in importance only to protecting Western Europe.

By 1948, the hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed frozen in place. What became known as the Cold War would eventually reach every corner of the globe, raising tensions to particularly dangerous levels in the Middle East.

How did the politics of the Arab world change following World War II?

The politics of the Arab world underwent deep changes after World War II as well. Resentment and mistrust toward the West spread in the Middle East as it did in Africa, Latin America, and regions of Asia. As Britain and France retreated from the region, Arab nationalists criticized the Arab monarchies and rich landowners who had cooperated with the colonial powers of Britain and France. In the 1950s and 1960s, nationalist military officers overthrew kingdoms in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Libya.

Why did Nasser's message appeal to other Arab countries?

Egypt's Gamal Abd al-Nasser was the most prominent voice of Arab nationalism. A former army colonel, Nasser emerged as Egypt's leader after taking part in a coup that toppled the country's corrupt king in 1952. Nasser addressed his message not just to Egypt, but to the larger Arab world. He campaigned for "pan-Arabism"—the unification of Arabs into a single state.

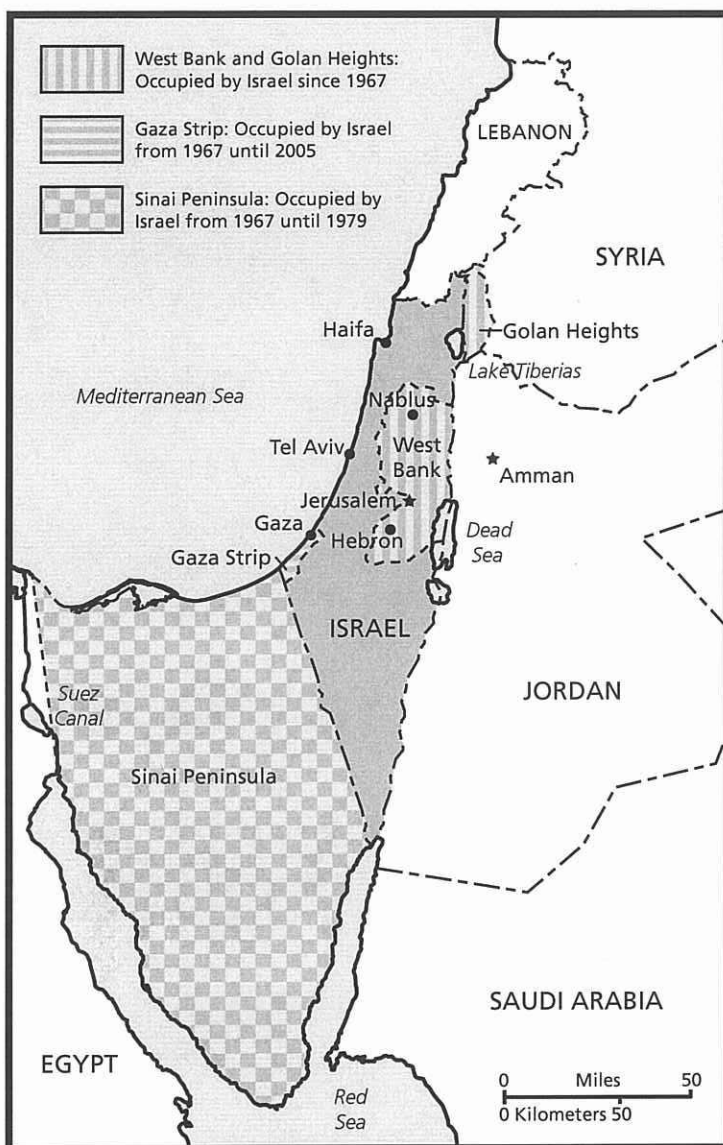
Nasser's reputation soared over the next fifteen years as he strengthened his position as the most dynamic leader of the Arab world. Part of what made Nasser

appealing to other Arabs was his condemnation of Israel, which he described as an outpost of Western influence in the Middle East. In 1958, Nasser merged Egypt and Syria in order to begin to implement his pan-Arabist campaign (the merger disintegrated in 1961). He also built up his army, mostly with Soviet weapons. Nasser's prestige enabled him to play the United States and Soviet Union skillfully off one another.

Why did President Kennedy sell advanced anti-aircraft missiles to Israel?

U.S. officials mistrusted Nasser's motives but felt that his popularity could not be ignored. The United States resumed limited financial assistance to Egypt but also began to see Israel as an ally against the expanding Soviet influence in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. In





financing. The arms sales marked the beginning of a steady flow of U.S. military equipment to Israel. No formal alliance was signed, but the United States and Israel were clearly developing a special relationship. At the same time, the Arab-Israeli conflict continued.

What factors contributed to the Six-Day War?

Expanding nationalism, growing superpower involvement, and an escalating arms build-up ignited another Arab-Israeli war in 1967. The immediate cause was Nasser's decision in May 1967 to order the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers separating Egyptian and Israeli forces in the Sinai Peninsula and to deny Israeli ships access to the Red Sea by closing the Suez Canal.

President Johnson attempted to resolve the crisis diplomatically. But Israeli leaders placed little faith in diplomatic solutions. In June 1967, they launched a surprise attack, destroying most of the Egyptian and Syrian air forces on the ground. With control of the air, Israeli tanks rolled across the Sinai to the Suez Canal. On their eastern flank, the Israelis drove the Jordanian army out of the Old City of Jerusalem and overran the West Bank.

1962, President John F. Kennedy approved the sale of advanced anti-aircraft missiles to Israel, along with a loan to help the Israelis pay for their purchase.

“We are interested that Israel should keep up its sensitive, tremendous, historic task.”

—President John F. Kennedy, 1962

Three years later, President Lyndon Johnson permitted the Israelis to buy more than two hundred tanks, again with generous

Within two days, Egypt and Jordan claimed that they were ready to accept a UN resolution that the United States proposed for a cease-fire. But Israel continued its military operations. Israeli warplanes bombed a U.S. communications ship based off the coast of Egypt, killing thirty-four U.S. sailors. Although Israeli leaders claimed the attack was a mistake, some U.S. officials privately believed that Israel's intent was to direct attention away from Israeli military preparations against Syria. Indeed, two days later the Israelis smashed through Syrian defenses on the strategic Golan



Heights. Syria quickly agreed to a truce. What came to be known as the Six-Day War ended in a complete military victory for Israel.

What were the results of the Six-Day War?

Although Israel would not consider withdrawing from the Golan Heights or Jerusalem, it did not refuse to withdraw from the other territories it had conquered if Arab leaders would recognize Israel's right to exist. When Arab leaders refused, the Israelis became responsible for governing more than one million Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The Six-Day War also set the stage for the next round of fighting in the Middle East. Although pan-Arabism had failed, Arab leaders were more determined than ever to match the military might of the Israelis. Increasingly, they turned to the Soviet Union. The Soviets, embarrassed by the speedy defeat of their allies and eager to extend their influence in the Middle East, were more than willing to help. They provided technical assistance and military support to Arab leaders. The United States, though still working for peace and stability, continued to support Israel in the hopes of countering Soviet influence.

What happened during the October War of 1973?

In 1970, Anwar al-Sadat came to power in Egypt. Sadat's top priority was to regain the Sinai Peninsula. When U.S. diplomacy failed to persuade Israel to withdraw, Sadat began making preparations for war.

In October 1973, Egypt and Syria opened a surprise two-front offensive against Israel on Yom Kippur, the most sacred day on the Jewish calendar. Along the Suez Canal, Egypt's army broke through Israeli lines and spilled into the Sinai Peninsula. At the same time, Syrian troops overwhelmed Israel's defenses on the Golan Heights and were poised to attack northern Israel.

Israel's army quickly recovered from its setbacks. Within days, the Israelis drove a wedge between Egyptian forces in the Sinai

and crossed to the west bank of the Suez Canal. Against the Syrians, they soon regained the Golan Heights and swept toward Damascus, the Syrian capital. By the end of October 1973, after less than a month of fighting, the Israelis agreed to stop their advance.

How did the Cold War affect the U.S. position during the October War?

The October War brought the United States' chief concerns in the Middle East to the boiling point. In the first week of the conflict, Washington's commitment to Israel was put to the test. Israel's prime minister, Golda Meir, pleaded with President Richard Nixon to ship U.S. military supplies to her country. Nixon approved a resupply effort but did not want to give Israel a lopsided advantage on the battlefield.

Cold War politics ultimately convinced Nixon to step up the flow of arms. From the outbreak of the October War, the Soviet Union had showered Egypt and Syria with military assistance. By the second week of fighting, the United States decided to do the same for Israel and began airlifting one thousand tons of military supplies a day. Superpower tensions rose further when the Soviets vowed to send troops to the region to stop Israel's advance. Nixon warned the Soviets against taking action. He put the U.S. military on worldwide alert to emphasize U.S. resolve.

How did the Arab states try to use oil as a weapon against the United States?

Most significantly, the October War prompted Arab states to lead an oil embargo against the United States.

High oil prices and increasing U.S. demand for oil made the embargo an effective tool against the United States. From 1970 to the start of the October War, world oil prices had doubled. During the same period, U.S. oil imports nearly doubled, exceeding one-third of total U.S. consumption. U.S. allies in Western Europe and Japan were almost entirely dependent on imported oil, mostly from the Middle East. Rising demand allowed the



Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC, which at the time included Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela) to steadily push up prices for the first time since its formation in 1960.

In mid-October 1973, Saudi Arabian King Faisal Ibn Saud, a solid U.S. ally, initiated the oil embargo. He hoped to emphasize to the United States that it would have to do more for the Arab side in the Arab-Israeli conflict if it wanted to minimize Soviet influence in the region. The Arab oil-producing states raised prices on their exported oil by 70 percent. When President Nixon proposed giving Israel \$2.2 billion in military aid a few days later, the Arabs responded by completely cutting off oil shipments to the United States. At the same time, they reduced their overall production by 10 percent and vowed to lower oil output by 5 percent a month until Israel withdrew from the territories occupied in the 1967 War and restored the rights of the Palestinians.

What was the impact of the oil embargo?

The impact of the Arab cutbacks on the international oil market was not catastrophic, but it was dramatic. By the end of 1973, world oil production had fallen about 9 percent. Major non-Arab oil producers, such as Iran and Venezuela, increased their exports as new markets opened to them. Nonetheless, the Arab measures set off an economic panic. Oil prices rose as high as \$17 a barrel—six times the price in early October. Gasoline prices in the United States jumped 40 percent. Over the next two years, U.S. economic output dropped 6 percent, while unemployment doubled and inflation surged.

The Arab states also caused divisions in the Western alliance. Unlike the United States, most Western European countries and Japan backed away from overt support of Israel. In turn, the Arab oil producers allowed more exports to them. The situation caused the United States to reevaluate its Middle East policies.

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger undertook what came to be known as “shuttle

diplomacy.” Jetting between countries of the region, Kissinger negotiated two agreements to end the fighting between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Syria. The state department left the Soviet Union out of the negotiations. Kissinger’s efforts were enough to convince King Faisal Ibn Saud to call off the embargo in March of 1974.

How did the October War lay the groundwork for peace?

While the October War was the most destructive conflict yet between Arabs and Israelis, it also laid the groundwork for the first steps toward peace. The early battlefield successes of the Arab armies had soothed the humiliating sting of the 1967 War. Arab pride, especially in Egypt, was partially restored.

The initiative for peace came from Egyptian leader Sadat. In 1977, he visited Israel and spoke before Israel’s parliament. Meanwhile, U.S. officials worked behind the scenes to set the stage for serious negotiations.

In 1978, President Jimmy Carter invited Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to the presidential retreat at Camp David for peace talks. The negotiations were scheduled to last three days. Instead, they dragged on for two weeks.

What were the Camp David Accords?

Thanks largely to Carter’s persistence, the talks produced a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. In exchange for Israel’s withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt became the first Arab country to recognize Israel. U.S. foreign aid sweetened the deal for both countries. Israel received \$3 billion in immediate military assistance, while Egypt was given \$1.5 billion. (Israel and Egypt remain the top two recipients of U.S. foreign aid.)

What were known as the Camp David Accords scarcely addressed other aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Arab leaders condemned Sadat for neglecting the needs and hopes of Palestinians and expelled Egypt from the Arab League, an organization founded in 1945 to serve the common good of Arab countries. In



1981, Sadat himself was assassinated by political Islamist extremists. (The term political Islamist is used to describe political movements based on an interpretation of the principles of Islam.)

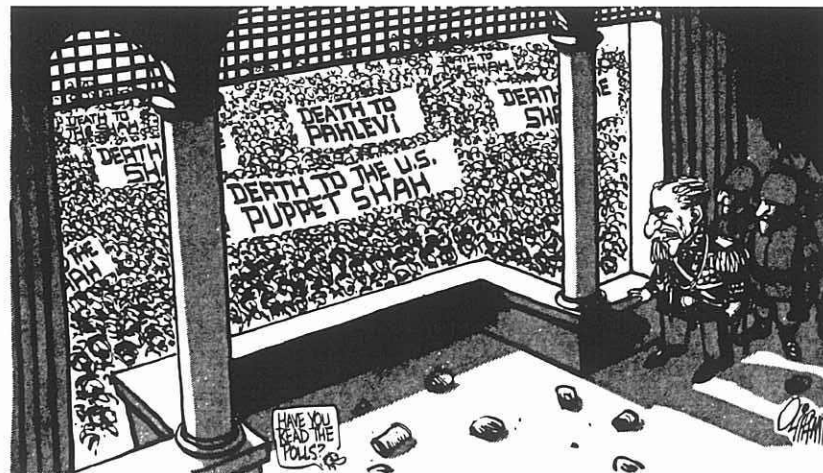
How did the Camp David Accords affect the position of the Soviet Union in the Middle East?

The Camp David Accords brought Egypt securely into the U.S. camp in the Middle East. At the same time, countries who opposed the treaty, such as Syria and Iraq, moved further into the Soviet camp. To counter the Soviets, U.S. officials placed greater weight on their relations with other long-time friends in the region.

Aside from Israel, the United States counted on close ties with Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. Turkey was linked to the United States through membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The United States also provided Turkey with ample foreign aid. The Saudis, while they opposed Israel and U.S. support for Israel, nevertheless relied heavily on U.S. firms to market their oil exports and invest their profits. The U.S. relationship with Iran was also complex.

The United States and Iran

At the same time as many conflicts in the Arab-Israeli relationship were heating up, the United States was also trying to strengthen its relationship with Iran in order to oppose the Soviet Union. The United States was bound to Iran and its shah, or king, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, by political, military, and oil interests. The shah was tied to Washington through his own complicated past. In 1953, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped the shah topple a nationalist prime minister who threatened the shah's power and wanted to bring



Pat Oliphant. Copyright 1979. Universal Press Syndicate.

"Of course I'd resign if I thought that they really meant it."

the foreign oil industry under state control. At the time, Pahlavi was a timid, inexperienced ruler. Over the next two decades, U.S. support boosted his confidence and ambitions.

By the early 1970s, Pahlavi imagined that he could rekindle the greatness of ancient Persia in modern Iran. To celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian Empire, he spent at least \$100 million to host a lavish banquet that featured a 165-person catering staff from Paris and 25,000 bottles of French wine. The rise in oil prices in 1973 permitted the shah to increase his spending on other items as well, particularly on weapons. By the mid-1970s, Iran accounted for half of U.S. arms exports.

How did U.S. policymakers fail to understand the feelings of the Iranian people?

Both Pahlavi and U.S. policymakers underestimated the anger simmering just below the surface of Iranian society. The shah's efforts to modernize Iran's educational system and redistribute land sparked protests among the country's Islamic clergymen because the changes threatened their ideology and power. His push toward industrialization forced millions of peasants to abandon the countryside. Iran's cities were soon overcrowded, while the gap between the rich and the poor widened. Additionally, rampant corruption in Pahlavi's government and the brutal role of SAVAK



(the secret police) in suppressing dissent also increased opposition to his rule. Nevertheless, the United States offered full support to Iran in order to counter Soviet support of other Middle Eastern nations.

“Iran, because of the great leadership of the shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled regions of the world.”

—President Jimmy Carter, 1977

Who led the opposition movement?

Islamic clergymen were in the best position to encourage resistance to the shah's regime. They emerged at the helm of a broad opposition movement that included democrats, nationalists, and communists. In 1978, they began organizing demonstrations against the shah. The shah responded with force, ordering the army and police to smash the protests. In September, they opened fire on a huge crowd in Tehran, Iran's capital, killing or wounding as many as two thousand demonstrators.

Pahlavi, suffering from cancer, facing hostile public opinion, and losing support from the military for his repressive policies, soon lost the will to hold on to power. In January 1979, he left the country. Two weeks later, the spiritual leader of Iran's Islamic movement, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, returned to Iran from exile in France.

What were the goals of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini?

Khomeini wanted to transform Iran into his vision of a pure Islamic state. His revolution aimed at purging the country of Western popular culture. He prohibited movies and music from the West. He banned alcohol. He also ordered women to cover themselves from head to toe when in public.

Khomeini branded the United States as the “great Satan.” (He referred to the Soviet Union as the “lesser Satan.”) When Carter permitted Pahlavi to enter the United States for medical treatment, Khomeini claimed that Washington was plotting a counter-revolution. In Novem-

ber 1979, Iranian university students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. For over a year, they held the U.S. embassy staff as hostages. Carter's attempt at a military rescue failed, leaving eight U.S. troops dead. The U.S. Cold War policy for Iran had clearly failed.

“Our relations with the United States are the relations of the oppressed and the oppressor.”

—Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

How did the Iranian Revolution affect the world oil market?

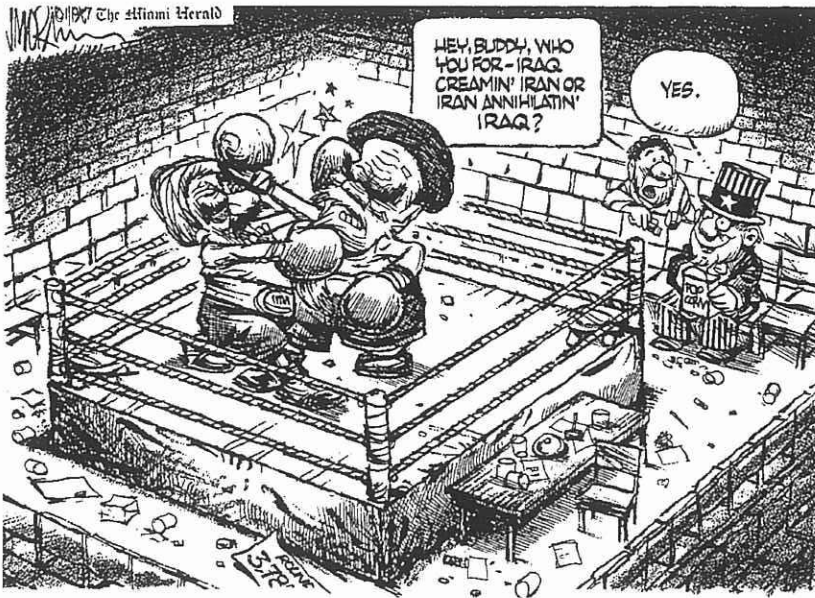
The Iranian Revolution touched off another panic in the oil market. Before the revolution, Iran had been the world's second largest oil exporter (trailing Saudi Arabia). By the end of 1978, the foreigners who managed much of Iran's oil industry had been evacuated and Iranian oil exports had ground to a halt. Again prices soared, nearly tripling in a few weeks.

The Iran-Iraq War

The outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq in September 1980 further limited world oil supplies. Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, hoped to take advantage of an Iranian army weakened by revolution to seize a disputed waterway spilling into the Persian Gulf. He also wanted to prevent the spread of Iran's Islamist revolution elsewhere in the Middle East.

Saddam Hussein aimed to deliver a quick knockout blow, concentrating on Iran's oil facilities. Instead, Iraq's invasion stalled. Iran counter-attacked but lacked the strength to defeat Hussein's impressive military. For the next eight years, the war seesawed back and forth. Iraq had an advantage in air power, missiles, and chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein also benefited from the financial backing of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Arab oil producers. Iran could count on millions of dedicated volunteer soldiers. Tens of thousands were killed charging Iraqi positions in human-wave assaults, often with plastic keys, which they

Jim Morin in *The Miami Herald*. Reprinted with special permission of King Features Syndicate.



were told would open the gates to heaven, dangling from their necks.

What was the U.S. position in the Iran-Iraq War?

The administration of President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) remained officially neutral during the war but did not want a victory by Iran's Islamist government, which was clearly hostile to the United States. The United States began playing a more active role in 1986, when Iran stepped up attacks against Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf. The United States gave Iraq military intelligence and loans to buy advanced U.S. weapons. Washington also permitted Kuwaiti ships to sail under the U.S. flag and provided them military escorts.

During the Iran-Iraq War, the United States led an international arms embargo against Iran. But in a contradiction of this public policy, the United States secretly sold thousands of anti-tank missiles and military spare parts to Iran. The U.S. government hoped this would improve relations with Iran so that Iran would help to free U.S. hostages held in Lebanon. This goal was only partially met; some hostages were freed, but others were taken. The secret dealings with Iran damaged the credibility of the United States in the Middle East.

