

Grade 11 Term 3

TERM 3: Topic 4: Nationalisms - South Africa, the Middle East and Africa

What is Nationalism?

- **Nationalism** – an ideology which places an individual's loyalty to their nation-state above any other individual or group interests.
- **Nationalism** transformed Europe in a matter of decades. Monarchies and foreign control of lands were replaced by self-determination and national governments. From the end of the 18th century, nationalism was recognized as the main factor moulding public and private life and determining the direction of modern history.
- The American and French revolutions could be regarded as the first major manifestations of Nationalism.
- Some historians believe that modern nationalism initially came to the fore through the restrictive era of 17th-century Puritan England. England led the world in science, commerce and political thought. English nationalism existed much closer to its religious roots than later nationalisms who were more secular.
- Nationalism has also been seen as a reaction to the Enlightenment Era of reason and science in the 18th century, which fired a national awakening, it emphasized national identity.
- 18th Century Nationalism shared many earlier aspects - enthusiasm for liberty, humanitarianism and emphasis on individual rights.

What is Nationalism?

- Some countries, such as Germany and Italy were formed by uniting various regional states with a common "national identity".
- **ITALY** Early 1800s – In the Napoleonic Wars, Napoleon conquered Italy and reorganized its states. While Italy was under French control, it was introduced to the ideas of liberalism and equality that had emerged during French Revolution. These ideas inspired future ideas of unification under a republican government. Many revolts took place in 1820s/1830s against the monarchy, these inspired a move toward a revolution of unification and liberty in Italy.
- 1830s-1840s – A nationalist, Giuseppe Mazzini established a revolutionary organization called "Young Italy." It spread unification ideas across the Italian city-states. **Revolutions of 1848** – Mazzini's Young Italy led Italians in the European Revolutions. Very popular but still unsuccessful.
- In 1861, Victor Emmanuel claimed a unified Italy had been established with a new constitution, new flag and Emmanuel as head of state.
- **Germany** - The strength of the Nationalist movement in Italy and liberalist movements in other parts of Europe in the 1800s inspired the German people for decades, even to revolts which only succeeded in the later 1800s.
- The **Revolutions of 1848** in Germany disrupted the peace between the separate states of the German Federation and compatibility between German states and the Austrian Empire, arousing each state, especially Prussia, to extend their own influence of German culture. In 1860s Prussia's government made the move towards unification pushing some German states to move towards Prussia immediately.

- January 1871, Prussia's collection of states was declared a unified German Empire. The new German Empire was controlled by what was Prussia and made up of the once individual states of the German Federation.
- The counties of Greece, Serbia, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, were formed by uprisings against the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire.
- In early 19th century, Nationalism spread to central Europe and then to eastern Europe. Beginning of 20th century – it grew in Asia and Africa. 19th century - age of Nationalism in Europe and 20th century – the rise of national movements in Asia and Africa.
- North American nationalism- a product of 18th century. British settlers; influenced Puritan revolution and Locke's philosophy. American settlers adopted a liberal and humanitarian nationalism, seeing America as the forerunner of all humankind, as it marched to liberty and equality. This was all realised in the Declaration of Independence and the birth of the American nation
- The nationalism of the French Revolution expressed faith in common humanity and liberal progress. The slogan “Liberty, equality, fraternity” and the Declaration of the Rights of Man became valid not only for the French but for all people. The slogan became the cornerstones of all liberal and democratic nationalism.
- Even though the French Revolution was mostly a republican revolution, it influenced movement towards the modern nation-state.
- Napoleon's armies spread nationalist spirit throughout Europe, the Middle East and Latin America. But Napoleon's yoke of conquest turned the nationalism of the Europeans against France.

What is Nationalism?

Nationalism's link with the Industrial Revolution

- The Industrial Revolution ran concurrently with Nationalism. In England it meant that machines replaced labour, 1000s of people moved from rural areas to factories in cities for work. It was rapid and unplanned urbanisation and it changed where and how people lived. It was not the reason for the rise of nationalism but it did play a big role, especially in Germany and Italy.
- With new technologies and cultural improvements, many countries wanted to unify to defend their advanced infrastructure. Great industrial inventions, like better guns and transport, added to loyalty to a nation-state moved many European countries to try and control other areas of the world. They did this to gain access to the raw materials in these less developed countries, primarily in Africa, India, and the Asian far-east. The raw materials fed their Industrial system and the countries were of military strategic importance.
- This 19th century policy of controlling other nations and making them colonies was called "Imperialism" and would affect the foreign policies of European nations for the next 100 years.