By the time Iraq and Iran agreed to a cease-fire in 1988, the war had claimed more than one million lives. Millions more were injured or became refugees. It also cost each country approximately \$500 million. Neither side could claim victory, and the war did not resolve the disputes which started it.

How did the United States deal with the uncertainty of the Middle East oil industry?

At the same time, the United States and other western nations learned to live with the uncertainty of the Middle East's oil industry. The oil price hikes of the 1970s spurred energy conservation in wealthy countries. The fuel efficiency of the average American car more than doubled between 1975 and 1985. By 1983, oil consumption in the non-communist world had dropped by 11 percent from 1979 levels. Higher prices also led oil companies to develop new resources in the North Sea, Alaska, and other sites outside the Middle East. Coal, natural gas, and nuclear power gained a greater share of the energy market. From \$34 a barrel at the beginning of the 1980s, oil prices slid to around \$18 a barrel by the end of the decade.

Civil War in Lebanon

While the Iran-Iraq War dominated events in the Persian Gulf during the 1980s, Lebanon was the main focus of attention in the eastern Mediterranean. Lebanon had long been home to a patchwork of Christian and Muslim groups. Beirut, Tripoli, and other Lebanese ports were centers of Middle Eastern trade and commerce. But beginning in 1975, the country was torn by civil war.



Before the fighting ended in the late 1980s, nearly 150,000 people had been killed. Moreover, because of Lebanon's location and its connections to neighboring countries, the war drew in most of its neighbors as well as the United States. Syrian leaders, who believed Lebanon belonged under their wing, sent in troops to occupy most of the eastern part of the country. The Syrians also directed many of the actions of anti-Israeli militias working in Lebanon.

In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon to root out the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which was fighting against Israel from Lebanon. PLO units had set up bases in Lebanon after they were expelled from Jordan in 1970. Israel's efforts to crush the PLO resulted in bombardments of the Lebanese capital. The escalating war prompted the United States to try to negotiate peace.

Why did the United States deploy troops in Lebanon?

In hope of stabilizing Lebanon and preventing a wider regional war, the United States sent in troops as part of an international peacekeeping force. But U.S. soldiers were soon caught in the middle. In 1983, a suicide bomber drove a truckload of explosives into the U.S. marine barracks at the Beirut airport. Two hundred and forty-one troops were killed. A few months later, President Reagan pulled out the U.S. peacekeeping force.

In the United States, the Beirut bombing reinforced the Middle East's reputation as a dangerous and hostile region. Most people in the United States favored limiting U.S. involvement in the area. But within a few years the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, a small country with big oil reserves, would pull the United States deeper than ever into the Middle East.

The First Persian Gulf War Reshapes U.S. Policy

On July 25, 1990, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, met with Saddam Hussein at the presidential palace in Baghdad. Their conversation focused on Hussein's claim

that Kuwait was pumping oil that rightfully belonged to Iraq from deposits along the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border. The Iraqi dictator also complained that Kuwait was holding down oil prices to slow Iraq's economic recovery from the Iran-Iraq war. When Glaspie left the meeting, she believed that she had clearly warned Hussein of the dangers of using force to resolve his dispute with Kuwait. The conversation did not make the same impression on Saddam Hussein. Eight days later, 100,000 Iraqi troops poured across the desert border into Kuwait.

How did the end of the Cold War affect U.S. actions toward Iraq?

A few years earlier during the Cold War, the United States might have hesitated to take strong action against Iraq for fear of setting off a wider international crisis. But by the late 1980s, both the world and the U.S. outlook had changed. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sought to improve relations with the West, and the Soviet Union itself was beginning to teeter under the weight of an ailing economy and political turmoil. Within hours of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Gorbachev stopped arms shipments to Saddam Hussein and joined the United States in supporting a UN Security Council resolution demanding Iraq's immediate withdrawal from Kuwait. With the Soviets on his side, President George H.W. Bush (1989-1993) had an opportunity to steer the international system in a new direction.

President Bush quickly positioned U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia to stop any further advances. The United Nations imposed economic sanctions against Iraq. In the weeks that followed, the United States led an effort to build an international coalition to push Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. The United States' European allies, as well as several Arab states, contributed forces to an international military force.

How did U.S. citizens think the United States should respond to Iraq?

Within the United States, the public was split about how far the country should go in



Jim Borgman. King Features syndicate. Used with permission.

its response to Iraq's aggression. U.S. leadership was also divided. Opposition to using force was especially strong from some U.S. military leaders concerned about possible casualties. Many warned that Iraq would turn to chemical weapons or international terrorism if attacked. There were worries that Iraq might even possess nuclear bombs. Some argued that economic sanctions should be given more time to take effect. Other experts noted that with Iraqi control of the Kuwaiti oil fields, Saddam Hussein controlled one quarter of the world's oil resources.

“Our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would all suffer if control of the world's great oil reserves fell into the hands of Saddam Hussein.”

—President George H.W. Bush, 1990

President Bush favored attacking Iraq quickly. He doubted that economic sanctions alone would pressure Saddam Hussein out

of Kuwait. He also felt that the coalition of nations he had assembled would not hold together long. Particularly worrisome was Saddam Hussein's appeal in the Arab world. He sought to rekindle Arab nationalism and called for Arabs to unite against Israel and its ally, the United States. U.S. officials feared that his message would deepen hostility toward the United States throughout the Middle East.

In November 1990, Bush won UN approval to use “all necessary means” to force Iraq out of Kuwait. A deadline was set—January 15, 1991—for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. By January there were 540,000 U.S. troops in the Gulf and an additional 160,000 from other countries. When President Bush asked the Senate in early January to approve military action to drive Iraq out of Kuwait if the deadline was not met, his request passed by five votes.

What happened in the Persian Gulf War?

After the assault against Iraq began in mid-January 1991, the U.S. public quickly rallied behind the war effort. Despite Saddam's



prediction of “the mother of all battles,” his army proved no match for the United States and its allies. For over a month, warplanes pounded Iraqi targets. By the time allied ground troops moved forward in late February 1991, communication links within Iraq’s army had been shattered. Coalition forces, who came from twenty-eight nations and acted with UN approval, retook Kuwait’s capital with little resistance.

After one hundred hours, President Bush brought the ground war to a halt. The president and his advisors, worried about the consequences of controlling a completely destabilized Iraq, objected to totally destroying Iraq’s retreating army and toppling Saddam Hussein. Instead, they allowed the remnants of Iraq’s front-line divisions to limp northward.

The Persian Gulf War was one of the most lopsided conflicts in history. Iraq’s military presented few obstacles to the advance of the half-million coalition forces. In all, 146 U.S. troops were killed during the war. (Coalition forces suffered a total of 260 deaths.) Iraq lost as many as 100,000 people, both soldiers and civilians, in the war. Saddam Hussein also inflicted a heavy blow against the environment by ordering retreating Iraqi troops to set hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells on fire and to spill thousands of barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf.

What were the effects of the Persian Gulf War on the U.S. role in the Middle East?

Through a combination of power and persuasion, the United States had won greater



United States Air Force.

U.S. Air Force jets flying over burning oil wells during the Persian Gulf War.

influence in the Middle East as a result of the war. At the same time, there were fresh responsibilities. Once the fighting in the Persian Gulf ended, governments there looked to the United States to provide leadership on regional issues.

The war against Iraq brought the region once again to the forefront of discussion in the United States, particularly as events were broadcast live on television. The war also convinced Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the smaller states of the Persian Gulf that a U.S. military presence was needed in the region to safeguard their own security.

Yet the presence of more than fifteen thousand U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf created tensions of its own. For the United States, increased involvement in the Middle East has not been without cost.

The U.S. military presence reminded the Arab world of its own weaknesses and divisions. It also angered many people, including extremists like Osama bin Laden and his followers.



Part II: Weighing U.S. Priorities in the Middle East

Today, the United States faces different challenges in the Middle East than it did during the Cold War, when U.S. policy in the region was defined by its relationship to the Soviet Union and its allies. On September 11, 2001 an extremist Islamist movement known as al Qaeda killed nearly three thousand people, mainly U.S. citizens, in coordinated attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. For over five years the United States has also been fighting in Iraq and is likely to be there for many years to come. The September 11 attacks, the ongoing Iraq war, and the resurgence of Arab-Israeli violence have caused many U.S. citizens to try to understand more about the U.S. presence in the Middle East.

What are the central issues for the United States in the Middle East today?

In addition to its presence in Iraq, the United States has played a central role in efforts to end the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. Since the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the United States has also found itself confronted by the wide appeal of Islamist political movements, many of which oppose U.S. policies in the region. Finally, the growing demand for oil around the world means that the global economy is dependant on the resources of many Middle Eastern nations.

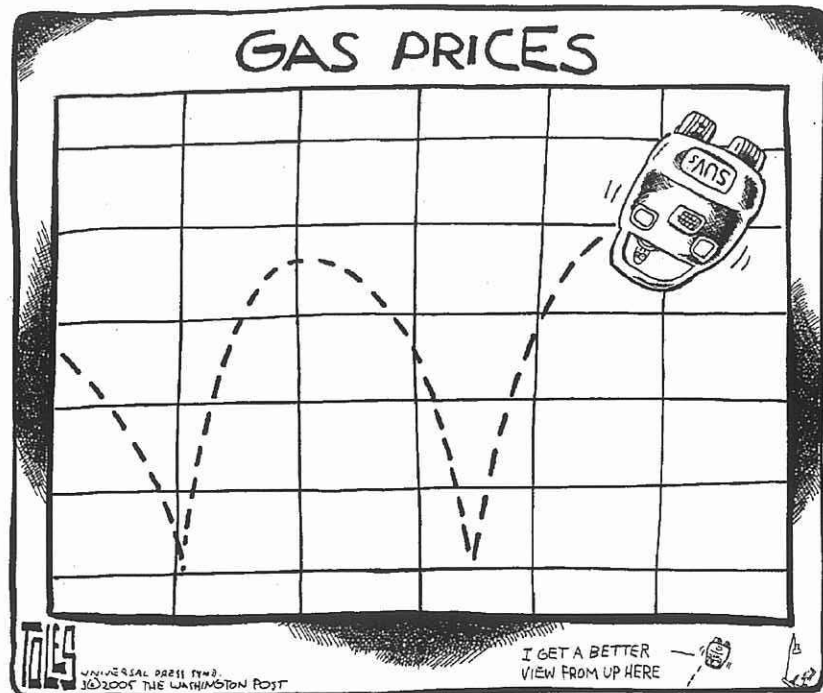
In the following pages, you will learn more about current U.S. involvement in the Middle East. The first section will provide you an overview of the connection between oil and U.S. policy. The second will introduce you to the interplay between Islam and politics. Un-

derstanding this connection is essential to understanding politics in the Middle East. The remainder of the reading will discuss two major areas of concern for the United States: regional security and the Arab-Israeli conflict. As you will see, all of these topics are linked to each other.

Oil Trends

Political instability in the Middle East tends to shake up the world oil market and increase gas prices. Saudi Arabia has taken steps to calm the world oil market during troubles in the Persian Gulf. In general, the Saudis have been careful to increase production to offset any shortfalls. As a result, in the mid-1990s, gasoline prices in the United States (taking inflation into account) dropped to levels not seen since before the 1973 oil embargo.

With energy prices low, U.S. citizens began buying more fuel-hungry cars and paying less attention to conservation. As a result, U.S. oil consumption has increased 30 percent



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U.S. Petroleum Consumption since 1973			
<i>Figures are for thousands of barrels of oil per day</i>	Total Net Oil Imports	Oil Imports from the Persian Gulf	Total Oil Consumption
2005	13,527	2,298	20,656
2000	11,459	2,488	19,701
1995	8,835	1,573	17,725
1990	8,018	1,966	16,988
1985	5,067	311	15,726
1980	6,909	1,519	17,056
1975	6,056	1,165	16,322
1973	6,256	848	17,308

Data from the Energy Information Administration.

But while the Middle East's oil resources are as important as ever in the global economy, the likelihood of a repetition of the 1973 oil embargo seems distant. On the other hand, the importance of Middle Eastern oil to the United States looks to remain constant for the foreseeable future. Because of the U.S. economy's need for oil, many U.S. policies in the Middle East involve securing and maintaining access to that oil.

since 1985. Meanwhile, U.S. oil production has dropped by about 40 percent since its peak in 1970.

Worldwide demand for oil in recent years has been growing at about 2 percent annually. Economic expansion in the developing world has fueled much of the rise. Increased demand in rapidly growing economies like China and India has led to increased prices. In the United States, dependence on imported oil is creeping up as well. Today, the United States relies on the Middle East for about 16 percent of its oil needs. Oil accounts for about 40 percent of the United States' total energy consumption.

Why is the Middle East so important to the world oil industry?

The Middle East remains the unrivaled center of the international oil industry and is therefore likely to remain a critical region for the world's economy. The region contains more than 60 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. While recent discoveries in Kazakhstan hold great potential, most of the new fields that were discovered in the North Sea, Alaska, and elsewhere in the West after the 1973 oil crisis have passed their peak production years. Middle East oil is also the cheapest to pump. The cost of extracting a barrel of oil from the North Sea, for example, is typically five times greater than in the Persian Gulf area.

Political Islam

It can be difficult for people in the United States to understand the importance of religion in many Middle Eastern countries. In almost all Middle Eastern countries, Islam is officially recognized as the binding force of society. State-run television and radio stations broadcast thousands of hours of religious programming, and Islamic clergymen receive government salaries. The Islamist regimes of Iran and Sudan take a different approach. In those countries, the Islamic clergy actually control the government.

What is political Islam?

Political Islam is a movement that seeks to promote Islam within the political arena. Some supporters of political Islam strive to establish as law one interpretation of the Islamic legal tradition, or Shari'a, as the foundation of government and attempt to rid society of non-Islamic influences. (The Shari'a is a wide body of literature that lays out legal principles and norms but is not a legal code or single document.) Many in the Middle East, frustrated by their countries' politics in the twentieth century, have turned to political Islam. Earlier political movements, such as pan-Arab nationalism, have failed. Corruption, mismanagement, and reliance on foreign support have

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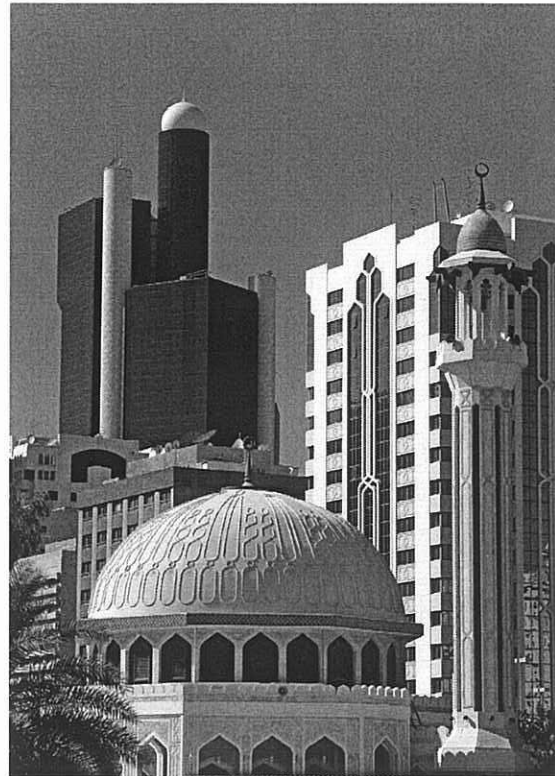
weakened popular faith in Middle Eastern governments. In the midst of these failures, political Islam has gained increasing support.

Islamist movements (movements of political Islam) have grown due to larger economic and social forces as well. In the 1990s, many Middle Eastern countries adopted free-market economic principles that the United States advocated. The reforms called for breaking down trade barriers that had protected local industries, cutting government spending, and selling off state-run companies to private owners. While free-market policies have attracted increased foreign investment to the Middle East, they have also raised unemployment and reduced government assistance to the poor. Economic frustration and insecurity have led many people to turn away from their governments and toward Islamist movements for solutions.

Islamist movements have proven especially strong in the poor neighborhoods of large cities. Many of their supporters are recent migrants from the countryside or the victims of economic reform. For them, Islamist movements are an answer to what they see as reckless change and economic inequity.

How do some political Islamists view the West?

Political Islam's strength and appeal have increased in the Middle East since the Iranian Revolution in 1979. One of the intellectual founders of modern Islamist radicalism, the Egyptian dissident Sayyid Qutb, argued that existing Arab regimes should all be overthrown as the first step in a war against the



Klaas Lingbeek-van Kranen/istockphoto.com. Used with permission.

A mosque and skyscrapers in the city of Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (UAE). The UAE is a diverse country whose laws are based on both secular and religious traditions.

enemies of Islam. Some experts believe this is one of Osama bin Laden's unstated goals. In general, the United States regards radical political Islam as a threat to U.S. interests because it often has an anti-Western stance.

Islam and the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001

The terrorist attacks of September 11 raised questions for people in the United States. Many wondered whether terrorism and violence were justified in Islamic scripture or beliefs.

Like all religions, Islam is subject to interpretation. Most interpretations of Islam have given rise to a history of tolerance and peace. (The word Islam is related to the word *salaam*, which means peace.) Islam is a religion that values family and tolerance. Throughout much of history, Muslims have lived peacefully with followers of other religions. For example, many Jews fled the persecutions found in Christian Europe for the relative freedom of the Ottoman Empire. Islam permits the use of force in self-defense, but not the killing of innocents or civilians.

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***How has the United States
balanced principles and security
interests in the Middle East?***

While concentrating on its security and economic interests, the United States has forged many alliances in the Middle East, some based on shared interests and some on shared principles. Balancing principles and security interests in the Middle East remains a challenge for U.S. leaders and citizens.

In general, U.S. policymakers have paid much less attention to promoting democracy and human rights in the Middle East than in other parts of the world. In Latin America, the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere, the

United States often determines foreign aid, trade relations, and other aspects of foreign policy on the basis of political reform. Until recently, U.S. leaders have largely ignored how U.S. allies in the Middle East govern within their borders.

“For sixty years, my country, the United States, pursued stability at the expense of democracy in the Middle East, and we achieved neither. Now we are taking a different course. We are supporting the democratic aspirations of all people.”

—Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice,
June 2005

Alliances: Balancing Principles and Interests

Egypt: The United States has been a firm supporter of the secular government of Egypt because it has helped maintain regional stability. Since the 1979 Camp David Accords, the United States has made Egypt the second largest recipient of all U.S. foreign aid. At the same time, critics note Washington has stood behind Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak’s civil rights violations, including his crackdown on Islamist movements. Egypt has been under emergency law since 1981. Human rights groups complain that torture and imprisonment without trial are widespread in Egypt.

Israel: The United States has been a steadfast supporter of Israel for both security and historical reasons. In turn, Israel has stood against U.S. opponents in the region and shared intelligence information with the United States. Some critics note that Israel’s occupation of the West Bank is in violation of international law and complain about repeated Israeli violations of the fundamental rights of Palestinian civilians.

Jordan: In recent years, the United States has nurtured good relations with Jordan, a country considered to be a moderate Arab state. In addition to recognizing Israel in 1994, the late King Hussein opened up the political process in the mid-1990s. Whether the momentum to full-fledged democracy can be sustained during the reign of his son, King Abdullah, remains to be seen. U.S. efforts to support Jordan include a free-trade agreement between the two nations that went into effect early in 2002.

Saudi Arabia: The United States has carefully cultivated relations with Saudi Arabia since the 1940s because of the Arab nation’s central importance to the world’s oil industry. Saudi Arabia works to ensure an uninterrupted and reasonably-priced flow of oil to the world economy. Critics note that Saudi Arabia is an undemocratic, fundamentalist Islamist regime. For example, Saudi textbooks teach that Christians are infidels, and women are not permitted to vote or drive. Others note the funding for terrorism which flows from Saudi Arabia. Government and industry are dominated by the Saudi royal clan, which numbers in the tens of thousands.

Turkey: The United States values its long-standing relationship with Turkey, a secular state and the most westernized Muslim country in the Middle East. Turkey has been a loyal supporter of the United States’ policies and an important member of NATO, the Western military alliance originally formed to oppose the Soviet Union. Turkey’s repressive treatment of twelve million Kurds, an ancient people of the Middle East living in Turkey, has raised concerns for some.



Why did President Bush call for expanding democracy in the Middle East?

U.S. President George W. Bush, in a speech in November 2003 on liberty and democracy in the Middle East, called on the United States to promote democracy actively in the region as a way to increase security. He also called on Middle Eastern nations to accept the ideal of freedom.

“The advance of freedom is the calling of our time; it is the calling of our country.... We believe that liberty is the design of nature; we believe that liberty is the direction of history. We believe that human fulfillment and excellence come in the responsible exercise of liberty. And we believe that freedom—the freedom we prize—is not for us alone, it is the right and the capacity of all mankind.”

—President George W. Bush

International response to the speech was mixed. Many people in the Middle East and elsewhere supported Bush’s statements, and many others were disappointed or angered.

“The U.S. has hijacked the noble concept of ‘democracy’ which millions of people have fought for in the Arab world. It is now exploiting the slogan of democracy and human rights for its own known political interests that see nothing in the Middle East but oil pipelines and a secure Israel, without showing any real concern or respect for the region’s inhabitants, citizens, culture, civilization, and history.”

—Reporter Bateer Mohammad Ali Wardam in the Jordanian newspaper *ad-Dustour*

Whether democracy is universally valued or even universally possible remains unsettled. President Bush has argued that all of the world aspires towards, and is entitled to, liberty. Others argue that democracy reflects

some people’s cultural values rather than universal human values.

There are examples of both positive and negative effects of moves toward democracy in recent years in the Middle East. Coming close on the heels of the elections in Iraq in January 2005, a million Lebanese protestors took to the streets to protest the Syrian presence in Lebanon, and Palestinians elected a new leader following the death of Yasir Arafat.

On the other hand, there may also be some pitfalls of a more democratic Middle East for the United States. For example, Palestinians elected the Hamas party to lead them in early 2006. The United States identifies Hamas as a terrorist organization. Whether it is possible to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict with Hamas in power remains to be seen. You will read more about all of these events in the following pages.

Regional Security

Much of the push toward democracy that the Bush administration embraces stems from a belief that a more democratic Middle East will be a more peaceful Middle East. Over the years, security concerns have defined many U.S. policies in the Middle East. After the first Persian Gulf War, the United States geared its policy in the Middle East toward containing both Iran and Iraq. Fears of weapons of mass destruction and concern about Iraq and Iran’s sponsorship of international terrorism fueled anxiety in Washington after September 11, 2001.

“Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people’s hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens—leaving the bodies



of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections—then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world. States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger.”

—President George W. Bush,
January 29, 2002

■ Iraq

For eighteen years, U.S. policy toward Iraq has been headline news. U.S. efforts to contain Saddam Hussein’s regime continued after the first Persian Gulf War. In the war’s aftermath, the United States backed away from pursuing the overthrow of Hussein’s regime. Instead, the United States blocked Hussein from rebuilding his country’s power and hoped that disgruntled military officers would eventually overthrow the government.

At the urging of the United States, the UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions and limited the sale of Iraqi oil in order to keep Saddam Hussein in check. U.S. and British forces prevented the Iraqi air force from flying over northern and southern portions of Iraq.

As part of the cease-fire agreement, UN monitors conducted regular inspections of Iraq

to prevent the production of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. UN weapons inspectors also destroyed vast stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and their components. In late 1998, Iraq refused to allow UN inspectors a free hand in continuing their search for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and, in response, U.S. and British forces conducted a series of massive air strikes. Iraq then refused to allow UN inspectors to operate in Iraq at all until late 2002.

Why did UN weapons inspectors return to Iraq?

In the summer of 2002, Washington turned the pressure up on Iraq. In a speech before the United Nations, President Bush claimed that Iraq’s alleged WMD program and sponsorship of terrorism posed a danger to the region and to the world. He stated that the United States would confront these dangers and asked the UN to join with the United States.

The UN Security Council unanimously passed a resolution calling for Iraq to comply with earlier resolutions and to allow unrestricted access for weapons inspectors once they returned to Iraq. The inspectors returned, but a disagreement quickly emerged among members of the Security Council. The United States and Great Britain argued that the inspections were not working and that twelve years of UN sanctions and resolutions had failed. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell argued before the UN Security Council that Iraq had links to al Qaeda, a charge that turned

Sanctions and Iraq

Although economic sanctions did not bring about Saddam Hussein’s downfall, they may have helped prevent him from reconstructing his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction—an important contribution. They also prompted accusations that the United States increased the suffering of the Iraqi people. Despite the UN’s humanitarian oil-for-food program, the UN estimated that thousands of Iraqi children died each month because of malnutrition and disease attributable to the sanctions. Observers debate whether the United States or Saddam Hussein was responsible for this tragic situation. Some experts estimate that Hussein had the wealth to feed his people but chose to spend it instead on the military and marble palaces. UN reports, as well as economic and political interests, led France, Russia, China, and Arab nations to oppose U.S. actions and to argue for a reevaluation of policy toward Iraq.



out to be untrue. President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair saw military action leading to “regime change” as the next step. France, Russia, and Germany strongly disagreed with the idea of “regime change” and argued that the UN inspectors should continue trying to ensure the disarmament of Iraq.

U.S. diplomats worked hard to build international support for the U.S. position within the UN as it had for the first Gulf War. In spite of these intensive efforts, President Bush realized that he would not win UN approval for military action against Iraq. Approval would have made the use of force legal.

What did the public think about a war against Iraq?

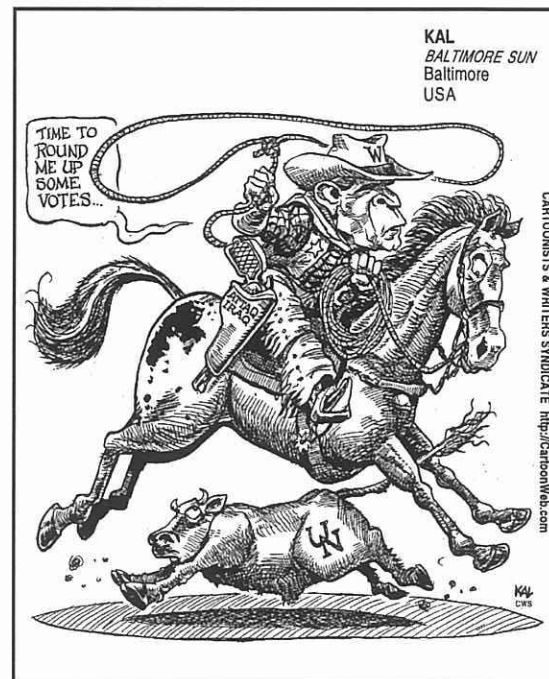
There was widespread public opposition to an invasion of Iraq. For example, on February 15, 2003, millions of people marched in coordinated demonstrations in the United States and around the world.

“...the huge anti-war demonstrations around the world this weekend are reminders that there may be two superpowers on the planet: the United States and world opinion.”

—Patrick Tyler, *The New York Times*,
February 17, 2003

Nevertheless, in March 2003, the majority of U.S. citizens favored military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power. A majority also favored taking into account the views of allies before acting. Forty-five percent of U.S. citizens believed that Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks—an opinion not supported by evidence. (A Senate panel concluded in 2006 that Saddam Hussein’s government had no connections to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.)

President Bush ordered the U.S. military into action. The United Kingdom, Australia, Denmark, and Poland also contributed military forces to the operation. During the military’s advance, U.S. officials worried that the Iraqi



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CARTOONISTS & WRITERS SYNDICATE <http://cartoonweb.com>

army would use chemical weapons. This did not happen. An intensive search for WMD in Iraq began, but no WMD were found.

“We are very unlikely to find stockpiles...of weapons. I don’t think they exist.”

—David Kay, former chief U.S. weapons inspector in Iraq, January 25, 2004

What did the U.S.-led military coalition find in Iraq?

Although the coalition did not find any WMDs, they did find mass graves of thousands of Iraqis—murdered by Saddam Hussein’s government during his rule. How many Iraqis died at the hands of his regime remains to be tallied, but some believe the final count will approach 350,000.

The U.S. government declared that its primary goals in sending troops to Iraq were to end Saddam Hussein’s regime and to uncover WMD. But the government also had other, more long-term goals for the reconstruction of Iraq. Even before the war began, U.S. leaders believed that a democracy in Iraq could transform the Middle East, providing an example

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of freedom that would influence neighboring countries to undergo similar democratic reform.

“A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions.”

—President Bush, February 26, 2003

What challenges remain in Iraq today?

In May 2003, the U.S. government established a provisional government in Iraq, led by U.S. officials. Over the next year the United States worked with Iraqis to create an interim constitution and an interim Iraqi government. Since elections in 2005, in which Iraqis voted for a permanent constitution and elected a permanent government, the U.S. government has acted in an advisory role through the U.S. embassy in Baghdad. The embassy has approximately one thousand U.S. government employees, more than any other U.S. embassy. U.S. troops remain to provide security and train the Iraqi police and military.

The new Iraqi government and the U.S. military face multiple challenges. Violence from local militias, insurgents, and terrorist groups continue to wrack the country. This violence makes providing public safety, electricity, water, and other basic services extremely difficult. Deep sectarian divisions within the government and the population limit overall reconciliation and nation-building. Finally, Iraq’s economy has been struggling and many Iraqis are frustrated with the government’s failure to improve the situation.

By May 2008, more than four thousand U.S. soldiers had been killed and tens of thousands wounded in Iraq. Statistics vary widely, but according to UN reports, an average of ninety-four Iraqi civilians died each day in 2006, the worst year in terms of violence since the U.S. invasion. Although the number of civilian casualties has declined since then, about 23,000 Iraqi civilians died from violence in 2007. Some two million Iraqis have fled Iraq since 2003.

Many countries in the Middle East are concerned about the U.S. presence in Iraq. They are also suspicious of U.S. efforts to promote democracy in the region. Since the invasion, governments and other regional organizations have supported or been involved with many of Iraq’s paramilitary groups. Iran in particular has been accused of supplying arms, financial support, and training to a number of groups. Most of the foreign insurgents in Iraq have arrived through the Saudi Arabian and Syrian borders. At the same time, most countries in the region do not want the Iraqi state to fail. Many are worried that if Iraq’s civil war worsens, it will draw other countries into the fight, spilling violence over Iraq’s borders. Many fear that with Shi’i Muslim groups supported by Iran and Sunni Muslim groups supported by countries like Syria and Saudi Arabia, Iraq could turn into a war that might destabilize the entire region.

“The core of the problem is that if Iraq is divided, definitely there will be a civil war and definitely neighboring countries will be involved in this. The Middle East can’t shoulder this. It’s too much.”

—Abdullah Gül, former Foreign Minister of Turkey, September 18, 2006

The United States plans to stay in Iraq until it establishes a stable government able to maintain security. How long the United States will remain in the country is uncertain, but many experts predict that it will be years, require additional troops, and cost hundreds of billions of dollars.

How does the conflict in Iraq affect domestic politics in the United States?

The war in Iraq remains one of the most controversial topics in U.S. politics today, heightened by the failure of U.S. officials there to find any WMD, a principal justification for invading Iraq. While most agree that an end to Saddam Hussein’s brutal dictatorship was positive, many disagreements remain and



are likely to continue to play an important role in U.S. domestic politics.

■ Iran

The United States believes that Iran has a well-established program to develop nuclear weapons. The Iranian government has the right to develop nuclear materials to use for nuclear energy. The dilemma for the international community is that it is difficult to distinguish between “good atoms” for peaceful purposes and “bad atoms” for military purposes.



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How has the world responded to Iran's nuclear ambitions?

In 2002, the international community discovered that Iran had secret nuclear facilities. In a move supported by Washington and Europe, Russian officials proposed supplying Iran with fuel for its nuclear power plants that could be used only for peaceful purposes. This would prevent Iran from having to create its own nuclear fuel. Nevertheless, in 2006 Iran restarted its uranium enrichment program in a move that has heightened concern around the world. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) referred Iran to the UN Security Council, which passed a resolution in December 2006 calling for Iran to suspend its nuclear activities. Iran is currently in violation of that resolution.

France, Germany, and the United Kingdom have negotiated closely with Iran to encourage it to end its nuclear program. Iran's hard-line president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, has staunchly defended Iran's right to a civilian nuclear energy program. His public assertion that Israel should be “wiped off the map” has also increased international anxiety about Iran's intentions.

Three other issues affect U.S. relations with Iran. The State Department believes Iran is the leading state sponsor of terrorism. Iran's support for anti-Israeli terrorist groups Hezbol-

lah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad has contributed significantly to violence in the region. Second, the United States believes that Iran's support of the sectarian groups in Iraq fuels violence there. Finally, human rights violations, including the torture and killing of political opponents of the regime, are a continuing cause for concern.

U.S. officials are divided on how best to deal with Iran. Some advocate a hard-line policy to bring about change in Iran's leadership, including military action. Others believe that a policy of diplomatic engagement is a better course.

How has Iran changed since the death of Khomeini?

The record of Iran's Islamic Republic presents a contradictory picture. Well-organized fundamentalist clergymen continue to wield strong influence in the political process and meddle in the private lives of Iranian citizens. The clergy have implemented social codes that classify contact between unmarried or unrelated men and women as a violation of public morality. They have also imposed an ineffective ban on satellite dishes that receive international television signals and have banned western videos and music.

But the Iranian Revolution that first set off alarm bells about political Islam has lost

much of its fire. Since the death of Khomeini in 1989, Iran's leadership has been less eager to export its revolution abroad. Iran's military budget amounts to only one-sixth of Saudi Arabia's and one-half of Israel's, and Iran has not invaded another country since 1736. Iran has also taken steps to encourage foreign investment.

The re-election of a moderate, Mohammad Khatami, as president in 2001 with nearly 60 percent of the vote indicated that Iranian voters wanted to reform the Iranian Revolution. Khatami campaigned for tolerance, social reform, and a greater role for women in public life—a platform that appealed particularly to youth and women. But in February 2004, Iran's clerics disqualified many liberal reform candidates from running for parliament. Many Iranians chose to boycott the 2004 election in protest of the government's action.

Public demonstrations calling for reform and criticizing Iran's clerics became more common.

“I would not be surprised if we see more of such protests in the future because the ground is ready. Our society now is like a room full of gas ready to ignite with a small spark.”

—Anonymous member of Iran's Parliament, June 2003

The presidential election of 2005 seemed to turn Iranian politics on its head once again. The election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a religious conservative who supports the system of ruling clerics, ended the reign of the liberal reformers. Ahmadinejad ran on a platform that focused on stamping out corruption and providing aid to the poor. Liberal reformers acknowledged the need to broaden their appeal.

“We were the party of the intellectuals, so we must change this to develop ideas for the poor and workers. We will still talk about democracy and human rights, but we should explain

to people how it will make their lives better.”

—Former President Mohammad Khatami

How has life changed for Iranians in the Islamic Republic?

Most Iranians are better off under the Islamic Republic than they were under the shah. Life expectancy in the country has risen from fifty-five years in the late 1970s to seventy years today. The shah neglected remote villages that now have schools, health clinics, roads, and safe drinking water. Nonetheless, economic hardship and widespread unemployment are ongoing problems.

The rights of women in Iran are restricted. They cannot travel abroad without the permission of their husbands, and their testimony in court is worth half that of a man. Nonetheless, Iranian women are ahead of their counterparts in most of the Arab kingdoms of the Persian Gulf. For example, more than 50 percent of the students in Iranian universities are women, and 95 percent of all girls attend primary school.

Resolving the Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Arab-Israeli peace process has commanded a large share of the United States' diplomatic energy over the years. For the past seventeen years, the United States has played an important role in mediating the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. In addition to playing host at negotiating sessions, the United States exerts influence through foreign aid and diplomatic pressure. Israel has long been the leading recipient of U.S. foreign aid, taking in about \$3 billion a year. (Egypt ranks second with about \$2 billion a year.) Arab-Israeli peace is important to the United States today because of the long history of friendship with Israel, because U.S. leaders feel a responsibility to help resolve this violent conflict, and because Israel provides the United States with a powerful ally in an important region.



What is the U.S. perspective on relations with Israel?

Since its creation, Israel has occupied a special position in U.S. foreign policy. U.S. leaders have stood by Israel for several reasons. First, Israel has won the admiration of many in the United States as a model of democracy and Western values in the Middle East. Presidents Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson were particularly committed to Israel's struggle for survival.

Other presidents, such as Richard Nixon and George H.W. Bush, viewed Israel primarily as a strategic ally in the region. They valued Israel for countering U.S. enemies in the Middle East, battle-testing U.S. weapons, and sharing intelligence information. Israel's development of nuclear weapons (which Israeli officials have never admitted) gave Israel added weight in U.S. policy.

In recent years, U.S. attachment to Israel has attracted fresh attention. Israel's treatment of the Palestinians under its jurisdiction has drawn more intense criticism. For instance, the Israeli government has limited Palestinians' daily travel to work and elsewhere through checkpoints at the boundaries. The Israeli government built a barrier to separate the Gaza Strip and Israel in the mid-1990s, and is currently constructing a barrier more than 400 miles long to separate the West Bank and Israel. U.S. support for Israel has not wavered, even though it has been a source of resentment in the Arab world. In this section you will read about recent attempts to resolve the conflicts between Israel and its Arab neighbors and between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as current events that have derailed that process.

How did the first Gulf War lead to talks between Israel and its neighbors?

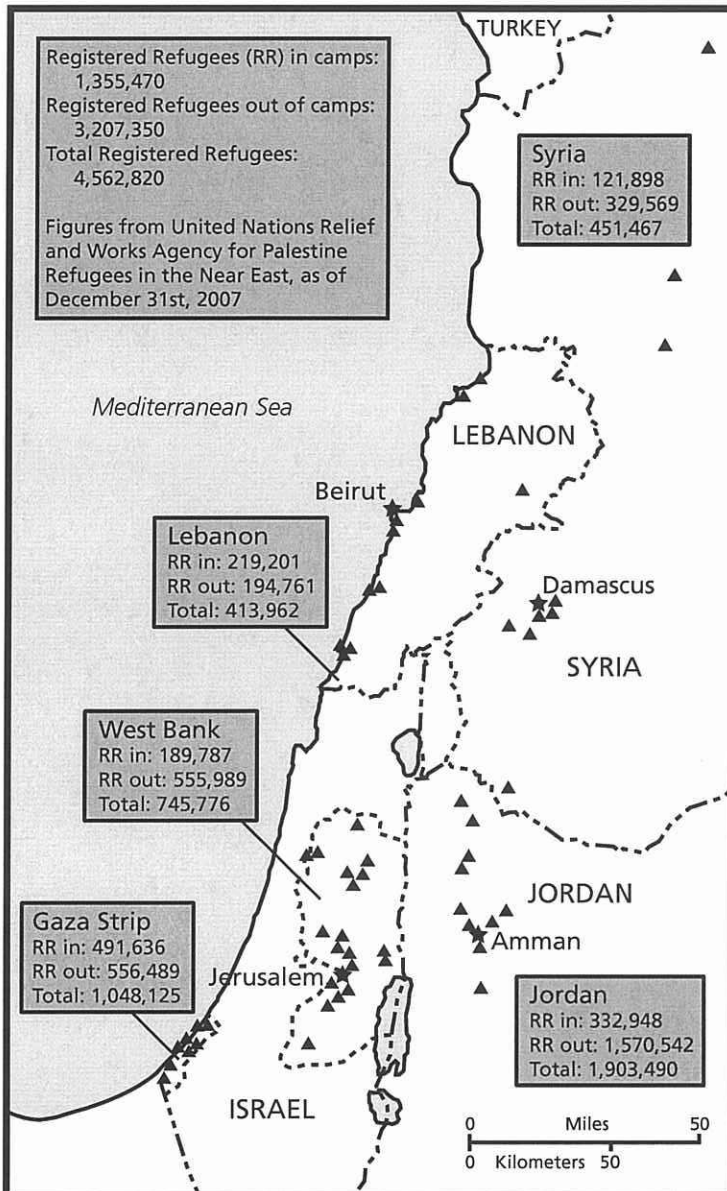
The first Persian Gulf War in 1991 shook



the entire Middle East. A handful of long-range Iraqi missiles struck Israel during the war and reinforced the country's sense of vulnerability. Moreover, some Israelis viewed the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a burden on their society, especially since Palestinians had launched a broad-based protest movement in 1987 known as the first *intifada*. (*Intifada* is an Arabic word that means "shaking-off.")

The 1991 Persian Gulf War also boosted the leverage of the United States. President George H.W. Bush decided to use enhanced U.S. power and influence to try to achieve peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. In October 1991, he persuaded representatives of Israel, the Palestinians, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon to sit down together in Madrid. The participants at the Madrid Conference recognized that the Arab-Israeli conflict was not likely to be resolved with a single treaty. Rather, separate peace talks were initiated between Israel and each of its Arab neighbors. Sometimes these talks have produced positive outcomes, such as the treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1994.

Under the peace treaty, Jordan joined Egypt in officially recognizing Israel. Mauritania is the only other Arab state to extend diplomatic relations to Israel, although Israel has established low-level ties with Morocco, Tunisia, Oman, and Qatar.



Palestinian refugees live throughout the world. These figures are for the region, where the bulk of Palestinian refugees live. The UN defines Palestinian refugees as people whose normal place of residency between 1946 and 1948 was Palestine and who lost their homes and livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict.

What did negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinians achieve?

Many experts consider the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians to be the most difficult element of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Some believe it is the linchpin on which all other elements of the conflict depend. It has

certainly been the most violent in recent years. One reason peace has so far been elusive may lie in the changing leadership on both sides, which has tended to see-saw between more extreme and more moderate approaches. These changes make progress hard to sustain.

During the 1990s, negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinians achieved significant breakthroughs. In 1993 during President Bill Clinton's administration, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasir Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn to seal their first agreement. In the declaration of principles they signed, Israel accepted the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people while the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and security and renounced the use of violence. Both sides expressed their support for earlier UN resolutions that called on Israel to withdraw from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights in exchange for an Arab commitment to peaceful relations.