The Rise of the Middle Class

- The English trading middle class began to rise in 1700s and with it, Nationalism. This liberal and educated middle class called for an end to aristocratic privileges, demanding national unity. They were inspired by the doctrine of liberalism and demanded government based on the consent of all and stood for freedom and equality for all. This was all found in John Locke's political philosophy.
- John Locke, an influential liberal and Enlightenment thinker. Based his philosophy in social contract theory - the right of the individual, the natural equality of all men and the view that all legitimate political power must be based on the consent of the people.
- Locke's state of nature - humans are rational, born equal and with the right to life, liberty, and property and that natural right to property is derived from labour. Locke's theory of natural rights influenced political documents - the United States Declaration of Independence, French National Constituent Assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.
- This philosophy influenced American and French nationalism in the following century. North American nationalism was a product of 18th century, through the British settlers who were influenced by Puritan revolution and Locke's philosophy. American settlers adopted a liberal and humanitarian nationalism.

- The theory of Nationalism as an imagined community is inspired by a book written by Benedict Anderson in 1983 called – “Imagined Communities”. An imagined community is a concept developed to help analyse nationalism. He says a nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. Another example is the imagined community one feels a part of when one's country participates in the Olympic Games.
- His theory also presents the main causes of nationalism as the importance of capitalism, standardized national language, time and, printing technology along with the abolishing of rule by divine right and hereditary monarchy. All this occurring with the start of the Industrial Revolution.
- For Anderson, nations are socially constructed, "an imagined political community" and while members of the community probably will never know each of the other members face to face, they may have similar interests or identify as part of the same nation.
- Criticism of this approach to Nationalism comes from Partha Chatterjee, who argues from the point of view of European colonialism imposing limits on our nationalism, through the fact that many countries are already illegitimate boundaries forced on its citizens.

Nationalism as an Imagined Community - A theory



Case study: South Africa Rise of African Nationalism

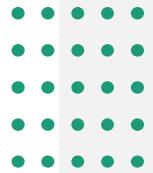
- African Nationalism arose in South Africa in the early 1900s. It was as a reaction against the many atrocities and legislations that disregarded the rights of people of colour, by the white minority British and Afrikaners. The need to unite against a common oppressor was strong. The organisations that sprung up were driven by this desire to unite and led by alliances of professional people and African traditional leaders who spoke on behalf of all oppressed South Africans.
- In 1902 - A Coloured people's political organisation, African People's Organisation (APO), was formed in Cape Town. Its first president was W. Collins, it used non-confrontational forms of protest and appeal, attempting to influence liberal white parties to take forward the cause of Coloureds. It became the most influential political organisation for Coloureds for almost forty years and eventually gave way to more radical organisations shaping black political thought for decades.
- Strategies of resistance of the African Political Organisation - The APO had as its original aims 'civilising' objectives as were prevalent at the time, advocating Victorian probity and abstinence. However, it additionally emphasised achieving unity amongst Coloureds, promoting education, opposing "class legislation" (i.e. discriminatory colour legislation) and defending the social, political and economic rights of Coloureds.
- In 1903, The South African Native Affairs Commission brought stricter discrimination policies - the pass system, no Africans could not be employed without a pass.
- 1906 - A poll tax applied to black people forced them to seek work in white businesses in order to pay these taxes.

Case study: South Africa Rise of African Nationalism

- 1910 -The Union of South Africa united the white population in the form of the British and the Boers, against the black population. The Union was later called the Republic of South Africa and it unified the British Colonies. The Union effectively kept all blacks off the voters' rolls.
- African people united against the Union by forming The South African Native National Congress in 1912. This was the beginning of ANC, which became its new name in 1924.
- In 1913, the Union reacted with the 1913 Natives' Land Act. This Act was the precursor to Apartheid land settlement. The Act stated the prohibition of Africans from buying or hiring land in 93% of South Africa.
- Also in 1913 - The Native Land Commission was set up to investigate the availability of land and defined boundaries for permanent segregation between black and white people.

Influence of World War II on Nationalism

- Nationalism changed form and waned after WWII, evident in the establishment of international economic, military, and political organizations such as NATO.
- The Atlantic Charter was a statement issued by F. D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill on 14 August 1941, outlining US and UK aims for the world for the period after World War II.
- It included: no territorial aggrandizement; no territorial changes made against the wishes of the people (self-determination); restoration of self-government to those deprived of it; reduction of trade restrictions; global cooperation to secure better economic and social conditions for all; freedom from fear and want; freedom of the seas; and abandonment of the use of force, as well as disarmament of aggressor nations. This Charter formed the basis for the modern United Nations.
- The Charter also influenced other agreements, including the dismantling of the British Empire and the formation of NATO Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
- Colonial control of Africa began to come apart post WWII, it was a catalyst for political freedom and independence. This was a result of - new political climate, the rise of nationalism and the waging of independence campaigns in some colonies plus new domestic priorities post-war for colonial rulers.



Influence of World War II on Nationalism

- WWII built up African nationalism, there was a common goal for all Africans to fight for their freedom and it led to decolonization. Colonial governments were pushed to justify their rule over African societies, despite the United Nations declaration that all people have the right to self-determination.
- Colonial governments said Africans were being prepared for future self-government but were not ready to let go. Some countries were forced to fight to win independence.
- Post WWII South Africa experienced supply shortages because of the return of 1000s of soldiers. It was also characterised by political and social resistance campaigns, spearheaded by Blacks, Indians and Coloureds. There were changes in the ANC and the ANC youth league (ANCYL) was formed in 1944 by AB Xuma, who had been elected ANC president in 1940.
- The ANCYL activated the ANC into a proactive approach, stimulating a stronger articulation of African identities. This was evident in the ANC's 1943 Africans' Claims, an African Bill of Rights drawn up by AB Xuma and other African leaders, inspired by the Atlantic Charter. The ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE AFRICAN quoted the claims in the Atlantic Charter and how it affected South Africans in particular. They claimed the fact that South Africans would also have the freedoms promised the peoples of the world.

Types of African Nationalism

- The ANC Youth League was prominent in national campaigns in the 1950s. When the Freedom Charter was adopted, divisions in the ranks of the ANCYL started to grow. A small faction of ANCYL condemned the Freedom Charter as ignoring the objectives of the Programme of Action which the YL had been following in the country for some time.
- In 1947 the ANCYL's leader A. Lembede passed away and after an intense period of campaigns such as the Defiance Campaign and the Bantu Education Campaign, the ANCYL declined. And a formal split in the organization occurred. The "Africanist" faction in the ANCYL broke away in 1959 to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. This imploding of nationalist organisations showed how loyalty to one's nation started to change.
- The definition of Nation broadened even more in the 1950s as 'national reconciliation' and 'nation-building' was pursued after Nelson Mandela's release from prison.
- In 1994, Mandela was sworn in as president of South Africa. He forged his own path by implementing strategies to bring about reconciliation between races and tribes and to re-build a unified nation, not one divided by hostility. His quest for national unity was pervasive. He wanted every citizen to be able to identify with the new democracy and the Government of National Unity.
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which investigated human rights violations under apartheid, stands as the single most unique aspect of his strategy. He also implemented a new democratic constitution. He mainly focussed on the Afrikaner community as it held potential for resistance, but could also make a big contribution to the future.

Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism

- Afrikaner Nationalism was stirred up by Afrikaner activists reacting to British imperialism and Black Africans living in southern Africa. They came together as a people with their 'own' language, social and political traditions, cultural identity, religious orientation, etc. These activists took elements of South Africa's history, finding commonality and then created their own story presenting the Afrikaners as a persecuted group of people who resisted heroically.
- When the Cape was annexed as a British colony, the Dutch colonists desired to differentiate themselves from the English as a people, a Volk with its' own interests. There were laws that kept Dutch colonists from the political and cultural mainstream of the Cape Colony, especially when the official language of the colony became only English. The abolition of slavery increased their exclusion and solidified the former Dutch colonists into a new 'Volk' by influencing the decision to take the Great Trek. About 6,000 people embarked on an exodus to areas beyond the rule of the British.
- Volk- a nation or people. In South Africa, it refers particularly to the Afrikaner people.
- After Battle of Blood River, the Boers established colonies called Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, all republics. This set the British against Afrikanerdom; as the British were threatened by the republics that could undermine their hold over the Cape.
- This was the start of Afrikaner nationalism. They began to create the basis for a cultural and political nationalism, focusing on issues of language and literature. They began to push for their language to be recognized, especially in parliament. It was beginning to decline; some burghers even spoke English at home.

Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism

- The First Language Movement began when SJ Du Toit formed Die Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners (the GRA, the Fellowship of True Afrikaners) in Paarl in 1875. From this, a cultural nationalism grew and eventually became a political nationalism. The GRA wanted Afrikaans to be used in Parliament, the civil service and schools, launching a newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, in 1876. Du Toit also wrote a history of the Afrikaners, *Die Geskiednis van ons Land in die Taal van ons Volk* (The History of our Land in the Language of our Nation). In it he presented Afrikaners as oppressed all through their history.
- He also translated the Bible into Afrikaans, a history of the Afrikaans language movement, an anthology of Afrikaans poetry, and picture books for children. He called for the formation of an organisation taking care of the interests of all Afrikaners, an Afrikaner Bond. It became the first political party in South Africa, representing the interests of Afrikanerdom in the Cape Parliament.
- In the Anglo-Boer War – the Afrikaners lost the war in 1902 and suffered much hardship as a people. After the war, there was still division between the Afrikaners who desired reconciliation with the British and the “bitter-einders”, who fought to the end, resisting peace.
- The Afrikaners had to enter a new platform of conflict, in the post Union parliamentary politics. Jan Smuts and Louis Botha’s South African Party won the first election to national government. They continued to develop their political mythology; through The Slagtersnek Monument in 1915 and celebrating The Battle of Blood River Day on 16th December.

- In the 1920s, the second “Great Trek” - poorer Afrikaner farmers driven off the land to cities, forming the “Poor white” class. Unskilled, competing against blacks for jobs. The depression of the early 1930s added to this movement of poor whites and nearly 40% of urbanised male Afrikaners were manual labourers, mine workers, etc. So the state embarked on empowerment programmes for them.
- These impoverished Afrikaners had to be rescued for the Volk. The Broederbond and others came up with a solution combining ethnic mobilisation and the promotion of volkskapitalisme (capitalism in the interest of the volk). Through group identification and co-operation, they hoped to improve the position of Afrikaans speakers.
- A second Language Movement emerged in the 1930s. Afrikaans had been officially recognized in 1925 and it now blossomed with new translations and historians contributing to the growing archive. The foremost Afrikaans writer, NP van Wyk Louw, produced a play, Die Dieper Reg (The Higher Justice), in which he presented the Voortrekkers as heroes who followed the ‘call of their blood’.
- The Afrikaner middle class directed much of construction of Afrikanerdom; mostly religious ministers, teachers, academics, journalists, farmers. In the 1930s and 1940s, an exclusive and secret organization called the **Afrikaner Broederbond**, worked to promote the interests of “true” Afrikaners. on behalf of the volk. Their aim was to unite all of their volk; rural and urban people, rich and poor and it took a long-term political vision to do this.
- The Afrikaner people felt that identification with the group had to be total and carried out on all levels of society. A complex network of new and old Afrikaner organisations was established during the 1930s ; like financial institutions and youth movements. Most importantly, the umbrella body of them all, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings(FAK). FAK enforced all Afrikaner cultural forms to be nationalistic. Systematically, material and cultural foundations of Afrikaner nationalism were laid.

Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism

Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism

- The date, December 16, was used liberally as a tool of political mobilisation.
- There are Afrikaner nationalists that claim the Battle of Blood River represented the birth of the Afrikaner nation and the Voortrekkers' victory symbolized the triumph of Christianity over heathens and that all Afrikaners were bound by the vow for all time. Some see the battle as a miracle in the sense that divine intervention gave the Voortrekkers their victory. Religion being a common interest that the architects of Afrikanerdom used often to unite them.
- For the first time, in 1864, December 16 became a public holiday, declared by Paul Kruger, in Transvaal. By 1908, it had become a South African national holiday.
- The 1948 election was significant in that it brought about a change of government, often labelled - the apartheid election. Despite the National Party's black peril tactics, there was no ready-made blueprint apartheid policy to implement. It was negotiated in the face of competing Afrikaner and other interests. The rolling out of the Apartheid programme wasn't a total policy change but a change in emphasis in the Afrikaner Nationalist mindset. It was the next step, the culmination of the Afrikaner quest for political power, followed by the completion of the Voortrekker Monument.
- On December 16 1949, the Monument was inaugurated, meant to 'engender pride in the nation of heroes which endured the hardships of the Great Trek'.
- By the time apartheid became entrenched, the Afrikaner Nationalists no longer needed stories to gain power, just to maintain it.