In 1995, Rabin and Arafat met again at the White House to sign a much more detailed treaty. The second agreement laid out a plan to extend Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and to bring Israel's military occupation of the area to a close.

These agreements produced some concrete changes. A Palestinian government, called the Palestinian Authority, was largely given control of day-to-day affairs in half the Gaza Strip and the main cities of the West Bank, except East Jerusalem. Palestinians also now manage their own police force and elect the officials who govern them.



How did the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin affect the peace process?

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators were scheduled to conclude a comprehensive, final

agreement by May 1999. Political developments in the region put that deadline out of reach and the entire peace process in doubt.

In 1995, an Israeli extremist gunned down

Israel and the Palestinians: What Are the Unresolved Issues?

Palestinian Statehood: Above all, the Palestinians insist on attaining full statehood. They want to control their own borders, form an army, and exercise the rights belonging to independent nations. Some Israelis fear that a full-fledged Palestinian state could endanger their security. They argue that an independent Palestine could be used as a staging ground for attacks against Israel.

Jerusalem: The status of Jerusalem is another important sticking point. East Jerusalem has religious significance for both Muslims and Jews. Israel captured East Jerusalem during the 1967 War. Prior to this, East Jerusalem and the West Bank were under the control of Jordan. Israel claims complete control over Jerusalem and considers it the nation's capital. The Palestinians want to establish their capital in East Jerusalem, where they represent a majority of the population. (The United States and most other nations do not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital.)

Jewish Settlements: Like the status of Jerusalem, controversy over Jewish settlements in the Palestinian territories has stirred passions. Approximately 250,000 Israelis live in the West Bank. Most of them make their homes in modern suburbs ringing Jerusalem. Other Israelis have settled in more remote areas, often for ideological reasons. Many of the settlers, who use a large portion of the scarce resources of the area, vow that they will never accept Palestinian authority. Israel has insisted on maintaining control of the access roads that connect the settlements, effectively carving lands of the Palestinians into isolated pockets. In 2005, Israel withdrew all its settlements in Gaza and plans to withdraw some from the West Bank, a position which the United States endorses.

The Security Barrier: In the mid-1990s, the Israeli government constructed a barrier between Israel and the Gaza Strip to prevent the unauthorized entry of Palestinians into Israel and prevent attacks by terrorists. In June 2002, Israel decided to construct a similar barrier in the West Bank. Though not yet completed, the path of the barrier is disputed because it has incorporated disputed Jewish settlements, cut across Palestinian farmland, and made it more difficult for Palestinians in the West Bank to travel freely to work. When completed the wall will total more than 400 miles.

Palestinian Refugees: More than 1.7 million Palestinian refugees live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (The total population of the West Bank and Gaza is 4.14 million). As many as 4.5 million other Palestinians live scattered throughout the Middle East, mostly in Jordan. Palestinian leaders argue that all Palestinians—many of whom were forced to flee during the 1967 War—should have the right to return to their former homes in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Israel. Israeli authorities have resisted opening the Palestinian territories to unrestricted immigration and worry that Palestinians returning to Israel would eventually change the nature of their state. Israelis also note that more than 850,000 Israeli Arabs already live within Israel's borders.

Water Resources: Finally, the right to water and water usage in the region is another significant stumbling block. Limited supply and water sources that cross borders remain significant obstacles to any peace settlement. The Israeli-Jordanian Peace Agreement of 1994 contains a water protocol. Other agreements between Israel and its neighbors will also be necessary to govern the use of this scarce resource.



Israeli Prime Minister Rabin. Following his assassination a more hard-line prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, came to power. Netanyahu backed away from Rabin's pledge to continue the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank. His positions brought him into conflict with President Clinton's administration and were not widely popular among Israelis. He lost the elections in May of 1999. Ehud Barak won, largely by promising to negotiate an enduring and comprehensive peace.

What were the results of the Camp David negotiations in July 2000?

The United States, hoping to conclude an agreement, organized talks with Israel and the Palestinian Authority at Camp David in July 2000. Despite President Clinton's intense involvement, the parties could not reach comprehensive agreement. The status of East Jerusalem, which both groups want to control, was reported to be one of the sticking points in the negotiations. Both Israelis and Palestinians were disappointed and angered by the failed talks. Both sides began to question their leaders.

Shortly after the Camp David talks, violence erupted again. This wave, called the second intifada, killed more than 950 Israelis and 3,200 Palestinians. Many were civilians.

How did Arafat's leadership frustrate the United States and Palestinians?

Many Palestinians grew frustrated by corruption and mismanagement during Yasir Arafat's leadership of the Palestinian Authority. Most Palestinians faced economic hardship and poverty. In addition, the Israeli government reduced Palestinians' access to job opportunities within Israel for security reasons. Palestinian frustration generated support for hard-line militants who use terrorism and violence in attacks against Israel. Arafat failed to crack down on militant Islamic groups such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas, and to stop them from conducting terrorist attacks on Israel.

Both the United States and Israel saw Arafat's leadership as an obstacle to progress.

His death in November 2004, and the election of Mahmoud Abbas as president of the Palestinian Authority, led to a flurry of new negotiations. After Abbas' election, the United States pledged increased aid to the Palestinians.

Abbas renounced the intifada and made efforts to halt attacks against Israel. Israel, in turn, reduced military activity in the West Bank, and withdrew from the Gaza Strip. The combination of these actions opened the door to negotiations. Both sides agreed to a cease-fire in early 2005. Many hoped that the waves of violence that had wracked the area since 2000 were over. But recent developments have again thrown the future of the peace process into doubt.

How has the election of Hamas affected the peace process?

In January 2006, Hamas, capitalizing on the frustrations of Palestinians, won a slight majority of votes in democratic legislative elections and assumed control of the Palestinian Authority (Mahmoud Abbas was still president). Hamas, designated as a terrorist organization by the United States and the European Union, has both a political and military wing. It is an Islamist organization and its long-term goal is to establish an Islamic Palestinian state on the land historically called Palestine, much of which currently lies in Israel.

The United States, Russia, the United Nations, and the European Union warned Hamas that it would have to recognize Israel's right to exist, forswear violence, and accept previously-negotiated agreements. Israel vowed not to negotiate with Hamas unless it recognized Israel's right to exist and renounced violence. Following Hamas' capture of an Israeli soldier in June 2006, Israel launched a new military offensive in the Gaza Strip, just a year after withdrawing settlements from the area.

Hamas and its rival political party, Fatah (Abbas's party) agreed to form a unity government in September 2006. But factional fighting continued and when Hamas took control of



the Gaza Strip in June 2007, President Abbas dissolved the unity government. Abbas, whose Fatah party retains control of the West Bank, ejected Hamas members from the government of the Palestinian Authority in June. Hamas has established its own government in Gaza. Neither party recognizes the other as the official Palestinian leadership.

In response to Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip, the Israeli government has tightened security on its border with Gaza. Economic conditions in Gaza have become increasingly difficult. Political divisions among Palestinians prevent progress on reconciliation with Israel and achieving political goals within the Palestinian territories. The peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, if it still exists, is at a standstill.

Why was there a war on the Israeli-Lebanese border in 2006?

In mid-2006 a war erupted on the Israeli-Lebanese border between Israel and Hezbollah. Hezbollah is a political and military organization in Lebanon that many consider to be terrorist.

This violence has a long history. Lebanon borders Israel to the north. Peace between Lebanon and Israel hinges on several factors. First, the relationship between Israel and Lebanon is connected to the relationship between Israel and Syria. Syria insists that it will sign a peace treaty with Israel only if Israel returns the strategic Golan Heights, which have been under Israeli occupation since the 1967 War.

From the 1980s, both Syria and Israel were militarily involved in Lebanon. In May 2000, Israeli Prime Minister Barak ordered a unilateral withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon. After huge Lebanese demonstrations against Syria's presence, Syria agreed to withdraw its troops in time for elections in

Lebanon in May 2005. Although Syria's army has left, the Syrian government still influences events in Lebanon.

The presence of Hezbollah in Lebanon also prevents Israel and Lebanon from being able to negotiate peace. The United States and the European Union consider Hezbollah, which cooperates closely with Iran and Syria, to be a terrorist organization. Iran is its single largest financial supporter, though it also receives significant funding from individual donations. Since Israeli forces left Lebanon, one of Hezbollah's goals has been to support the Palestinian cause.

In the middle of 2006, Hezbollah kidnapped two Israeli soldiers, which led to retaliation from Israel and further violence from Hezbollah. The conflict killed more than a thousand militants and civilians, mostly Lebanese, and made large areas of southern Lebanon uninhabitable because of unexploded bombs. Many foreign nations evacuated their citizens from Beirut during the fighting. Israel invaded Lebanon but failed to find the soldiers.

When the violence subsided, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert came under attack from moderate Israelis as well as from many abroad for what they saw as his overly aggressive and incompetent response to Hezbollah's actions. In Lebanon, increased tension between Hezbollah and government supporters broke out into violence in May 2008. Later that month, leaders signed a peace deal giving Hezbollah more power in the government.

Some Middle East experts view these events—violence in Lebanon and the election of Hamas—as representing a turning point in the peace process. They see some possible positive outcomes from the renewed calls for stability and negotiation. Others are not so hopeful.



Soaring populations, popular discontent, rising government expenditures, violence in Iraq, and the unresolved situation between Israelis and Palestinians continue to place pressure on Middle Eastern states. How the United States manages the challenges of our dependence on the region's oil, Iran's nuclear ambitions, threats from Islamist terrorists, our presence in Iraq, and the relationship between the Arab world and Israel will be no simple task.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of options for U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Each of the four options that you will explore is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on the U.S. role in the world and its stake in the Middle East. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which the United States must craft future policy.

After considering these options, you will be asked to create your own policies that reflect your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, you may combine ideas from several options, or you may take a new approach altogether.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Police a Rough Neighborhood

The attacks of September 11 and the aggressive dictatorships of the Middle East prove that the world is a dangerous place. The United States cannot hide from the hatreds that fester in this region. U.S. citizens must accept that the United States' strength and influence in the Middle East and around the world present an irresistible target for hate-mongers and extremists. To ensure U.S. security and the security of U.S. friends and allies, the United States must confront the forces that have aligned themselves against peace and stability before they unleash more havoc. The United States has destroyed the government of the most dangerous and aggressive tyrant in the region, Saddam Hussein. The United States must remain in Iraq until a new, stable, U.S.-friendly government can be established. And the United States must stand up to other countries in the region that sponsor terrorism and are trying to acquire dangerous weapons.

Option 2: Focus on Oil

U.S. citizens have no choice but to recognize the critical importance of Middle Eastern oil to economic and political stability. As the events of the 1970s illustrated, a disruption in Middle Eastern oil supplies has the potential to send shock waves throughout the global economy. In the face of such a threat, it should be clear that the flow of oil from the Middle East is vital to U.S. prosperity and security. U.S. policy in the Middle East must be focused on ensuring that the United States and its allies have access to the region's oil resources. For too long, the United States' absolute support of Israel has complicated its relationship with leading Arab oil-producers. Economic common sense demands a more balanced approach. Likewise, there is no benefit in picking fights with Iran or Syria or carrying out a campaign against Islamist movements that needlessly alarms U.S. allies.

Option 3: Promote Democracy and Freedom in the Region

Over the past decade, the world has changed for the better. But democracy has made scant headway in the Middle East, where basic freedoms and the rule of law count for little. No region of the world spends a higher proportion of its wealth on weapons. Regrettably, U.S. policy has contributed to the Middle East's lack of progress. For too many years, the United States has put its oil interests and security concerns ahead of principle. The time has come for the United States to use its enormous influence to nudge the region toward reform. Governments that take steps toward establishing democratic institutions, open societies, and economic freedoms should be rewarded. At the same time, the United States should withhold favors from those that refuse to budge. Change is possible, but only if the United States is willing to commit its strength and its resources and play a fair and evenhanded role with all states in the region.

Option 4: Break Free of Entanglements

Since the end of the Cold War, much of the United States' foreign policy attention has shifted to the Middle East. But U.S. efforts have only increased anti-American sentiment. The United States must break free of entanglements in the region. The U.S. military presence must be eliminated to avoid U.S. involvement in another, potentially far more deadly and expansive war. The United States cannot continue to serve as a convenient target for anti-American extremists. Likewise, the United States should not be held responsible for guaranteeing peace between Arabs and Israelis. U.S. relations with countries in the Middle East should be limited to issues that do not entangle the United States in the controversies of the region.



Option 1: Police a Rough Neighborhood

The attacks of September 11 and the aggressive dictatorships of the Middle East prove that the world is a dangerous place. The forces opposed to the United States and its interests did not disappear with the end of the Cold War. Many of them reside in the Middle East. The United States cannot hide from the hatreds that fester in this region. U.S. citizens must accept that the United States' strength and influence in the region and around the world present an irresistible target for hate-mongers and extremists.

To ensure U.S. security and the security of U.S. friends and allies, the United States must draw a clear line in the sand. On one side belong trusted friends and allies in the region. Fortunately, there are many. Israel, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, and most of the Persian Gulf states have been reliable partners for decades. When their security is threatened, either by enemies beyond their borders or within, the United States should stand beside them. On the other side are the forces that have aligned themselves against peace and stability. They must be confronted before they unleash more havoc on their neighbors and on the United States.

The United States has destroyed the government of a dangerous and aggressive tyrant, Saddam Hussein. The United States must remain in Iraq until a new, stable, U.S.-friendly government can be established. There are also other countries such as Iran and Syria that sponsor terrorism and are trying to acquire dangerous weapons. Terrorists have demonstrated their ability to strike worldwide. Still more chilling is the prospect that a rogue state such as Iran may eventually be armed with nuclear weapons. Only the United States has the power and the prestige to confront the outlaw regimes of the Middle East. The job of police officer is not fun, but in a neighborhood as rough as the Middle East the alternative is chaos and war.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should maintain strong alliances with key friends in the Middle East and provide foreign aid and military assistance to Middle Eastern governments that are fighting against Islamist movements.

- The United States should work for a settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict that ensures the security of Israel while satisfying the United States' Arab allies. The United States should pressure the Palestinian Authority to reign in Hamas and recognize Israel's right to exist.

- The United States and its coalition allies should remain in Iraq until a stable government that is friendly to the United States can be established.

- The United States should use its economic, diplomatic, and military strength to prevent states in the region from developing nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons or from gaining access to advanced military technology.

- The United States should restrict the fundraising and organizational activities of groups in the United States that are linked to Islamist movements in the Middle East.

- The United States should press its allies and trading partners worldwide to impose sanctions on Iran and control the flow of funds to terrorists.



Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

- There is no hope for compromise between the United States and the anti-Western leaders who despise U.S. values and way of life.
- The United States has the right to

take the initiative to eliminate tyrants who threaten it, its allies, or the rest of the world.

- The U.S. appetite for oil should not overshadow the need for security.

Arguments for

1. Confronting tyrants will, in the long run, reduce tension and promote stability in the Middle East and around the world.
2. Standing by allies and friends in the Middle East will reassure countries worldwide that the United States honors its commitments.
3. Addressing Israeli security concerns in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict will serve as a solid foundation for lasting peace in the region.

Arguments against

1. If the United States continues its military presence in Iraq, this will further inflame Middle Eastern public opinion and jeopardize the stability of the region.
2. Branding Islamist leaders as U.S. enemies will only provoke deeper hostility toward the United States within the Muslim world and may result in an increase of terrorist attacks both within the United States and against U.S. allies in the region.
3. Confronting Iran will leave the United States further isolated from the rest of the international community and cost U.S. companies opportunities for business.
4. Entangling the United States further in the Middle East will draw U.S. resources away from urgent problems at home, such as reducing crime and improving education.
5. Continuing support for corrupt, undemocratic regimes in the Middle East will discourage democratic and economic reform and provide fuel for claims of U.S. hypocrisy.
6. Pledging unconditional support for U.S. allies when their security is threatened will mean that the United States must continue to support Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, a position that only fans the flames of anti-American sentiment in the region.
7. Imposing economic sanctions to achieve political goals harms innocent civilians rather than oppressive dictators.
8. If the United States commits itself to a large military role in the Middle East, it will be stretching the military too thin. This will make the United States vulnerable in other parts of the world.



Option 2: Focus on Oil

Today's world runs on oil. Much of industrialized society has been built around it. Without oil, the engines of the global economy would grind to a halt. The Middle East contains over 60 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Saudi Arabia alone holds one-fifth of the planet's supplies. U.S. citizens have no choice but to recognize the critical importance of Middle Eastern oil to economic and political stability. As the events of the 1970s illustrated, a disruption in Middle Eastern oil supplies has the potential to send shock waves throughout the global economy. Not only would people in the United States be jolted, but the economic earthquake would strike key U.S. allies and trading partners in Western Europe and East Asia with even more devastating force. The entire international economy could very well crumble. In the face of such a threat, it should be clear that the flow of oil from the Middle East is vital to U.S. prosperity and security. No other issue in the Middle East rivals the importance of energy.

U.S. policy in the Middle East must be focused on ensuring that the United States and its allies have access to the region's oil resources. With so much at stake, the United States cannot afford to lose track of its priorities. For too long, the United States' absolute support of Israel has complicated its relationship with leading Arab oil-producers. Economic common sense demands a more balanced approach. Likewise, there is no benefit in picking fights with Iran or Syria or carrying out a campaign against Islamist movements that needlessly alarms U.S. allies. U.S. interests require that the United States maintain a military presence in the Persian Gulf, but U.S. troops should be there to promote stability, not to provoke another war. Above all, the United States must be careful not to rock the boat in a region that is both dangerously explosive and critically important.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should scale back its support for Israel and take an evenhanded approach to resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- The United States should ensure that Iraqi oil continues to flow and that this oil is available to the United States, its allies, and the global marketplace.
- The United States should maintain friendly relations with Middle Eastern governments that respect U.S. oil interests and offer the United States assistance in resolving disputes that threaten regional stability.
- The United States should support the efforts of U.S. oil companies doing business in the Middle East.
- The United States should continue to use its economic and diplomatic leverage to prevent OPEC from again dominating the world oil market.
- The United States should maintain a military presence in the Persian Gulf sufficient to safeguard shipping lanes and to deter attacks against the main oil fields of the region.
- The United States should respond quickly and firmly, using force if necessary, against countries that threaten U.S. oil interests in the Middle East.
- The United States should end economic sanctions against Iran and instead work to draw it back into the international community.



Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

- The free flow of oil from the Middle East is essential to the security and prosperity of the United States.
- By showing respect and tolerance, the United States can live peacefully with the growing political influence of Islam in the Middle East.

- The United States' one-sided support for Israel has undermined U.S. relationships with Arab countries and contradicts U.S. economic interests in the Middle East.

Arguments for

1. Pursuing a more balanced policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict will boost U.S. prestige and influence in the Middle East and allow the United States to play a more effective role in promoting regional stability.
2. Ending the United States' confrontational posture with Iran will remove a needless source of friction in Middle Eastern politics. Improved relations will also allow U.S. companies to do business in Iran and compete with their European rivals on an equal footing.
3. Emphasizing economic interests in U.S. relations with the Middle East will place U.S. foreign policy on a steadier, more predictable course.

Arguments against

1. Focusing on U.S. economic interests in Iraq rather than on the establishment of democracy will indicate that the United States has been hypocritical in its rationale for war with Iraq and will fuel anti-American sentiment in the region.
2. Stabbing Israel in the back after decades of close cooperation will invite an Arab attack against Israel and lead U.S. allies worldwide to question U.S. commitments.
3. Treating the rulers of oil-rich nations as a privileged class will embolden them to crack down on government opposition at home and will inflame anti-American sentiment in the region.
4. Abandoning sanctions against Iran will be seen throughout the Middle East as a victory for U.S. enemies and a defeat for the United States.
5. Ignoring the brutality and corruption of tyrannical regimes in order to gain access to oil will tarnish the United States' international reputation as a force for democracy and freedom.
6. Focusing U.S. resources on protecting the oil supplies of the Middle East will distract from the more important goal of developing new sources of energy and promoting conservation.
7. Focusing on U.S. access to Middle East oil will only prove to the international community that the United States is not interested in collaborating to solve the region's pressing problems.



Option 3: Promote Democracy and Freedom in the Region

Over the past decade, the world has changed. More countries than ever have embraced democracy and economic freedom. International standards of human rights have gained widespread acceptance. But troubles continue to exist in the Middle East. Democracy has made scant headway. Basic freedoms and the rule of law count for little in many nations of the Middle East. The rights of women are cruelly neglected. Government officials keep a tight grip over industry and commerce. No region of the world spends a higher proportion of its wealth on weapons. Regrettably, U.S. policy has contributed to the Middle East's lack of progress. For too many years, the United States has put its oil interests and security concerns ahead of principle. It has looked the other way as heavy-handed rulers have abused their own people. As U.S. experience first with the shah of Iran and then with Saddam Hussein proved, such policies inevitably lead to future problems.