Case study: The Middle East - Origins of Arab Nationalism

- The late 19th century saw the rise of both Arab Nationalism and Jewish Nationalism.
- Firstly, not all Arabs are Muslims and not all Muslims are Arabs. Central belief is that the whole Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, consists of one nation bound together. Its goal is to promote the unity of Arab people, promoting their civilization. They hold a common ethnic, linguistic, cultural, historical, identical, nationalist, geographical and political ethos – not religion! Some Arab Nationalist leaders were Christians.
- Major goals of Arab nationalism - the end of Western influence in the Arab world. The "West" is considered the "nemesis" (a rival or long-standing enemy) of Arab strength. - the desire to remove the Arab governments which are dependent on Western power. It became prominent when the Ottoman Empire weakened and was defeated in early 20th century, declining after the defeat of the Arab armies in the Six-Day War.
- Arab nationalism drew inspiration from 19th-century European ideas, where Slavic nationalist movements (mostly Christian) of the Ottoman Balkan territories, had won their independence by the end of 1912. A new generation of Arabs with access to better education had a raised political consciousness, and a nationalist spirit was lit.
- Serious obstacles to Arab Nationalism are conflicting loyalties to tribe, sect, and religion plus tension between regional identities such as Iraqi, Syrian, Egyptian identities. Another large obstacle was the language issues among Arab states.
- The establishment of Arabic as the language of communication and the advent of Islam as a religion and culture in the region, helped form the Arab nation. Both Arabic and Islam were the national pillars. Many Arab nationalists believe their nation pre-existed the rise of 19th Century nationalism, as a historical entity.

Case study: The Middle East - Origins of Arab Nationalism

- The meanings of modern Arabic terms 1. qawmiyya - attachment to the Arab nation & 2. wataniyya - loyalty to a single Arab state. In post-World War years, the concept of qawmiyya called for the creation of revolutionary Arab unity and these groups supported opposition, violent and non-violent, against Israel and Arabs who didn't agree with this approach.
- Most famous gawmiyya person - Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, who used both military and political power to spread his version of pan-Arab ideology throughout the Arab world. The current ideology for Arab policy makers has shifted to wataniyya.
- 3 main ideas of Arab Nationalism: the Arab nation; Arab nationalism; and pan-Arab unity.
- ARAB NATION- The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine led to the foundation of the Arab nationalist Ba'ath Party, which asserts that the Arab nation is the group of people who speak Arabic, inhabit the Arab world, and who feel they belong to the same nation.
- ARAB NATIONALISM - "sum total" of exclusively Arabic characteristics and qualities.
- PAN-ARAB UNTY - modern idea stipulating that separate Arab countries must unify to form a single state under one political system.
- Local patriotism- aimed at individual Arab countries was only incorporated into Arab nationalism in 1920s.

Case study: The Middle East - Origins of Jewish Nationalism

- Jewish nationalism or Zionism has as its goal the creation and support of a Jewish national state in Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jews (Hebrew: Eretz Yisra'el, "the Land of Israel"). This belief has roots in the Bible and Jewish history. Though Zionism originated in eastern and central Europe in late 19th century, it is really a continuation of the ancient attachment of the Jews and their religion to the historical region of Palestine, where one of the hills of ancient Jerusalem was called Zion. Modern Zionism took hold as a reaction to anti-Semitic nationalist movements in Europe which were exclusionary to their people.
- An Austrian journalist, Theodor Herzl is considered the founder of the Modern Zionist movement. His 1896 book, *Der Judenstaat*, envisioned the founding of an independent Jewish state during the 20th century.
- He encouraged Jewish migration to Ottoman Palestine. After WWI, the Zionists allied with Great Britain, who held the Mandate on Palestine and they managed to get support for Jewish emigration to Palestine for many years
- In 1897 Herzl convened the first Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland, stating that "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."

Case study: The Middle East - origins of Jewish Nationalism

- Before WWI, Zionism only represented a minority of Jews, mostly Russian but was led by Austrians and Germans. Zionists used propaganda through orators and newspapers. The Modern Hebrew language developed during that period.
- After the Russian Revolution of 1905 and waves of pogroms and repressions, many Russian Jewish youth emigrated to Palestine as pioneer settlers. By 1914 there were about 90,000 Jews in Palestine.
- As WWI broke, there was a resurgence of political Zionism, its leadership was now Russian Jews living in England.
- Zionists built up the Jewish urban and rural settlements in Palestine, solidifying Jewish cultural life and Hebrew education. By 1925 Jewish population -about 108,000, rising to 238,000 by 1933.
- Jewish immigration continued as Arab population feared Palestine would become a Jewish state. They resisted Zionism and its British support.
- British forces engaged in a number of Arab uprisings on behalf of the Zionists and after suppressing the revolt of 1936-39, the alliance eventually became difficult. Britain realized the implications of Jewish Nationalism for Arabs in the Palestine Mandate and for Arab Nationalism.
- In the hope of keeping the peace between Jews and Palestinian Arabs and also keeping Arab support against Germany and Italy in WWII, in 1939, Britain put restrictions on Jewish immigration. These were violently opposed by Zionist underground groups, which committed acts of terrorism and assassination against the British. They also organized illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine.

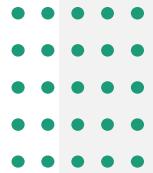
- Zionist leadership during WWI resurged politically and 2 Russian Jews living in England; Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow, were instrumental in obtaining the Balfour Declaration from Great Britain (November 2, 1917).
- This Declaration promised British support for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine. It was included in Britain's League of Nations mandate over Palestine (1922). This confused the issue of the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence in which the Ottomans had agreed to support Arab independence if they revolted against the Ottomans. But then UK and France reneged on the deal and divided up the area in the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, which obviously the Arabs were unhappy with.
- Many Jews sought refuge in Palestine and others in the United States, to embrace Zionism due to the extermination of European Jews by the Nazis. Britain discussed the problem of Palestine with USA and later with the United Nations.
- On November 29, 1947 the UN proposed partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The creation of the **State of Israel on May 14, 1948**, set off an attack by neighbouring Arab countries. They were defeated by the Israeli army in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948-49 that ensued.
- Armistice agreements were signed in 1949 and Israel ended up with more land than had been allotted under the UN partition plan. About 800,000 Arabs fled or had been expelled from the new Israel.
- So, 50 years after the first Zionist congress and 30 years after the Balfour Declaration, Zionism achieved its aim of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. It also became an armed camp surrounded by hostile Arab nations and Palestinian organizations engaged in terrorism in and outside Israel.

Balfour Declaration & Origins of State of Israel after WWII and war of 1948



Different Interpretations of the Arab Israeli 1948 war

- The 1948 war ended with Israel controlling a huge territory, everything except the West Bank and Gaza. This is where most Palestinian fled to and these areas are called the Palestinian territories today.
- The borders between Israel and Palestine have been disputed and fought over ever since. So has the status of those Palestinian refugees and the status of Jerusalem. It seems there can be no agreement about what happened in 1948, each side has a different version of the events. This basic opposition has fuelled a decades long conflict.
- An interpretation of the War from an Israeli leader at the time – that in the political field Jewish people were the attackers and the Arabs were defending themselves. They were living in the country and owned the land, the village. Jewish community lived in the Diaspora and only wanted to immigrate to Palestine. The events of 1948 are understood, for the Jews, as the Israeli War of Independence; and for Arabs as al-Nakba, the catastrophe.
- Dr. C. Zureiq, a Syrian historian in 1948 wrote about the Arab Israeli War from the Arab perspective, saying that Palestinians regarded the Israelis as conquerors and them as the only victims. Most Israelis would be shocked to be considered conquerors. The Israelis definitely were the victors and therefore their version of the War is more well known, possibly because it is known that history is the propaganda of the victors.
- Jewish perspective of the chain of events – Israel accepted the UN's flawed agreement and neighbouring Arab states rejected it. When the Palestine Mandate frustrated by Britain at every turn, expired and the State of Israel proclaimed, 7 Arab states sent armies to strangle Jewish state as it was born. The Israeli state fought an heroic battle against all odds and won. The War uprooted and expelled entire Palestinian communities, creating about 700,000 refugees, whose descendants now number 7 million and are still considered refugees. The Jewish people believe they pleaded with them to stay and demonstrate that peace was possible.