The time has come for the United States to use its enormous influence in the Middle East to nudge the region toward reform. In countries whose regimes are both brutal and tyrannical, the United States should help democratic opposition forces change their governments. In others, the United States should encourage positive change. Governments that take steps toward establishing democratic institutions, open societies, and economic freedoms should be rewarded. At the same time, the United States should withhold favors from those that refuse to budge. Fortunately, there are a few states that serve as models for the region. Israel has a solid record of democracy. Turkey's political system has overcome several setbacks. Jordan and Lebanon also appear to be moving toward greater political participation. But no country should be above criticism. For the United States to bring reform to the Middle East, U.S. policies must be seen as fair and evenhanded by those in the region and by the wider international community. Change is possible, but only if the United States is willing to commit its strength and its resources to this endeavor.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should use foreign aid, trade benefits, and diplomatic pressure to promote democratic and economic reform in the Middle East.
- The United States should ensure the survival of Israel and persuade Arab states to establish peaceful relations with Israel. At the same time, the United States should pressure Israel to end human rights abuses against the Palestinians living under Israeli jurisdiction.
- The United States should base its support for Palestinian statehood on whether the Palestinian Authority reins in Hamas, recognizes Israel, and promotes democracy and human rights.
- The United States should stop selling arms to governments that use force against their own people.
- The United States should punish governments that abuse the rights of minority groups, violate the principles of religious tolerance, or discriminate against women. This must apply evenly to both U.S. allies and U.S. enemies in the region.
- The United States should work to foster domestic democratic opponents of the Iranian mullahs and other brutal, tyrannical rulers in the Middle East.
- The United States should reduce its military ties with governments that refuse to take steps toward establishing democratic institutions and economic freedoms.
- Now that it is there, the United States should stay in Iraq and build a democracy there.



Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- The advancement of democracy, tolerance, human rights, equality for women, and economic freedom in the Middle East is essential to bringing peace and stability to the region.
- Without political and economic

Arguments for

1. Promoting democracy and economic freedom in the Middle East will restore the United States' reputation as a nation of principle and strengthen the cause of reformers worldwide.
2. Taking a firm stand against abuses of human rights and adopting an evenhanded policy toward all countries in the Middle East—friend and foe alike—will strengthen the U.S. position in the eyes of the Middle East and the world.
3. Gaining acceptance for international standards of human rights in the Middle East will serve as the basis for the resolution of disputes in the region.

reform, the Middle East will fall further behind other regions of the world.

- The United States has the prestige and influence to nudge the governments of the Middle East toward reform.

Arguments against

1. Trying to impose U.S. values on cultures that are distinctly different will only contribute to further hostility toward the United States.
2. Presenting Israel and Turkey as models for the region—despite their records of human rights violations—will lead others to accuse the United States of having a double standard.
3. Picking fights with countries that control a large share of the world's oil reserves flies in the face of vital U.S. economic interests.
4. Needlessly rocking the boat by encouraging opposition forces in one of the most explosive regions in the world will lead to the downfall of many traditional U.S. friends and allies in the Middle East.
5. Transition to democracy in many of the countries of the region could lead to regimes that are more, not less, hostile toward the United States.
6. Forcing Middle Eastern countries to adopt reckless economic changes will deepen poverty and play into the hands of extremists.
7. Entangling the United States further in the domestic affairs of the region will inflame public opinion against the United States at home and abroad.



Option 4: Break Free of Entanglements

Since the end of the Cold War, much of the United States' foreign policy attention has shifted to the Middle East. The United States has fought two wars against Iraq, occupied that country, and established an extensive military presence in the region. In addition, it has committed vast diplomatic and security resources to resolving the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. And what has been the result? Only increasing anti-American sentiment stirred up by Islamist militants. The United States has become the target of terrorist attacks aimed at punishing the United States for its involvement in the Islamic world. History has shown that U.S. policymakers have often misunderstood developments in the Middle East. As September 11 demonstrated, U.S. involvement in the region can be a costly, dangerous adventure.

The United States must break free of entanglements in the Middle East. The military presence it has built up in recent years must be eliminated to avoid U.S. involvement in another, potentially far more deadly and expansive war. The United States cannot continue to serve as a convenient target for anti-American extremists. Likewise, the United States should not be held responsible for guaranteeing peace between Arabs and Israelis. Ultimately, disputes in the region must be resolved by those involved, not by U.S. diplomats or U.S. military forces. U.S. relations with the countries of the Middle East should be limited to issues that do not entangle the United States in the controversies of the region. Like the nations of Western Europe and Japan, the United States should concentrate on doing business with the Middle East, not on meddling in local affairs. By keeping its distance, the United States would remove itself from the sights of Islamist extremists and avoid further terrorist attacks.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should turn responsibility for rebuilding Iraq to the Iraqi government.

- The United States should withdraw its military forces from the Middle East and end its alliances with countries in the region.

- The United States should scale back its involvement in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict and instead advise the countries of the region to take the initiative in pursuing the peace process.

- The United States should pursue open trade and business relations with

all of the countries of the Middle East.

- The United States should repeal its economic sanctions against Iran.

- The United States should reduce its dependence on Middle Eastern oil by encouraging U.S. oil companies to invest elsewhere in the world and by promoting the development of alternative energy sources, such as solar and wind power.

- The United States should limit foreign aid in the Middle East to humanitarian crises.



Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

- The United States' expanding involvement in the Middle East has contributed to the rise of anti-American feelings in the region.

- As a region, the Middle East is no more important to U.S. interests

than other parts of the world.

- Peace and progress in the Middle East can only come from changes within the region, not from U.S. pressure.

Arguments for

1. As the United States decreases its involvement in the affairs of the Middle East, it will reduce the sources of anti-Americanism in the region that serve as fuel for dangerous Islamist extremists.

2. Ending the U.S. military presence in the Middle East will remove a leading grievance against the United States and allow the United States to focus its resources on addressing economic and security needs at home.

3. Untangling the United States from the web of Middle Eastern politics will lessen hostility toward the United States and make it possible for U.S. companies to pursue business in more countries in the region.

Arguments against

1. Walking away from any role as a peacemaker in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will only lead to a further escalation of the conflict.

2. Withdrawing U.S. military from the Middle East will set off an even more dangerous arms race and increase the likelihood that biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons will spread in the region.

3. If the United States withdraws from this region, it will give the rest of the world cause to believe that the United States will sit back and do nothing in other areas as well. This will encourage other states unfriendly to the United States to accelerate their weapons programs.

4. Ending the U.S. military presence in the Middle East will end any hope for a democratic transition in Iraq and change in other countries like Iran and Syria.

5. Abandoning responsibility to rebuild Iraq after a U.S.-led war will give rise to charges of hypocrisy and undermine U.S. credibility around the world.

6. Failing to stand up to Iran could open the door to Iranian aggression in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

7. A U.S. withdrawal from the Middle East will remove one of the few forces for democratic change in the region.



Optional Reading: Middle Eastern Society Through Literature

The field of literature in the Middle East has often been a political and cultural battleground. Most of the region's best-known writers have stood in opposition to their governments. Many have been imprisoned for their work. At the same time, literature has reflected the larger tensions of the region. Writers have played an important role in shaping the struggle between traditional values and Western liberalism. They have often served as a voice for the powerless and the forgotten.

In this section of the background reading, you will have an opportunity to sample the work of Iranian, Israeli, Palestinian, and Turkish writers. As you read, identify the values and viewpoints that come across most strongly.

Aboud's Drawings by Ghodsi Ghazinur

Ghodsi Ghazinur (1943-) is a widely-read author of children's literature in Iran. She is also skilled at addressing mature themes through the eyes of children.

Aboud's Drawings is told from the perspective of Morteza, a poor boy living in Tehran, Iran's capital. The story is set in the early stages of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88). While Morteza, his little brother Mostafa, and his friends are playing with cardboard weapons and fireworks in their neighborhood, Iran is experiencing mounting casualties at the battlefield and suffering from increasingly deadly rocket attacks. In the following excerpt, the reality of war intrudes on Morteza's innocent game.

After my brother fell asleep that night, I got to work. I found a piece of cardboard, drew a picture of a J-3 gun, cut the picture out in the dark with a pair of scissors I took out of my mother's sewing box, then I took the half-ready gun to my room and painted it black with a magic marker. It turned out

perfect. My brother cried his eyes out when he saw my gun the next morning. My mother who had lost her patience with him bought him a squirt gun, but my brother kept on crying that that was not a gun and that he wanted a gun and my mother, not knowing what was going on, ignored him. Eventually she got disgusted and started beating him. I felt so sorry for him that I had to rescue him from her, in spite of the fact that he was an enemy, and make him understand that a handgun was as good as any gun in a war...

That day my older brother informed us that he was joining the army on Monday. My mother looked at my father. My father's hand, holding a cigarette, started trembling. They acted as if it were the first time they had learned it. I sat by my brother and said, "Brother, are you going so you can fight the enemy?"

He caressed my hair and said, "Yes."

"With a real gun?" my younger brother asked enthusiastically. My brother smiled bitterly. My younger brother went on gleefully, "We're fighting, too. In the alley. But our guns are fake."

I glared at him but it was too late. I expected my older brother to scorn us, to say that instead of engaging in nonsense like that we should be studying. But he gently said, "Sweet Mostafa! No one really wants to be in a war. You are too young to know what war is, otherwise you wouldn't be playing a 'war' game..."

A few days later a new boy appeared in our neighborhood. He was our age, with a dark complexion and curly hair. We soon found out that his name was Aboud. Akbar was the first to meet him....

When we went to the alley the next day, we found Akbar and Aboud waiting with the rest of the guys. Akbar introduced him to us. When Aboud saw the sacks in our hands and guns on our backs, he asked, "What are these for?"

“For the ‘war’ game.”

He lowered his head and remained silent.

“Why don’t you join us?” Ali asked.

“No, I don’t want to play.”

“Why?” Ali asked in an exaggerated tone.

“Because war isn’t a game.”...

The next morning we went to the alley as usual. We hadn’t finished setting up our sandbags yet when Aboud appeared. He was holding a big roll of cardboard under one arm. Everyone exchanged curious glances. I decided to act as if I hadn’t seen him, but before we had a chance to discuss it among ourselves he came and stood in the middle of our circle and said, “Good morning, brothers!”

His tone was so friendly that everyone’s attention went to him.

“Since I left you yesterday, I have been working on this. I worked on it all day so I could finish it in time to bring it today.”

And he opened the roll. On the extra-large piece of cardboard, there were several pictures of war, each scene neatly drawn. On the top of the sheet he had written in bold black print, “The Damned War.” A scene showing bomb explosions appeared on the right-hand side. Aboud had drawn pictures of wounded birds on the edge of the scene, writing underneath the picture, “This is what war is all about.” On the left-hand side there was a picture showing a few small children staring sadly at a demolished house. The words underneath the picture read, “This used to be Zaer Abbas’s house.”...

We gazed at the pictures for a few moments.

“Who was Zaer Abbas, Aboud?” Jafar asked.

“Mahmoud’s father,” Aboud answered, squinting. “Mahmoud was a friend from school. An explosion destroyed their house. When my friends and I arrived at the scene, they had closed the alley off, preventing us from getting near the bombed house. The only thing we could find out was that none of the inhabitants had survived. They lifted the

restriction in the afternoon after they removed the corpses. I walked toward the house. Mahmoud’s sneakers were tossed outside and lay on a mound of dust next to his sister’s plastic doll with its missing hands and eye sockets filled with dirt. I wanted to scream. I wanted to knock my head against the wall. All my memories of Mahmoud came alive in my mind: the days we used to set fire to car tires during the [Islamist revolution] uprising; the afternoons we used to spend playing soccer; the days we used to go to the river bank and sprinkled bread scraps for the ducks and the fish. Now Mahmoud is dead. The river is contaminated with bodies of ducks and fish killed by bombs, and it stinks. There’s not a single bird left. The explosions have scared away not only the people but also the birds.”

“Where did they escape to?” Mostafa asked.

“God knows. They’ve become refugees, too,” Aboud said. Then he fell silent.

The Lover by Abraham B. Yehoshua

Abraham B. Yehoshua (1936-) explores the contradictions between the idealism of early Zionism and the reality of Israeli society. His novels find drama in the everyday experiences of Israelis, probing the anxieties and tensions that have emerged since Israel’s triumph in the 1967 War.

The Lover examines Israeli life in the mid-1970s from a variety of perspectives. Dafi, one of the book’s main characters, is a 15-year-old student who is beginning to question the civic values of her country. Like many teenagers, she struggles to break free of the rules and expectations that are likely to define her life. Dafi expresses her rebellious spirit by challenging the authority of her parents and teachers. She also falls in love with a young Palestinian mechanic who works in her father’s garage. In the following excerpt, she recalls the loss of a teacher killed during the October War of 1973.

We of class six G of Central Carmel High School lost our math teacher in the last



war. Who would have guessed that he'd be the one to be killed? We didn't think of him as a great fighter. He was a little man, thin and quiet, starting to go bald. In the winter he always had a huge scarf trailing behind him. He had delicate hands and fingers that were always stained with chalk. Still he was killed. We worried rather about our P.E. teacher, who used to visit the school from time to time during the war in uniform and with his captain's insignia, a real film star, with a real revolver that drove all the boys mad with envy. We thought it was marvelous that even during the war he found the time to come to the school, to reassure us and the lady teachers, who were wild about him. He used to stand in the playground surrounded by children and tell stories. We were really proud of him and we forgot all about our math teacher.

On the first day of the war he had ceased to exist for us, and it was days after the ceasefire that Shwartzzy [the school principal] suddenly came into the classroom, called us all to our feet and said solemnly, "Children, I have terrible news for you. Our dear friend, your teacher Hayyim Nidbeh, was killed on the Golan on the second day of the war, the twelfth of Tishri. Let us stand in his memory."

And we all put on mournful faces and he kept us on our feet for maybe three minutes, and then he motioned with a weary gesture that we shouldn't stand, glared at us as if we were to blame and went off to call another class to its feet. I can't say that we were all that sorry at once because when a teacher dies it's impossible to be only sorry, but we really were stunned and shocked, because we remembered him living and standing beside the blackboard not so long ago, writing out the exercises with endless patience, explaining the same things a thousand times. Really it was thanks to him that I got a pretty good report last year because he never lost his temper but went over the same material again and again. For me someone only has to raise his voice or speak fast when explaining something in math to me and I go completely stupid, I can't even add two and two. He used to make me relax, which was boring, it's true, deadly boring. Sometimes

we actually went to sleep during his lessons, but in the middle of all this drowsiness, in the cloud of chalk dust flying around the blackboard, the formulas used to penetrate.

And now he was himself a flying cloud.

Naturally, Shwartzzy used his death for educational purposes. He forced us to write essays about him, to be put into a book which was presented to his wife at a memorial ceremony that he organized one evening. The students that he'd taught in the fifth and sixth grades sat in the back rows, in the middle the seats were left empty and in the front rows sat all the teachers and his family and friends, even the gym teacher came especially, still in his uniform and with his revolver, although the fighting had ended long ago. And I sat on the stage where I recited, with great feeling and by heart, the poems that are usual on these occasions, and between the poems Shwartzzy preached a fawning and flowery sermon, talking about him as if he was some really extraordinary personage that he'd secretly admired.

And then they all went and stood beside a bronze plaque that had been put up by the entrance to the physics department. And there, too, somebody said a few words. But those we didn't hear because we slipped away down the back steps.

Shwartzzy was a quick worker. In Israel they hadn't yet finished counting the dead, and he'd already got the memorials out of the way.

Wild Thorns by Sahar Khalifeh

Sahar Khalifeh (1941-) is a keen observer of Palestinian society in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Her writing exposes the psychological wounds suffered by Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. At the same time, Khalifeh lays bare the disunity and weaknesses of her own people.

Wild Thorns tells the story of Palestinian youth growing up in the West Bank in the 1970s. The main character is Usama, who



has returned home after working in the Persian Gulf as a translator. Usama has joined the Palestinian resistance movement and is committed to blowing up the buses that transport Palestinian workers to jobs in Israel. But Usama is torn when he learns that many of his cousins and neighbors work in Israel. Eventually, he goes forward with his mission, but both he and one of his cousins die in the attack. In the following excerpt, an exchange between two Palestinians—one a poor bread seller and the other an affluent businessman—illustrates for Usama the strains and compromises of daily life in the West Bank.

Usama strolled along the narrow muddy streets. The discordant cries of the street peddlers vying with one another assaulted his ears. Meat, fruit and vegetables; the bread seller's cart was piled high with loaves made "inside," in Israel.

"Fresh bread! Hurry up! Come and get it, folks! Hurry! Fresh bread! One pound a loaf! A loaf for a pound! Only one pound!"

An elderly man with a red fez set firmly on his head passed by. He picked up one of the long loaves, squeezed it and then put it back. The bread seller shouted, "But it's fresh, sir. I swear it's fresh!"

The man walked away, gesturing, as if to say, "Fresh indeed! You dare to sell their leftovers here!", and disappeared down an alley.

Usama watched the scene angrily. Even our bread! The idea infuriated him.

A well-dressed young man now approached the bread seller and asked in an aggressive tone, "Where's it from?"

Upset by the question, the bread seller looked around furtively to see if other potential customers nearby might have heard. "It's just bread," he said.

Sensing from the well-dressed young man's expression that an attack was imminent, he repeated defensively, "Now look, sir, this is just bread. Does even bread have a religion and a race? This is top-quality bread—it's worth its weight in gold!"

The young man picked up a loaf; it was stamped with Hebrew letters. And it was as dry as the trunk of an old olive tree.

"This bread's from inside!" he said angrily. "And it's stale too! Disgraceful."

This was clearly not the first time the bread seller had heard this. He responded to the challenge immediately. "Yes, sir, it's from inside," he agreed. "And where else would it be from? It's all from inside, sir. Everything! Why not just move on and let me try and earn my living?"

"What you're doing is a disgrace," the young man repeated disdainfully.

The repeated insult now brought an angrier, more voluble response. "A disgrace, is it? They called it disgraceful when I took a job 'inside.' So I stayed home like the women, and they called that a disgrace! And here you are in your fashionable trousers and smart shirt, all nicely pressed, telling me it's a disgrace. Look, friend, we're not the first to work with them. While we were still wandering the streets of Nablus looking for bread to eat, your kind were running around Tel Aviv looking for companies to award you franchises so you could sell their products. Isn't that true now, sir? Tell me if it's true or not."

He grabbed a loaf of bread and waved it in the young man's face, flecks of angry spittle landing on the loaves. "Well, is it true or false?" he shouted. "Answer me, in the name of our faith, answer!"

The young man was gazing at the peddler dumbfounded, his heart beating fast, his expression shocked and imbecilic. Getting a grip on himself, he suggested defensively, "Well, couldn't you sell Arab bread?"

The bread seller threw the loaf back onto the cart and began to move off, leaving the young man still holding the loaf he'd first picked up. When the cart had moved a few paces away, the young man followed, still clutching the bread, and shouted, "Hey, wait, take this back."

The peddler stretched out a hand and grabbed it. "Okay, give it here," he said fierce-



ly. "Let someone else buy it. It's clear you're from the upper class. Give it here. Working-class people buy quietly, without making a long song and dance about it."

Civilization's Spare Part by Aziz Nesin

Aziz Nesin (1915-1995) was one of modern Turkey's most popular writers. His novels and short stories often poked fun at the snags in Turkey's modernization process. Nesin's sharp wit frequently provoked criticism from Islamic leaders and conservative politicians.

In *Civilization's Spare Part*, the main character, Hamit Agha, is a victim of the mechanization of Turkish agriculture. The short story is set in a rural coffeehouse, where Hamit Agha is explaining to his fellow villagers how the purchase of a tractor has led him to financial ruin. Hamit Agha recalls that his daughter and son-in-law, both of whom are teachers, and his son, who had learned to drive in the army, badgered him to sell his oxen and buy a large tractor. They argued that the tractor would do the work of ten men and save him money. Instead, the tractor suffers one mechanical problem after another. In the following excerpt, Hamit Agha recounts his history of troubles with the tractor.

The winter had set in. We pushed the tractor into the stable and tied it to the post where the oxen used to be, while a tumultuous snowstorm was sounding on the roof. Meanwhile, friends, the bank loan and the installment at the equipment office came due. We had no money.... We borrowed money to pay the first installment at the office.

We reached summer in the middle of all this. We made for the field. Just then it went bang, and crash, and stopped. What is the problem with this damned thing? No one knew. We brought out the expert from the office. Didn't he say its cogwheel was broken? "Sell us another cogwheel," we said, and he said no.

"Since this cursed thing has no cogwheel, why do you cheat us poor people?" "Well," he

said, "if you buy another tractor, then you can use its cogwheel."

Look around at our neighbors' fields. It's the same story. A tractor body lies in everyone's fields. Everywhere you look are chains, tractor treads, and piles of iron....

Then, gentlemen, wouldn't you know it? The installment was due. The second notice came. For the sake of our honor, sirs, we sold another ten-donum [about 2.5 acres] field. A screw fell out—500 hundred liras [Turkish currency]. A thousand liras for a part the size of your finger. A bolt come loose—1,000 liras. Its chain breaks. Spare parts couldn't be found. A patch here, a patch there. That blessed tractor started to look like my trousers. While it plowed the ground, it shook all over like someone who has malaria. Everywhere in our field one can find a screw, a belt, an iron bar, a shaft, or a chain. It was as though the filthy thing had sprinkled its seeds in the field.

They said that our assemblyman whom we elected from the Democrat Party was in town. I went to him. "What will happen to us?" I asked. "Does a tractor the size of an elephant stop dead because of a part the size of a nut?..."

What could he say? He talked for a long time. I couldn't understand very much. "How did people live in the past, in the Stone Age? Now it's the Iron Age, that is to say, the age of the Democrat. Civilization and the country are turning into iron," he said.

I said, "What you're saying is all very well. You brought this civilization, but where is its spare part? Come with me and look at the field. Our civilization is in pieces. It lies there like a corpse. Isn't there a smaller one than this? If this miserable thing hits something it doesn't move, if you say 'giddap' it doesn't start up, and if you say 'whoa' it doesn't slow down."...

Just then another installment notice arrived. Let me tell you something. The sighs of the oxen have affected me. How tearfully that yellow ox wept when he was sold to the market! How sorry I was!



To make a long story short, I sold every field and paid off the whole debt. Then I called to my daughter and son-in-law. I took my wife and the boy out to the wreck. "Either we repair this calamity of God's or I'll put the yoke on you, drive you like oxen, and plow the farm," I said. They worked on the engine, kicked it once, twice, tore off and reattached a strap, tightened a screw, and put something else in place of the fragile cogwheel whose bolt was loose....

Then, gentlemen, I could see that it wouldn't work. I gathered my son, daughter, son-in-law, and wife. "Come on, folks," said I, "let me show you how to repair this thing." I picked up a sledgehammer. I drove those people of mine before me like a flock of sheep.

We came to the wreck. I struck the steering wheel and said, "Take that, you 20th century." I struck the engine and said, "Take that civilization." I struck the driving wheel with the sledgehammer and said, "Take that. This is your spare part." I swung the sledgehammer again and again. Suddenly I saw that my wife was shouting. "Help! My husband has gone crazy!" My daughter ran, my son-in-law ran, and my son ran the hardest. I threw away the sledgehammer and started down the road. I came straight here, gentlemen. I'm still sweating....

What a relief! I escaped from the accursed, foul thing. A thousand thanks to God. It's as though I've been born again.



Supplementary Resources

Books

Cleveland, William L. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, Second Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000). 585 pages.

Gordon, Michael R. and Trainor, Bernard E. *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (Pantheon, 2006). 640 pages.

Oren, Michael B. *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). 446 pages.

Quandt, William B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*, Revised Edition. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). 488 pages.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991). 877 pages.

World Wide Web

U.S. Department of State <www.state.gov/p/nea/rt/c2829.htm> Information on official U.S. policy on Mid-East peace. The website also contains information about U.S. policy in Iraq.

U.S. Energy Information Administration <www.eia.doe.gov/> Statistics about U.S. energy consumption, imports, production, etc.

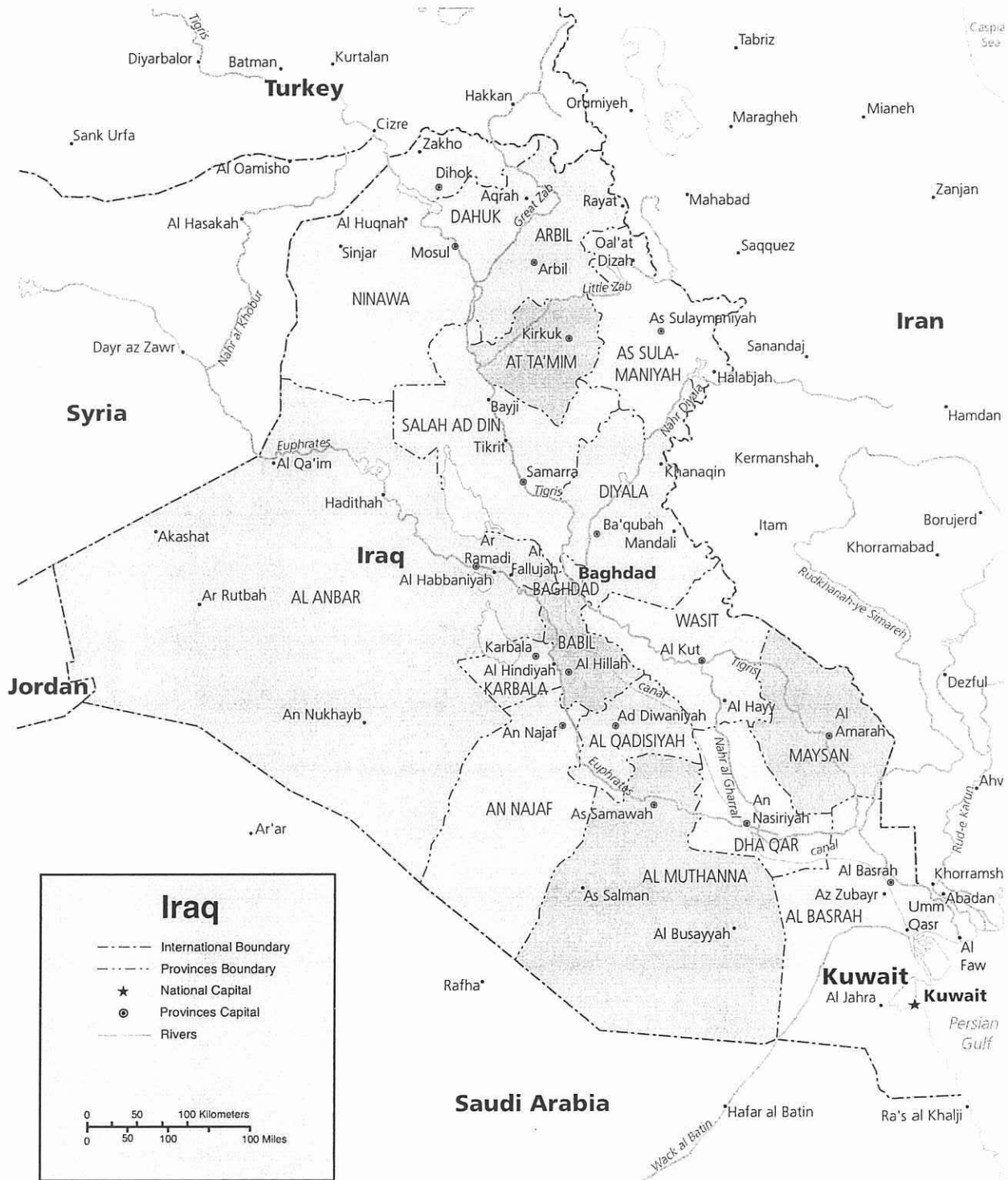
Council on Foreign Relations <www.cfr.org/region/397/middle_east.html> Provides up-to-date articles, reports, and analyses of events in the region.

Maps of the Middle East <www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east.html> The Perry-Casteñada Map Collection at the University of Texas.

PBS NewsHour <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/region/middle_east/index.html> Provides news coverage of Middle East topics, interviews with leaders, expert analysis, and maps and other aids.

IRAOQ

Iraq 2007



Part I: A Brief History of Iraq

The country of Iraq straddles two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, where several of the world's earliest civilizations developed. In what is called Mesopotamia ("Land Between the Rivers"), the ancient peoples of Sumer, Akkad, Babylon, and Assyria created the first written language, the first codes of law, and the first cities. Today much of the country is very dry, but when these civilizations grew, it was fertile, allowing for agriculture and settled communities. In fact, this land is the legendary site of the Garden of Eden.

What is Iraq's climate and geography?

Iraq is bordered today by Turkey, Iran, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. It owns a tiny sliver of coastline in the Persian Gulf. Iraq's central and southeastern areas are plains or lowlands which experience frequent floods. The Al-Jazirah ("the island") plateau lies between the two rivers, while western and southern Iraq is primarily desert. In the north are rolling hills and rocky mountains leading to the borders with Turkey and Iran. Iraq has

extensive dam and irrigation systems to bring the water of the Tigris and the Euphrates to agricultural areas and to people for consumption. Most of the soil in Iraq is inadequate for farming or has been destroyed by years of over-irrigation. In southern Iraq summers are hot and dry and winters are mild. In the north, summers are a bit cooler, and there can be much more precipitation because of snowfall in the mountains. There are also summer winds throughout the country which bring frequent dust storms.

Who lives in Iraq?

Approximately two-thirds of Iraqis are Arabs. Arabization of Iraq began in the seventh century. Over the centuries Arabs came to live in most areas of Iraq.

One-fourth of Iraqis are Kurds. Kurds have lived in the mountainous region of Iraq for millennia as nomadic herders. They speak Kurdish and live in an area that they call Kurdistan, which covers sections of Iran, Syria, and Turkey as well as Iraq. Kurds throughout the Middle East have hoped to establish their own state since the 1920s but have thus far been thwarted in their efforts. Kurds have, on the whole, resisted being part of Iraq, and have engaged in both diplomatic and military attempts to gain independence. Iraqi government forces killed tens of thousands of Kurds (both combatants and non-combatants) in the last thirty years.

The remaining Iraqis are made up of several small minority groups.



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The ruins of the ancient city of Babylon, in a photo taken in 1932.



What religions do Iraqis practice?

Most Iraqis are Muslim. There are two branches of Islam practiced in Iraq: Sunni and Shi'a. Most Kurds are Sunni Muslims. Among Arabs, there are significantly more Shi'as than Sunnis. Although there are distinctions between these two branches of Islam, the Sunni Arabs and Shi'a Arabs are not ethnically or linguistically different from each other (both speak Arabic). In fact, many Arabs have in the past identified more strongly with their tribe than with their religious group. Tribes are shifting alliances of extended families, sometimes reaching the thousands in number, and they play an important role in Iraqi politics. Many Iraqis feel more closely connected to their tribe than to the state of Iraq.

Shi'a and Sunni Muslims split early in the history of Islam. The initial split was a result of a disagreement over the rightful leader of

Islam after the death of the Prophet Mohammed. Although the disagreement was political at the time, over the centuries differences in the practices of the two faiths grew as well (see box below). Today, Shi'as make up the majority in Iraq, though Sunnis held the major leadership positions for most of the eighty years prior to the 2003 U.S. invasion. Traditionally, Iraq has been the spiritual center of Shi'ism in the Islamic world. Many cities in Iraq house important spiritual locations for Shi'as.

As late as the 1950s there was a significant minority of Christians and Jews in Iraq. In fact, Iraq was the home of some of the earliest Christian churches as well as the Jews driven out of Palestine about two thousand years ago. Today the numbers of both Christians and Jews are much smaller.

Shi'as and Sunnis

In general, Muslims attribute great importance to the life and times of the Prophet Mohammed, whose revelations from God became the basis of Islam. There are differences in interpretation of those events among the different sects of Islam, two of the largest of which are Sunni and Shi'a. Following the death of the Prophet in 632, Muslims elected a successor of the Prophet to lead them, called a caliph. The first four caliphs were elected, but only the fourth, Ali, was related by blood to the Prophet Mohammed. When Ali died, a man named Mu'awiya took over as caliph. Today, Sunnis believe that this succession of caliphs was legitimate, and that the first four caliphs and their later successors helped to uphold tradition and keep order throughout the Muslim world. According to Shi'as, Ali was the only legitimate caliph of the first four because he was the only one related to the Prophet, which endowed him with special spiritual qualities that were essential for the leader of Islam to have.

Those who were followers of Ali's leadership at the time urged Ali's son Husain to challenge Mu'awiya's son for the position of caliph. Husain and all of his family, except for an infant son, were killed during that challenge. Shi'as believe that Husain's son and his successors were the true leaders of Islam, whereas Sunnis believe that the descendants of Mu'awiya were the legitimate leaders. Shi'as themselves split into two main groups later on as a result of another succession conflict. One group is called the Twelvers because they recognize a series of twelve leaders after Ali, and another is called Seveners or Isma'ilis because they recognize the seventh leader, whose name was Isma'il. Today most Iraqi Shi'as are Twelvers.

The recognition of one leader over another in the early period of Islam led Sunnis and Shi'as to emphasize different aspects of their religion. Sunnis emphasize conformity and social stability. Shi'as emphasize equity, social justice, and the dignity of the individual. Many Shi'as see their history as one of persecution and martyrdom. Sunnis have held more political power throughout their history and make up the vast majority of Muslims worldwide. Many believe that their majority status and their power are a result of the righteousness of their faith.

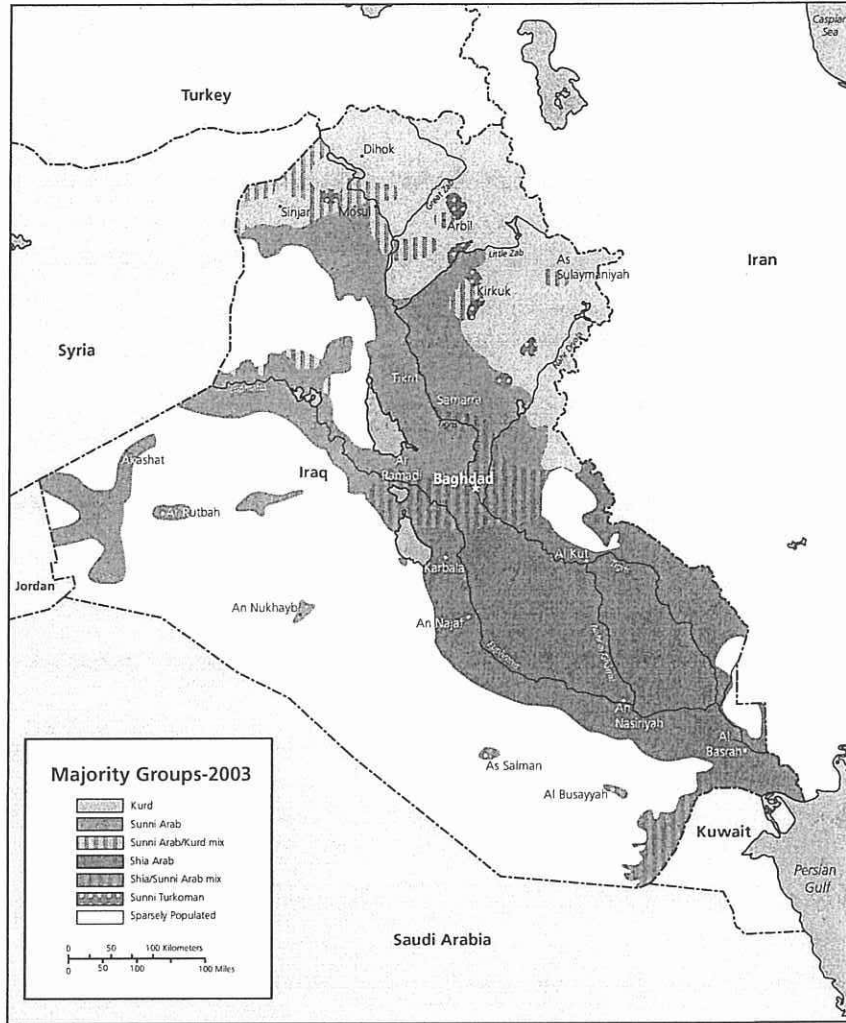
How have religious differences affected Iraq?

These religious divisions are important to Iraq's history and complicate the efforts to rebuild Iraq today. Understanding these divisions is important to understanding the violence and the choices the United States faces in Iraq.

Although Saddam Hussein aimed to create a secular, or non-religiously-based, government during his dictatorship (1979-2003), he relied on support from and gave power to members of his own political party, called the Ba'athists, who were Sunnis Arabs. These Sunnis therefore held political control, although the government was not based on religion. Hussein fostered division among the different groups in Iraq in order to maintain his power. Despite this, many Iraqis today live in mixed communities (see map) and there are many intermarriages between groups.

After the U.S. invasion and occupation, the majority Shi'as gained more control both because of their majority status and because the United States prevented Ba'athists from retaining political control. The United States also quickly disbanded the Iraqi army, which was led mostly by Sunnis.

Today many Sunni Arabs are suspicious of the United States and believe that in a democracy in which people vote according to religious affiliation and tribal ties, they as the minority will be shut out of power.



“The Sunnis have been fundamentally humiliated and want to overturn their humiliation.”

—Kenneth Katzman, The Congressional Research Service, December 2006

The two religious groups are also located in different areas in Iraq, although there are large areas where the groups are intermixed such as near Baghdad. Most of Iraq's oil reserves are located in the south, where Shi'as make up a majority, or in the north, where Kurds are the majority. Sunni Arabs live primarily in areas that are relatively less oil-rich. Many Sunnis feel that their economic status will decline with an Iraq led by Shi'as or that they will be shut out from the oil wealth altogether if Iraq splits into three separate regions.



Many Shi'as and Kurds, for their part, are not willing to compromise with the Sunnis, whom they see as their former oppressors. Under Saddam Hussein, the Sunni-dominated government and military abused both Shi'as and Kurds.

Iraq's Early History

Arabs came to the region in the seventh century. Over time, the city of Baghdad became the center of a huge Islamic empire, and was the largest city in both Europe and the Middle East. This area became extremely wealthy. Arabs from across what is today known as Europe, the Middle East, and Asia made their way there to see the riches and trade their wares. Scholars translated Greek texts in philosophy and science into Arabic and made important contributions of their own to these fields. Later, these were the texts Europeans translated into Latin to use in European universities. Extensive palaces and mosques were also built.

Despite this wealth, there were periods of revolt and unrest, and eventually geological changes and over-irrigation combined with economic and political collapse caused the end of the prosperity. Different ethnic and re-

ligious groups became more distinct from each other and cities lost their luster, agriculture declined, and emigrants moved to Egypt and elsewhere to find new opportunities. Although the majority of the population spoke Arabic and practiced Islam, the divisions between Shi'a and Sunni Muslims became more pronounced.

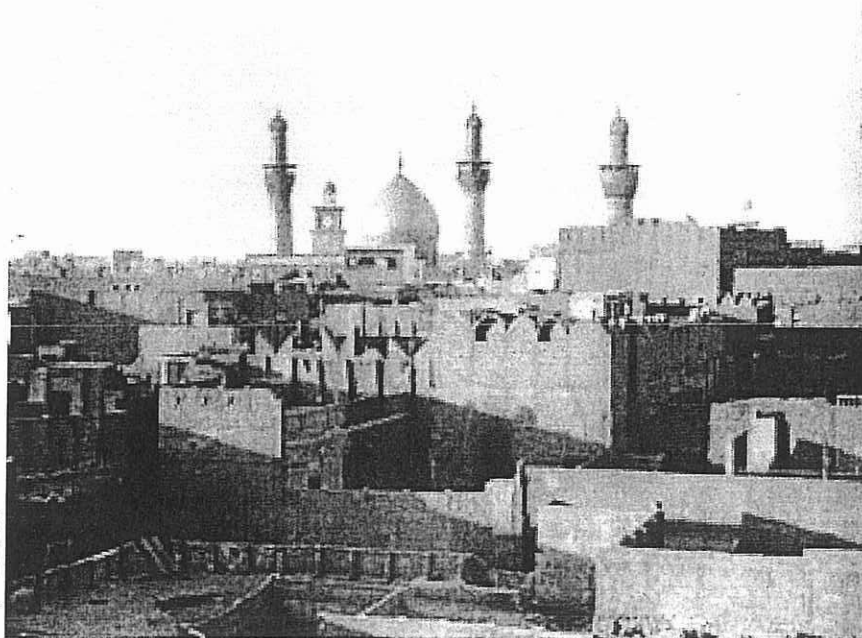
This period of stagnation and political disarray ended abruptly when the Mongols, led by Genghis Khan, destroyed Baghdad in 1258, killing as many as eight hundred thousand people. During the next three hundred years various tribes gained control of portions of the land, establishing strong footholds.

What were the effects of Ottoman occupation?

In the sixteenth century, Iraq became a frontier zone between two empires: the Sunni Ottomans from the north and the Shi'a Safavis from the east. The Safavis conquered Iraq early in the sixteenth century, but they lost Iraq to the Ottomans in 1632. On the whole, the lands of Iraq remained under Ottoman rule until the end of World War I in 1918. However, the Safavis and their successors maintained an influence over the Shi'a shrines and learning

centers in Iraq throughout this time. Violent power struggles between the Sunni Ottomans and the Shi'a Safavis and their successors sometimes caught Iraq in the middle.

The Ottomans ruled the three provinces of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basrah by appointing local leaders until 1833. After this date, the Ottomans began to invest directly in Iraq, trying to develop its resources, improve its long-neglected and dilapidated irrigation system, create incentives for the tribal population to settle in villages and cities,



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A view of the city of Karbala in a 1932 photo.



establish more schools, and expand public services, including security forces.

These Ottoman reforms were only some of several changes in Iraq in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Steamships appeared on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and greater communication lines were built. The port city of Basra became increasingly important as a connection to European trade. Occasional rebellions against elites and government authorities marked a changing social structure. Under the influence of some Shi'a leaders, many people began to convert to Shi'ism, particularly in the south. At the turn of the twentieth century, a growing British presence in the Basra gulf region further changed the situation.

Why did Britain take an interest in Iraq?