Arab Nationalism in the Region

- Relations between Israel and its neighbours were not normalized after 1948 war and there followed in 1967, the 6 day War, between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan. A ceasefire was agreed on and by that time, Israel had decimated and humiliated the 3 nation's armies.
- The Arab Nationalist Movement had declined during late 1960s, partially because of the defeat of Egypt in The Six-Day War, which had led to the discrediting of Nasserism, and forced the ANM to play down its uniting, pan-Arab creed.
- **Syrian** Nationalism or Pan-Syrian nationalism should not be confused with Arab nationalism. It posited a common Syrian history and nationality, grouping all the different religious sects and peoples in the area. It is not anti-Arab, but opposed the Arab nationalist ideology and is a secular movement.
- **Jordanian** Nationalism is an ideology that sees Jordanian People a part of the Arab Nation. First emerged 1920, when Muslim, Christian and Circassian tribes supported Emir Abdullah I in establishing the Emirate of Transjordan. The Jordanian state was established in 1921
- Nationalism in Jordan began as both a pan-Arab identity and as a relationship between Arabs and family rulers and not a relationship between citizens and a single, bordered state. Nationalism in Transjordan had its roots, not in patriotism, but in the need for stability and power. Abdullah formed personal networks that linked tribes to the monarchy via security, and the British-assisted Arab Legion was established to enforce law and order, further incorporating tribes into the state structure.
- In this way, Emir Abdullah promoted a framework for nationalism that excluded the nation state but included a political system in which defending both tribal honour and the monarchy was desired. The importance of tribalism to Hashemite security would continue under successive Jordanian monarchs.
- **Egyptian** nationalism is a civic nationalism, emphasizing the unity of Egyptians regardless of ethnicity or religion. - first seen in Pharaonism which began in 19th century. It identified Egypt as unique and independent in the world since the era of Pharaohs in ancient Egypt.
- Egyptian identity and nationalism was fostered by Muhammad Ali's rule in which Egypt was led into advanced socioeconomic development in comparison with its' neighbours. The Urabi movement in the 1870s-80s - first major Egyptian nationalist movement, under the slogan of "Egypt for Egyptians".
- After British occupation in 1882, Egyptian nationalism focused on ending British colonial rule. After the Six Day War of 1967, pan-Arab nationalism was less encouraged and the "Egypt first" policy was used. President Nasser and his successors continued to de-emphasize Arab nationalism and replace it with Egyptian nationalism based on their distinctiveness within the Arab world.

Conflict of nationalist aspirations between Palestine and Israel

- During late 19th and early 20th centuries, the 2 competing national movements took shape: Zionism and Arab nationalism. Zionism called for a form of Jewish sovereignty in at least some part of the Land of Israel as a Jewish necessity and right. Arab nationalism saw the Arab world as a unified whole and when the individual countries gained independence, they sought to balance their local identity with broader pan-Arab affiliation.
- These 2 growing nationalist movements were on a collision course. At the root of this were complex networks of identity construction and competition over territory and water, and also pride, honour and power.
- The Zionist movement before and after Israeli independence in 1948 had to ask: Are the Arab inhabitants of the Land of Israel a unique ethnic-national community with distinct political rights? And the Arab national movement had to ask: Do the Jews have moral and political rights to some form of sovereignty in Palestine?
- Israel's War of Independence, and the exodus of approximately 700,000 Palestinians remains the central problem of the continuing conflict. The War also solidified a shared sense of Palestinian history, memory, and suffering central to the formation of a national movement.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

- After the Arab Israeli War in 1948, entire Palestinian communities were uprooted and expelled, creating about 700,000 **refugees**, with +/- 7 million descendants, still considered refugees. Israel ended up controlling more territory than it was promised. The land left is called the Palestinian territories and it is situated on the West Bank and Gaza. This is where most Palestinians fled to.
- **Israel has occupied the West Bank and the Gaza strip** since the 6 Day War, which has created even more hostility between them, (about 2,200 square miles). They have built settlements pop: 220,000, mostly in the West Bank. Palestinians demand withdrawal from all of the land conquered in War and evacuation of these settlements. Israel continued to extend settlements all through the peace process that began in 1993 and still do so today.
- During the 6 Day War, Israel appointed a Military Governor to rule the West Bank. He could retain Jordanian law unless there were conflicts with Israel's rights as an occupying power. The Israeli military still occupies the West Bank and from 1967 to 2014, the Israeli administration issued over 1,680 military orders regarding the West Bank.
- Israel offered to turn over 97% of the land in the West Bank and all of Gaza, as well as Arab sections of Jerusalem, in the final **negotiations** at Camp David and Taba and their offer was turned down by the Palestinians.
- Many Palestinian **refugees** live in crowded refugee camps in poor conditions in the West Bank and Gaza, in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Palestinians demand that they be allowed to return to Israel under UN General Assembly Resolution 194. Israelis note that an almost equal number of Jews fled Arab lands to Israel in 1948. Israelis oppose return of the refugees because that would create an Arab Palestinian majority and would put an end to Israel as a Jewish state.
- The **borders** between Israel and Palestine have been disputed and fought over ever since. So has the status of those Palestinian refugees and the status of Jerusalem. For many decades, Zionist organizations around the world raised funds for Israel, encouraging Jews to immigrate there. Most Jews reject the view that if they live outside Israel, they live in "exile" and could live a full life only in Israel.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