Toward the end of the Ottoman Empire, various European nations vied for control of areas in Iraq that were thought to be rich in oil, a material growing in importance for military and civilian uses. Britain and France, nations with no oil fields of their own, were especially eager to gain control of the region. As the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I, the British raced to invade and occupy Iraq. Although they experienced resistance from the Ottomans as well as many Iraqis, they were able to secure the area for themselves, much to the consternation of the French. Britain formed the state of Iraq out of the three Ottoman provinces of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra.

“I am quite clear that it is all-important for us that this oil should be available.”

—Lord Balfour, British foreign secretary,
August, 1918

After World War I, the newly formed League of Nations, precursor to the United Nations, deemed many of the areas that had been controlled by the Ottoman Empire unprepared for self-government. The League established “mandates,” which gave European nations, primarily Britain and France, the authority to control and manage the new states of the

Middle East. While France took over Syria and Lebanon, the British controlled Iraq, Kuwait, Palestine, Jordan, and most of the coastal areas of the Arabian peninsula.

What happened under British rule?

In 1920, Iraqis, angry that the end of Ottoman occupation had merely resulted in the beginning of British occupation, joined together and revolted. Shi'as and Sunnis united against a common enemy. The revolt cost ten thousand Iraqi lives and hundreds of British lives. It also cost the British a huge sum of money, money they had not been prepared to spend in Iraq. Eventually, British forces subdued the military rebellion but did not squelch this new Iraqi nationalism. In 1921, Britain agreed to compromise with the Iraqis, and a year later signed a peace treaty with Iraq. The treaty recognized the monarchy of a new king in Iraq, King Faisal, but also required Great Britain to advise Iraq on domestic and international affairs for twenty years.

Few were pleased with the treaty. Iraqis insisted on full and immediate independence. In Britain, the public was not happy with the British government's spending in Iraq. Finally, in 1924 a new treaty, further limiting British control, passed the Iraqi Constituent Assembly, and the Assembly drew up a democratic constitution. Still, Iraqis were not a completely independent people. Many Iraqis referred to their situation as the “perplexing predicament,” in which they were ruled by both a national and a foreign government.

By 1929, this predicament had tired the British, who agreed to grant independence to Iraq by 1932. This agreement stipulated that while Iraqis would have complete control over their government, they were to consult with the British before addressing any disputes that might involve Britain and before engaging in war. An air base was leased to Britain in Basra for twenty-five years. With these protections in place, the British believed their communications and oil interests would be safe. In October 1932, Iraq joined the League of Nations as an independent state.



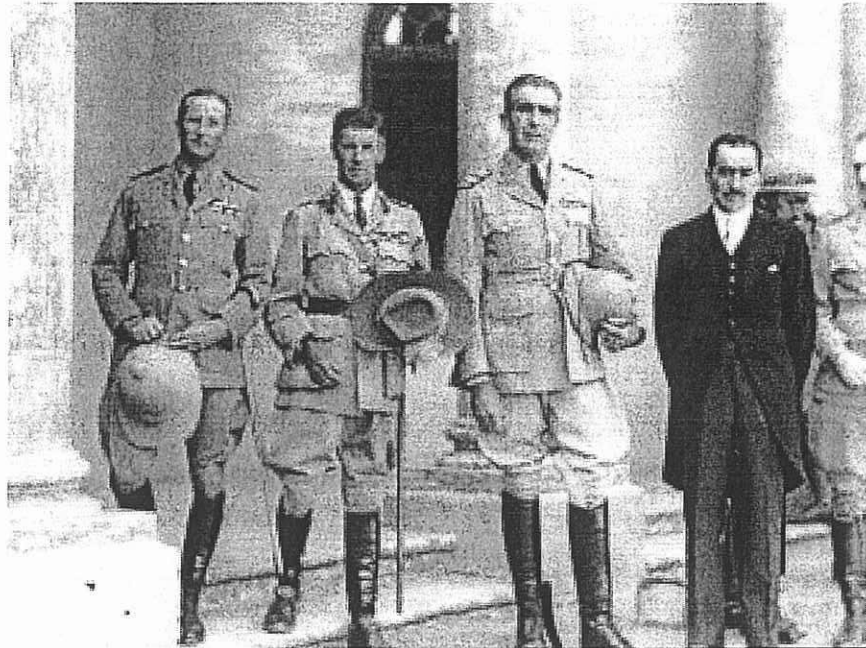
What were the events of the early independence period?

After independence, the unity Iraqis had shown in protest against British rule disintegrated. Several hundred Christian Assyrians were murdered just one year after independence. Politicians provoked tribal disputes or embarrassed competitors into resigning from their posts in order to gain power for themselves. Beginning in 1936, opposition groups used the army to force leaders to resign. The army retained control of domestic Iraqi politics until 1941.

Despite the unrest and the army's domination of politics, Iraq made political and economic gains in this period. New oil was discovered near Kirkuk and the final link in the railway line between Europe and the Persian Gulf was completed. Iraq also settled a boundary dispute with Syria, and signed a non-aggression pact with Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

How did World War II affect Iraq?

World War II brought new difficulties to Iraq. Arabs across the Middle East began to join together in a movement called pan-Arabism. Pan-Arabists sought independence in the entire Middle East and encouraged the Iraqi government to sever ties to Britain. Some extremists suggested siding with Germany. They thought if Germany won the war, it would more likely grant independence to Middle Eastern states than would Britain and France. Leaders in the pan-Arab movement began negotiations with the Axis powers. Britain, in return, sent troops to Iraq to defend its interests (including oil) and reinstall more moderate leaders to the Iraqi government. The



British officers in Iraq in 1932, three days after handing power over to Iraqis.

Library of Congress

British retained control through the remainder of the war.

Why did the United States increase its presence in the Middle East after World War II?

In 1947, British officials told their American allies that Britain could no longer maintain its presence in the Middle East. World War II had nearly bankrupted Britain. Britain's postwar leaders saw their enormous empire as a financial burden. They urged the administration of President Harry Truman to fill the vacuum in the Middle East ahead of the powerful Soviet Union. Both Britain and the United States saw the Soviet Union as a dangerous expansionist power. They deemed protecting the Persian Gulf's oil reserves from Soviet control as critical to the West's economic survival. The Soviets had already begun to assert their interests in the Middle East.

President Truman confirmed that the United States was willing to step into the shoes of the British in the Middle East. For U.S. policymakers, this meant that the Persian Gulf would rank second in importance only to protecting Western Europe.



How did the Arab world change after World War II?

The politics of the Arab world underwent deep changes after World War II. Resentment and mistrust toward the West had spread in the Middle East as it had in Africa, Latin America, and regions of Asia. As Britain and France retreated from the region, Arab nationalists criticized the Arab monarchies and rich landowners who had cooperated with the colonial powers of Britain and France.

After the war a new generation of Iraqi leaders emerged. Some of these younger politicians were more liberal and demanded more participation in Iraqi politics. Others wanted a government led by a small group of bureaucrats who would oversee a speedy improvement to the standard of living. The older generation was reluctant to give up power, which only fueled the younger leaders' desire for change. Popular uprisings and riots in the 1950s against the monarchy occurred in Baghdad and elsewhere as young people sought greater freedoms and urged democracy and development.

What factors contributed to the overthrow of Iraq's monarchy in 1958?

In 1958, a group of Iraqi military officers overthrew the anti-Soviet Iraqi king. The king had supported the Middle East Treaty Organization that included Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The United States regarded this alliance as an important counter against Soviet influence and expansion in the Middle East. The officers resented the alliance because of its ties to the former occupier, Britain. In addition, they were attracted to the region's growing nationalism and pan-Arabism.

The military officers, led by 'Abd al-Karim Qasim, created a new government, concentrated power in their own hands, and withdrew from the Middle East Treaty Organization. Divisions among the officers created tensions within the government. For example, one group of officers supported becoming part of the United Arab Republic (UAR), which contained Syria and Egypt. Both Egypt and Syria

had aligned themselves with the Soviet Union. Qasim, on the other hand, advocated Iraqi unity and a unique Iraqi national identity.

Qasim faced many challenges from inside and outside his government. In 1959 he survived an assassination attempt, conducted by the Ba'ath ("Renaissance") party with the support of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). One of the conspirators was Saddam Hussein. Hussein was wounded during the failed assassination, but managed to escape to Egypt with the help of the CIA.

Why did the CIA support a coup in Iraq?

The CIA's goal was to reduce Soviet influence and power anywhere it could. As a result, the United States used its intelligence services to weaken governments it saw as hostile to U.S. interests. One of these governments was Qasim's.

Other factors contributed to the weakness of Qasim's position. For example, Qasim argued that Iraq had claim to Kuwait's territory, a position that angered other Arab countries and Britain as well. Isolated internationally, Qasim relied on the Soviet Union for support and assistance. In 1963, facing dissent and dissatisfaction internally and externally, the regime collapsed in another rebellion by the Ba'ath party, which again received assistance from the CIA.

As the Ba'ath party took the reins of government, its leaders focused on consolidating power and keeping the lid on internal disagreement. The regime did not hesitate to eliminate political opponents. For example, it killed thousands of educated elites and communists, a practice which angered the Soviet Union, and led the Soviets to suspend military aid to Iraq. The United States stepped in to fill the gap and sent arms to the new regime. These weapons were used to fight Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq.

Iraq Under Saddam Hussein

In 1963, the Ba'ath party began to reorganize itself. One of those leading the reorganization was Saddam Hussein. Hoping



to take power himself, Hussein was involved in another failed coup against the government in 1964 and imprisoned until 1966 when he escaped.

What happened after the coup of 1968?

Saddam Hussein helped lead a successful coup against the government in 1968, and held the position of deputy to President Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr. With first-hand knowledge of Iraq's internal power struggles, Saddam Hussein began to construct a powerful security service designed to eliminate opposition and his enemies.

In addition to using fear and the security services, Saddam Hussein believed that he could gather public support in Iraq's divided society by modernizing Iraq's economy and implementing social welfare programs. The rapid increase in the price of oil in the early 1970s provided him with the money to fund universal free education, create a well-developed public health care system, and reform the agricultural system. With his ability to organize and oversee these programs, Saddam Hussein's power and popularity increased. Although he had no military experience, Hussein became a general in the Iraqi armed forces.

How did Saddam Hussein become president of Iraq?

Although Saddam Hussein had been the *de facto* ruler of Iraq since the mid-1970s, Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr remained the president of Iraq. When al-Bakr considered unifying Iraq with Syria in 1979, Hussein, believing his power was threatened, forced al-Bakr to resign and took the role of president for himself. He quickly eliminated those he saw as his enemies in the government through violence, torture, intimidation, and executions. Saddam Hussein imagined that he would become the leader that would unify the Arab world and that Iraq would become the dominant power in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

To achieve his international goals, Saddam Hussein believed he would have to change Iraqi society. He secularized Iraqi society and

its legal system. He also allowed women more freedoms, including the ability to hold high-ranking jobs. His steps to make Iraq a more secular society angered Islamic conservatives, particularly among Iraq's Shi'a majority. Saddam saw conservative Shi'as as a threat to his power. When Shi'a Muslims in Iran took power during the Iranian revolution of 1979, Saddam feared Iranian influence on Iraq's Shi'a majority. His fears were further fueled when Iran declared a desire to export its Islamic revolution and denounced Iraq's secular government.

Why did war break out between Iran and Iraq?

Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980. Iraq hoped to take advantage of confusion in the Iranian army to seize a disputed waterway connected the Persian Gulf. Hussein also wanted to halt the spread of Iran's Islamist revolution elsewhere in the Middle East.

Saddam Hussein aimed to deliver a quick knockout blow, concentrating on Iran's oil facilities. Instead, Iraq's invasion stalled. Iran counter-attacked but lacked the strength to defeat Hussein's military. For the next eight years, the war seesawed back and forth. Iraq had an advantage in air power, missiles, and chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein also benefited from the financial backing of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Arab oil producers. Iran, however, could count on millions of dedicated volunteer soldiers. Tens of thousands were killed charging Iraqi positions in human-wave assaults. Iranian soldiers often had plastic keys, which they were told would open the gates to heaven, dangling from their necks.

What was the U.S. position in the Iran-Iraq war?

The administration of President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) remained officially neutral during the war but did not want a victory by Iran's Islamist government. The United States began playing a more active role in 1986, when Iran stepped up attacks against Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf. The

United States gave Iraq military intelligence and credit to buy advanced American weapons. Washington also permitted Kuwaiti ships to sail under the American flag and provided them military escorts.

At the same time, the United States, which was leading an international arms embargo against Iran, secretly sold thousands of anti-tank weapons and tons of military spare parts to Iran. The purpose of these sales was to improve relations with Iran and to persuade Iran to pressure pro-Iranian groups to release the U.S. hostages they held in Lebanon. Three hostages were released, but additional ones were taken. The willingness of the United States to deal secretly with Iran while publicly denouncing the same government raised questions about the credibility of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East.

By the time Iraq and Iran agreed to a ceasefire in 1988, the war had claimed more than one million lives. Millions more were injured or became refugees. It also cost each country approximately \$500 million. Iraq had gained the upper hand on the battlefield in the final months of the conflict, in part through the use of chemical weapons, but neither side could claim victory. The war did not resolve the disputes which started it.

What happened to the Iraqi Kurds?

During the war against Iran, Saddam Hussein also authorized a campaign against Iraqi Kurds, who had aligned themselves with Iran. In addition to targeting Kurdish rebels, the Iraqi government killed civilians indiscriminately using chemical weapons and bombs. Iraq became the first government to attack its own citizens with chemical weapons. As civilians fled their villages the Iraqi army rounded them up, executed them, and buried them in mass graves. The campaign killed between 50,000 and 100,000 Iraqi Kurds. Ninety percent of all Kurdish villages were destroyed.

The First Persian Gulf War

On July 25, 1990, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, met with Saddam Hussein at the presidential palace in Baghdad. Their conversation focused on Hussein's charge that Kuwait was pumping oil that rightfully belonged to Iraq from deposits along the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border. The Iraqi dictator also complained that Kuwait was holding down oil prices to slow his own country's economic recovery from the Iran-Iraq war. When Glaspie left the meeting, she believed that she had clearly warned Hussein of the dangers of using force to resolve his dispute with Kuwait. The conversation did not make the same impression on Saddam Hussein.

Eight days later, 100,000 Iraqi troops poured across the desert border into Kuwait.

President George H. W. Bush quickly positioned U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia to stop any further advances. The United Nations immediately imposed economic sanctions against Iraq. In the weeks that followed the United States led an effort to build an international coalition to push Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. America's European allies, as well as



Jim Morin in *The Miami Herald*. Reprinted with special permission of King Features Syndicate.



several Arab states, contributed forces to a growing military coalition.

How did U.S. citizens think the United States should respond to Iraq?

Within the United States, Americans were split about how far the country should go in its response to Iraq's aggression. U.S. leadership was also divided. Opposition to using force was especially strong from some U.S. military leaders concerned about possible casualties. Many warned that Iraq would turn to chemical weapons or international terrorism if attacked. There were worries that Iraq might even possess nuclear bombs. Some argued that economic sanctions should be given more time to take effect. Many experts noted that with Iraqi control of the Kuwaiti oil fields, Saddam Hussein controlled one quarter of the world's oil resources.

“Our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would all suffer if control of the world's great oil reserves fell into the hands of Saddam Hussein.”

—President George H.W. Bush,
August 16, 1990

President Bush favored attacking Iraq quickly. He doubted that economic sanctions alone would pressure Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. He also felt that the coalition of nations he had assembled would not hold together long. Particularly worrisome was Saddam Hussein's appeal in the Arab world. He sought to rekindle Arab nationalism and called for Arabs to unite against Israel and its American ally. American officials feared that his message would deepen hostility toward the



United States Air Force.

U.S. Air Force jets fly over burning oil wells during the Persian Gulf War.

United States throughout the Middle East.

In November 1990, Bush won UN approval to use “all necessary means” to force Iraq out of Kuwait. A deadline was set—January 15, 1991—for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. By January there were 540,000 U.S. troops in the Gulf and an additional 160,000 from other countries. When President Bush asked the Senate in early January to approve military action to drive Iraq out of Kuwait if the deadline was not met, his request passed by five votes.

What happened in the Persian Gulf War?

After the assault against Iraq began in mid-January 1991, Americans quickly rallied behind the war effort. Despite Saddam's prediction of “the mother of all battles,” his army proved no match for the United States and its allies. For over a month, coalition warplanes pounded Iraqi targets. By the time allied ground troops moved forward in late February 1991, communication links within Iraq's army had been shattered. Coalition forces, who came from twenty-eight nations and acted with UN approval, retook Kuwait's capital with little resistance.

After one hundred hours, President Bush brought the ground war to a halt. The president and his advisors, worried about the consequences of controlling a completely de-



stabilized Iraq, objected to totally destroying Iraq's retreating army and toppling Saddam Hussein. Instead, they allowed the remnants of Iraq's front-line divisions to limp northward.

The Persian Gulf War was one of the most lopsided conflicts in history. Iraq's military presented few obstacles to the advance of the half-million coalition forces. In all, 146 American troops were killed during the war. (Coalition forces suffered a total of 260 deaths.) Iraq lost as many as 100,000 people, both soldiers and civilians, in the war. Saddam Hussein also inflicted a heavy blow against the environment by ordering retreating Iraqi troops to set hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells on fire and to spill thousands of barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf.

Why were Kurds and Shi'a Arabs targeted?

During the war, President Bush encouraged the Iraqi people to topple Saddam Hussein themselves.

In southern Iraq, Shi'as began to fight Iraqi forces. Many believed that the coalition forces would come to their aid. Iraqi security forces and Shi'a rebels fought battles in the southern cities of Najaf, Karbala, and Kufa. In the north, Kurds also believed that they could wrest power from Saddam Hussein and become independent. Kurdish rebels captured the oil-rich city of Kirkuk.

President Bush's decision to end the war quickly, and not to topple Hussein, enabled the Iraqi leader to use his military and security forces against the uprisings in the north and south. In the south, the Iraqi army attacked the cities held by rebels. As refugees streamed



Kurdish refugees at a camp near the Iraq-Turkey border await relief supplies from coalition forces in 1991.

U.S. Department of Defense.

out of the cities they were attacked by Iraqi helicopters. Thousands died at the hands of Iraqi forces. Numerous Shi'a holy shrines were destroyed. Rape, torture, and executions were also used as weapons of war against civilians.

After he finished in the south, Saddam Hussein turned his forces loose against the Kurds, bombing and shelling the city of Kirkuk. More than two million Kurds fled into mountains in neighboring Turkey and Iran. At one point during the winter of 1991 more than two thousand Kurds died each day due to disease and exposure. U.S. forces decided to establish a UN operation in northern Iraq to protect the 3.7 million Kurds from Saddam Hussein.

During the 1990s, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States established and maintained "no-fly" zones in northern and southern Iraq to prevent Saddam Hussein from using planes and helicopters against the Kurds in the north and the Shi'as in the south. Until the end of the second war on Iraq in 2003, the Kurds depended largely on the international community to protect them from the Iraqi army and to provide them with relief supplies.



Part II: Regime Change in Iraq

U.S. efforts to contain Saddam Hussein's regime continued after the first Persian Gulf War. In the war's aftermath, the United States backed away from pursuing the overthrow of Hussein's regime. Instead, the United States blocked Hussein from rebuilding his country's power and hoped that disgruntled military officers would eventually overthrow the government.

At American urging, the UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions and limited the sale of Iraqi oil. U.S. and British forces continued to prevent the Iraqi air force from flying over northern and southern portions of Iraq.

As part of the cease-fire agreement, UN monitors conducted regular inspections of Iraq to prevent the production of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. UN weapons inspectors also destroyed vast stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and their components. In late 1998, Iraq's refusal to allow UN inspectors a free hand in continuing their search for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) led to a series of massive air strikes by U.S. and British forces. Iraq then refused to allow UN inspectors to operate in Iraq at all until late 2002.

Why did UN weapons inspectors return to Iraq?

In the summer of 2002, Washington turned the pressure up on Iraq. In a speech before

the United Nations, President George W. Bush warned the international community of the dangers that Iraq's alleged weapons program and sponsorship of terrorism posed to the region and to the world. He stated that the United States would confront these dangers and asked the UN to join with the United States.

The UN Security Council unanimously passed a resolution calling for Iraq to comply with earlier resolutions and to allow unrestricted access for weapons inspectors once they returned to Iraq. The inspectors returned, but a disagreement quickly emerged among members of the Security Council. The United States and Great Britain argued that the inspections were not working and that twelve years of UN sanctions and resolutions had failed. Secretary of State Colin Powell argued before the UN Security Council that Iraq had links to al Qaeda. President Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair saw military action leading to "regime change" as the next step. France, Russia, and Germany strongly disagreed with the idea of "regime change" and argued that the UN inspectors should continue trying to ensure the disarmament of Iraq.

"...[T]here is no reason to wage a war to reach the goal we set ourselves, that is the disarmament of Iraq."

—Jacques Chirac, French president,
March 10, 2003

Sanctions and Iraq

Although economic sanctions did not bring about Saddam Hussein's downfall, they may have helped prevent him from reconstructing his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction—an important contribution. They also prompted accusations that the United States aggravated the suffering of the Iraqi people. Despite the UN's humanitarian oil-for-food program, the UN estimated that thousands of Iraqi children died each month because of malnutrition and disease attributable to the sanctions. Observers debate whether the United States or Saddam Hussein was responsible for this tragic situation. Some experts estimate that Hussein had the wealth to feed his people but chose to spend it instead on the military and marble palaces. The UN reports, as well as economic and political interests, led France, Russia, China, and Arab nations to oppose U.S. actions and to argue for a reevaluation of policy toward Iraq.



U.S. diplomats worked hard to build international support for the U.S. position within the UN as it had for the first Gulf War. In spite of these intensive efforts, President Bush realized that he would not win UN approval for military action against Iraq. Approval would have made the use of force legal. In another diplomatic disappointment for the Bush administration, long-time NATO ally Turkey refused to allow U.S. forces to use its territory to enter Iraq, despite U.S. offers of massive aid.



Stefan Zaklin/epa/Corbis. Used with permission.

U.S. soldiers break down a door during a house search in Mosul in 2005.

What did the public think about a war against Iraq?

There was widespread public opposition to an invasion of Iraq. For example, on February 15, 2003, millions of people marched in coordinated demonstrations in the United States and around the world.

“...the huge anti-war demonstrations around the world this weekend are reminders that there may be two superpowers on the planet: the United States and world opinion.”

—Patrick Tyler, *The New York Times*, February 17, 2003

Nevertheless, in March 2003, the majority of Americans favored military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power. A majority also favored taking into account the views of allies before acting. Forty-five percent of all Americans believed that Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks—an opinion not supported by evidence. (A Senate panel concluded in 2006 that Saddam Hussein’s government had no connections to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.)

President Bush ordered the U.S. military into action. The United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland also contributed military forces to the operation.

The ground offensive began on March 20, 2003; three weeks later U.S. troops were in the center of Baghdad, the Iraqi government had fallen, and Saddam Hussein had gone into hiding. Between March 20 and May 1, 2003, when President Bush declared the end of combat operations, 160 coalition soldiers had died. Exact Iraqi casualties are unknown, but are believed to have numbered in the thousands.

During the military’s advance, U.S. officials worried that the Iraqi army would use chemical weapons. This did not happen. An intensive search for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq began, but no conclusive evidence of WMD has been found.

“We are very unlikely to find stockpiles...of weapons. I don’t think they exist.”

—David Kay, former chief U.S. weapons inspector in Iraq, January 25, 2004

Occupation

The United States government declared



that its primary goals in sending troops to Iraq were to end Saddam Hussein's regime and to uncover WMD. But the government also had other, more long-term goals for the reconstruction of Iraq. Even before the war began, U.S. leaders believed that the creation of democracy in Iraq would transform the Middle East, providing an example of freedom that would influence neighboring countries to undergo similar democratic reform.

“A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions.”

—President Bush, February 26, 2003

U.S. officials wished to return sovereignty (political control of the country) to the Iraqi people as soon as possible. But they also wanted to make sure that the new government would be broadly representative of all the different ethnic and religious groups in Iraq and would not be controlled by another dictator. They believed it was necessary to appoint an interim government and assist in the creation of a new, democratically elected government before turning power completely over to Iraqis.

Why did U.S. forces remain in Iraq after May 2003?

U.S. officials also wanted to make sure that the newly created Iraqi state would not support terrorism and would become a U.S. ally in the region. To maintain stability and protect the oil industry, the U.S. government, along with its allies, decided to leave an occupying military force and build military bases in the country. The military's job has been to provide basic security for Iraqis and limit violence until enough Iraqi police and soldiers can be trained to do the job themselves.

Although the U.S. government had clear goals that it wanted to achieve in Iraq, government officials did not have a clear strategy to achieve them. In May 2003, the U.S. government created the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), led by L. Paul Bremer, to



Mike Lane, The Baltimore Sun. Reprinted with permission.

oversee the political and economic reconstruction of Iraq.

What happened in Iraq under the Coalition Provisional Authority?

Within days of his arrival in Iraq, Bremer passed orders to disband many government institutions, including the Iraqi army, and to dissolve Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath party and remove all party members from government. The CPA took charge of the Iraqi government for the first year of the U.S. occupation. The CPA created the Iraq Interim Governing Council to represent the Iraqi people within the U.S.-led government. Many Iraqis distrusted the Council because Council members were appointed by the CPA and given only limited powers. The Council and the CPA created an interim constitution in March 2004 and appointed an interim Iraqi government, which took control of the country from the CPA on June 28, 2004.

The CPA also directed much of Iraq's reconstruction, although other international organizations and local community groups were involved. Due to neglect under Saddam Hussein, the effect of economic sanctions, and damage sustained during the U.S. invasion, much of Iraq's infrastructure needed serious attention at the end of the war. Many Iraqi people lacked access to clean water and electricity, communities lacked sewage treatment

February 5, 2003, 3:20pm EST

POWELL PRESENTS EVIDENCE TO U.N. IN THE CASE AGAINST IRAQ

Secretary of State Colin Powell presented a barrage of photos, alleged intercepted Iraqi telephone communications and statements from informants in his report to the United Nations Security Council Wednesday on the "undeniable" evidence that Iraq has defied calls for disarmament and continues to house weapons of mass destruction.

"I cannot tell you everything that we know, but what I can share with you, when combined with what all of us have learned over the years, is deeply troubling," Powell said near the start of a public presentation to the 15 members of the Security Council, top U.N. weapons inspectors and the Iraqi ambassador to the U.N.

Calling U.N. resolution 1441 Iraq's "one last chance" to come into compliance or face "serious consequences," Powell methodically presented U.S. intelligence information on Iraq's biological, chemical and nuclear weapons programs as well as suspected links between Saddam Hussein's government and the al-Qaida terrorist network.

Powell used audio tapes of conversations he said were between members of the Iraqi National Guard to illustrate Iraq's attempts to conceal certain weapons information from U.N. inspectors. On the tapes, Iraqi officers appeared to be given instruction to "evacuate" a "modified vehicle" and "forbidden ammo." The secretary of state called such evidence "part and parcel" of Iraq's 12-year policy of "evasion and deception."

"This is all part of a system of hiding things and moving things out of the way and making sure they have left nothing behind," Powell said.

Powell called Iraq's 12,000-page weapons declaration an attempt to "overwhelm the inspectors with useless information" and a visible piece of evidence that Iraq "never had any intention" of complying with the Security Council mandate.

Satellite photos of an Iraqi biological weapons facility and a ballistic missile site, recently declassified specifically for Powell's presentation, were used to show how Iraq has either hidden or moved weapons stockpiles or production sites to evade inspectors. One of the images showed 15 munitions bunkers of which four housed active chemical agents, according to Powell.

"We don't know precisely what Iraq was moving," Powell said of the photos, "but the inspectors already knew about these sites, so Iraq knew that they would be coming."

"We must ask ourselves: Why would Iraq suddenly move equipment of this nature before inspections if they were anxious to demonstrate what they had or did not have?" Powell asked.

Powell also referenced Iraq's refusal to allow any U-2 reconnaissance flights and an alleged direct order from Saddam that Iraqi scientists be told not to leave Iraq for private interviews with inspectors as further violations of U.N. resolution 1441.

On biological weapons, Powell held a mock vial of anthrax to illustrate the lack of evidence that Iraq destroyed the suspected 25,000 liters of anthrax that past U.N. inspectors estimate the Iraqis could have produced.

Using the testimony of four Iraqi defectors, Powell showed illustrations of "mobile production facilities" for biological agents, reportedly housed in 18 trucks that crisscross Iraq in order to evade detection.

"The trucks and train cars are easily moved and are designed to evade detection by inspectors," Powell explained.

"In a matter of months," he said, "they can produce a quantity of biological poison equal to the entire amount that Iraq claimed to have produced in the years prior to the Gulf War." Powell went on to say that Iraq's record on chemical weapons is "replete with lies." He pointed to a "vast amount" of chemical weaponry that has not been accounted for, including Iraq's admission that it produced four tons of the deadly nerve agent VX.

Powell said that Iraq has attempted to disguise its chemical weapons development within legitimate civilian industry and showed satellite images to illustrate unusual activity at the Iraqi Al-Musayyib chemical complex.

"To support its deadly biological and chemical weapons programs, Iraq procures needed items from around the world, using an extensive clandestine network," Powell continued.

"What we know comes largely from intercepted communications and human sources who are in a position to know the facts."

An audiotaped conversation between two commanders in Iraq's 2nd Republican Guard



"Unless we act, we are confronting an even more frightening future," Powell told a special meeting of the Security Council in a highly anticipated and strongly worded speech lasting slightly more than an hour. "Saddam Hussein will stop at nothing unless something stops him."

Among the evidence he presented were recordings of Iraqis referring to "nerve agents," and to apparent efforts to remove incriminating material before the arrival of U.N. inspectors. Scratchy voices in Arabic saying, "we evacuated everything," "remove," and "forbidden ammo," echoed eerily in a chamber tense over the possibility of war.

On two big screens, Powell also showed satellite photographs of what he said were chemical and biological facilities, and drawings based on eyewitness descriptions of trucks and rail cars converted into mobile laboratories for lethal materials, allegedly designed to evade detection.

Powell charged that various records and intelligence showed that Saddam was making nuclear weapons and developing rockets and aircraft to deliver all his arms.

Administration officials say they still would prefer a second Security Council resolution authorizing use of force against Iraq.

If it is clear that there are not the votes for a resolution, or if any nations with a veto might use it, U.S. officials say that the United States, Britain and other likeminded nations will be ready for an attack Iraq in March without U.N. approval.

Iraq's U.N. ambassador, Mohamed al Douri, was invited to attend the session and dismissed Powell's assertions as "utterly unrelated to the truth."

He criticized Powell's presentation as nothing more than an effort to "sell the idea of war" without "legal, moral or political justification."

"No new information was provided, mere sound recordings that cannot be ascertained as genuine," he said. "There are incorrect allegations, unnamed sources, unknown sources."

"There are assumptions and presumptions which all fall in line with the American policy towards one known objective."



White House to release files on Iraq

President hopes to garner more support for military action with evidence

By **BOB WOODWARD**

WASHINGTON POST

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has assembled what it believes to be significant intelligence showing Iraq has been actively moving and concealing banned weapons systems and related equipment from U.N. inspectors, according to informed sources.

After a lengthy debate over what and how much of the intelligence to disclose, President Bush and his national security advisers have decided to declassify some of the information and make it public, perhaps as early as next week, in an effort to garner more support for confronting Iraqi President Saddam Hussein with military force, officials said.

"The United States possesses several pieces of information which come from the work of our intelligence that show Iraq maintains prohibited weapons," Secretary of State Colin Powell said in an interview published Monday in an Italian newspaper.

The information was gathered by U.S. intelligence agencies from what officials characterized as an array of sources and methods.

The administration believes it shows that senior Iraqi officials and military officers who report to members of Saddam's inner circle have personally directed the movement and camouflage of the weapons or have knowledge of the operations, the sources said.

The concealment efforts often have taken place days or hours ahead of visits by U.N. inspection teams, which have been operating in Iraq during the past two months, according to these accounts. In many cases, the United States has what one source called "compelling" intelligence that is "unambiguous" in proving that Iraq is hiding banned weapons.

Speaking to reporters Monday, Powell said U.N. inspectors have picked up similar indications of Iraqi concealment and the United States supported the inspectors' claims.

"The inspectors have also told us that they have evidence

that Iraq has moved or hidden items at sites just prior to inspection visits. That's what the inspectors say, not what Americans say, not what American intelligence says," he said.

Administration officials have said for weeks that the United States has intelligence demonstrating that Iraq maintains banned weapons programs.

But they have said they could not disclose the information because doing so would jeopardize U.S. intelligence-collection methods or military operations against possible weapon storage sites in the event of war.

The administration's decision to release even partial accounts of what it believes it has learned would clearly be designed to bolster the U.S. case in the U.N. Security Council, where leading members oppose an early decision to go to war, and among many Americans, who recent polls suggest are not convinced of the need for an immediate military confrontation.

Democrats on Capitol Hill recently have increased calls on the administration to make public what it knows.

Despite the building pressure on the United States to support its claims about Iraqi behavior, sources said U.S. intelligence agencies have not traced or located a large cache of prohibited weapons or ingredients used in the making of chemical or biological weapons.

They said the U.S. government still lacks a "smoking gun" — the kind of definitive evidence that would prove that Iraq still has chemical or biological weapons, or a nuclear weapons development program.

On top of that, what little intelligence the administration has released about Iraq has been challenged by U.N. officials and some Security Council members.

In particular, the critics cite Bush's allegation, made to the U.N. General Assembly in September, that Iraq had tried to buy thousands of high-strength aluminum tubes to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons.

After investigating the claim, U.N. inspectors concluded the tubes likely were never meant for enriching uranium but rather were intended as components for ordinary artillery rockets — a finding consistent with Iraqi explanations.

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DBE

U.N. report: Questions remain

A look at specific issues raised by Hans Blix, chief weapons inspector, and Mohamed ElBaradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), before the U.N. Security Council on Monday:

	At issue	Iraq's declaration	U.N. findings
CHEMICAL	<p>VX A nerve agent, one of the most toxic substances on Earth.</p> <p>Chemicals used to make VX</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It produced a small amount of VX on a pilot scale. The quality was poor and unstable. It was never weaponized. It was destroyed in 1991. They were lost during the 1991 Gulf War or were destroyed by Iraq. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indications that Iraq has worked on the purity and stability of the substance. Indication that VX has been weaponized. Inspectors have questions concerning the fate of these chemicals.
	<p>Chemical bombs A document found in 1998 details the expenditure of bombs used during the Iraq-Iraq War.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims that 19,500 bombs were dropped on Iran. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The document states that 13,000 chemical warheads were dropped by the Iraqi Air Force between 1983 and 1988 — a discrepancy of 6,500 warheads. The amount of chemical agents in these bombs is assumed to be unaccounted for.
	<p>Chemical rocket warheads Discovered by inspectors in December 2002.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims these were overlooked in previous inspections. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> While Iraq's claims are possible, this also could be "the tip of the iceberg" and points to the issue of several thousand unaccounted for rockets.
BIOLOGICAL	<p>Anthrax</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims it produced 8,500 liters of anthrax and destroyed all of it in 1991. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No documentation produced proves Iraq destroyed its supply of the deadly agent. There are indications that Iraq produced more anthrax than it declared.
	<p>Bacterial growth material</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims that all of its imports of growth material have been declared. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The table showing this material was omitted from Iraq's Dec. 7 report to the inspectors and the pages of the resubmitted report were renumbered.
MISSILES	<p>Scud-type missiles Iraq may have retained after the Gulf War.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims the missiles were used to test an anti-ballistics defense system during the 1980s. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No technical information has been given to prove this.
	<p>Missile development projects Two Iraqi projects to develop missiles.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims that both missile systems are still under development and will be within the permitted 93-mile range. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both missile systems have been tested in excess of the allowed range. Both types of missiles have been given to the Iraqi Armed Forces.
NUCLEAR	<p>High-strength aluminum tubes Iraq attempted to obtain tubes used to manufacture nuclear centrifuges.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq claims it needs them to reverse engineer conventional rockets. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> IAEA analysis of the tubes is consistent with the Iraq claim, but they need more time to investigate fully. Iraq is forbidden from purchasing the tubes under a U.N. Security Council resolution.
	<p>HMX An explosive that can be used for nuclear weapons or for legitimate purposes.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq says missing quantities of HMX that were placed under a U.N. seal in 1998 were used for mining purposes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> IAEA says it needs to investigate further the whereabouts of the missing quantities of HMX.
	<p>Uranium Iraq has tried to import uranium since 1991.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iraq denies this. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> IAEA does not have enough information and needs to pursue its investigation.

Sources: U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission; IAEA; Associated Press

Kurds describe massacre

10/19/86

Two survivors recount fleeing 1988 attack at Saddam genocide trial

By LOUISE ROUG

LOS ANGELES TIMES

BAGHDAD, Iraq — The men could hear the soldiers outside, firing away at the screaming prisoners. They knew they were next. Trapped inside the bus, they quickly hatched a desperate plan to escape. If all but one died in the attempt, it would still be worth it, they decided.

At least two survived to tell the tale, and Wednesday, they told it from behind a curtain in a Baghdad courtroom, at the genocide trial of Saddam Hussein.

The pair recounted villagers' flight from attack by aircraft and ground forces on April 9, 1988, as part of the so-called Anfal, or "spoils of war," campaign against Kurds in northern Iraq.

The former president and six co-defendants are charged in connection with the mass killing of as many as 100,000 Kurds over several months in 1988. They face the death penalty. During dramatic testimony, one witness recounted how he fainted as guards began firing on the bus, and awoke to the

sounds of gurgling blood in the throats of dying prisoners.

"It was a scary sound," said the man, who managed to escape the carnage on the bus only to fall into a ditch full of bodies as he ran away.

The witness said he took off his clothes as he ran because "the skin has the same color as the sand" and he didn't want the guards to detect him. All around, he said, were mounds that he believed were graves.

The second witness described how he saw his village burn to the ground before he surrendered to government forces who had promised an amnesty. Instead, soldiers took the Kurds to a crowded prison where they were interrogated, beaten and starved.

After a few days, as many as 500 people were loaded onto windowless buses and driven for hours on unpaved roads over barren stretches of land. Finally, the convoy stopped in the Anbar desert.

"We felt we were going to die," said the witness. "They were going to kill us."

When the gunfire began, he said, "We knew it was the people in the other vehicles being shot and that we would be next."

The witness said he thought of his mother and two-year-old son, and prepared to die. "We

exchanged words of forgiveness and we were weeping," said the man. But then their mood changed to defiance, he said.

As the guards came to open the doors of the bus, the prisoners attacked. "He struggled to lock the door and we struggled to open it. And the guards outside the vehicle started to fire."

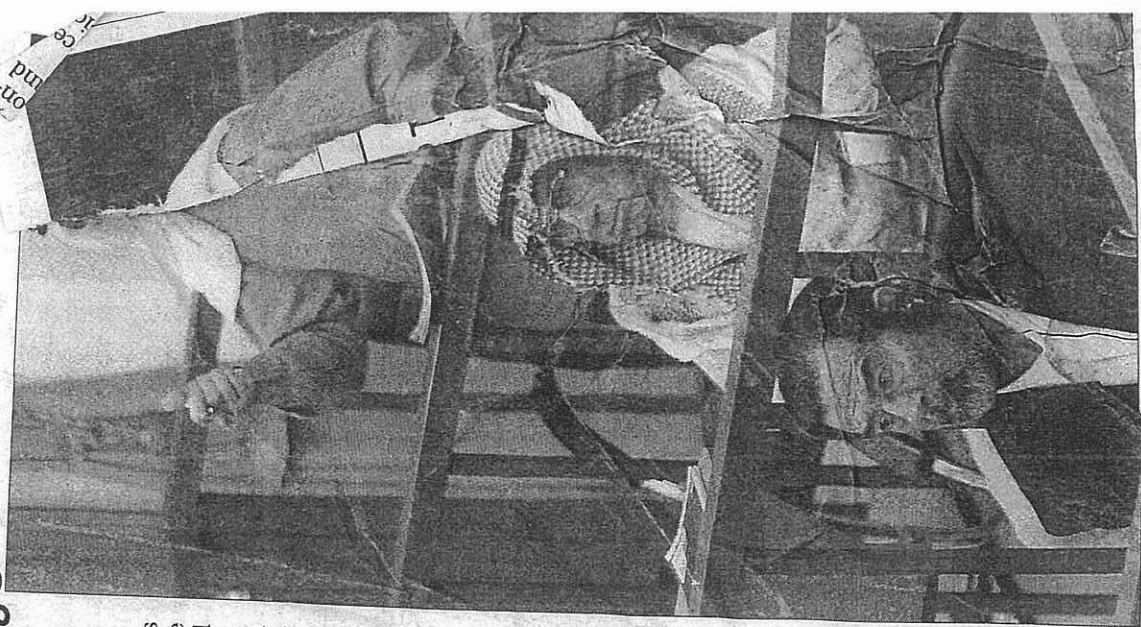
The hail of bullets killed many and wounded both guards and prisoners, including the witness. Eyes bloodied by a head injury, he ran into the dark night through the killing fields, the witness said.

"I fled in the opposite direction of the mass graves," he said. "There was a stream of blood underneath my feet. I was running without shoes."

Eventually he reached a house. He prayed that those inside would not turn him over to the authorities. "I told them the truth, how the Iraqi government wanted to kill me and had killed my friend," he said.

The family took him in. During cross-examination, one of the defendants, Sabir Duri, former head of military intelligence, talked about how Iran had infiltrated Iraq's Kurdish region during the 1980s, when the two nations were at war.

The defense team has argued that Anfal was a legitimate counterinsurgency against Kurdish rebels supported by Iran.



Ali Hasan al-Majid, top, addresses the court as Saddam Hussein and Husain Rashid Mohammed al-Tikriti listen during their trial Wednesday in Baghdad's heavily fortified Green Zone.

DAVID EUBANK

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