- **The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** was formed to regain all of Palestine for the Palestinian Arabs and they showed signs of accepting a 2 state solution in 1988, where Palestinians would establish a state alongside Israel. The Oslo accords, which called for a peaceful resolution of the conflict, were shattered, by the continued Israeli settlement and Palestinian violence and eventually open conflict in September 2000.
- **Agreements won/lost over the years of searching and lobbying for peace by interested parties and international leaders:**
- - the Palestinians demand a state in the West Bank and Gaza. Right wing Israelis are opposed to creating a state, because, they claim, it would be a base for terror groups. - In negotiations, the Israeli government agreed to a demilitarized Palestinian state with limited control over its borders and resources - a "state minus." - The Palestinians get commitment for a state from UN, and from US President Bush.
- The Road Map peace plan, intended to result in Palestinian state. - The Oslo Accords and the Road Map are opposed by Palestinian extremist groups like Hamas and by Zionist extremists.
- Israel and Palestine have been locked in conflict for 53 years, despite all the **long-term peace processes** and the reconciliation of Israel with Egypt and Jordan. The level of violence witnessed during the entire conflict has been conducted by regular armies, paramilitary groups, terror cells, and individuals. Casualties have included a large number of fatalities of civilians on both sides.
- After many years of unsuccessful **negotiations**, in 2000, the conflict erupted again as the **Second Intifada** (Palestinian Uprising against the Israelis) flared up, the first Intifada had been in 1987 to 1993.
- In November 2012, the representation of Palestine in UN was upgraded to a non-member observer status and title changed to "State of Palestine".
- In 2020, Donald Trump's Peace to Prosperity plan for the Middle East sees an outcome similar to apartheid. His plan contradicts internationally agreed parameters for the Middle East peace process, relevant UN resolutions and the most fundamental principles of international law. Instead of promoting peace, it risks fuelling the conflict – at the expense of Israeli and Palestinian civilians and with grave implications for Jordan and the wider region. It has been met with widespread opposition in the region, in Europe, and in the United States.

The positive and negative features of nationalism

- Nationalism can be seen as positive or negative, depending on the context and individual outlook. By definition, it is an ideology that supports the interests of a particular nation and aims to gain/maintain the nation's self-governance. It sounds quite honourable, until there are others who do not want those things. It further aims to build and maintain a single national identity-based on shared social characteristics, seeking to preserve a nation's culture, pride in national achievements, and is closely linked to patriotism.
- There are even different types of nationalism; for example: cultural, territorial, racial.
- Negative nationalism would assume that we can only gain at another nation's expense, and theirs come at our expense. The negative outcomes could be conflict with others, infringements on another's rights and it could create xenophobia—the fear that someone will take them over. When radical nationalism is combined with racial hatred there can be devastating results, e.g. the Holocaust, ethnic cleansing in Croatia. Nationalist movements tend towards extremism and self-righteousness on the one hand and demonising the enemy on the other. History is often falsified and even made up to serve a nationalist political agenda. Some nations are based on little more than a mythological view of the past and hatred of foreigners.
- Positive nationalism has to assume that when we are doing well, we're more willing/better able to add to the world's well being. The positive outcomes include promoting a sense of identity and belonging, uniting people and promoting pride. It can unify people against or for a common goal. It seems that the ethnic nationalism of Zionists is successful; but that of "the Arabs", a failure. Not only does Arab nationalism make "the Arabs" look bad; it can obscure what is good.

The positive and negative features of nationalism

- The role of nationalism during the struggle in RSA was exceptional; from 1948 it was controlled by white Afrikaner nationalists focused on racial segregation and white minority rule known officially as apartheid, that nationalism only suited the small minority and affected the huge majority. The black nationalists fought until success was achieved and then Nelson Mandela was elected President and the black nationalists rose to power.
- **Nationalism persists** because the positive aspects of it are undeniably logical in theory. The desire to unify a people, give them a common purpose even if it is “against an “enemy” is strong. There is power in the thought of homogeneity, a sense of identity and belonging.
- **Ethnic cleansing (post-1990 Eastern Europe)** – The wars in Bosnia and Chechnya attest to the fact that conflict between the right of nations to self-determination and the right of states to defend their borders is rarely resolved in a non-violent manner. The peaceful dissolution of Czechoslovakia is an exception. Other parts of Eastern Europe and the Balkans offered little cause for optimism. Ethnic, cleansing, racial violence, forced assimilation, and the violation of minority rights are common in this part of the world, where intense nationalism has long been a dominant feature of the political landscape.
- Nationalist movements everywhere desire to create territorially bounded political units (states) out of homogenous cultural communities (nations). Unfortunately, ethnic minorities within the borders of nation-states is often denied, even if their existence is acknowledged, they may not be granted full rights as citizens of the state because they are not members of the nation with which the state is identified.