



CYPRUS

LEBANON

ISRAEL

Alexandria

Cairo

EGYPT

of the
rn
e East

Najm Akbar

pc.edu

Latakia

SYRIA

Beirut

Damascus

Haifa

Port Said

Gaza Strip

JORDAN

'Aqabah

Tabūk

Asyūt

Luxor

Aswān

Yanbu' al Baḥr

Ḥalā'ib

Jiddah

Mecca

NUBIAN
DESERT

HEJAZ

Medina

SAUDI

ARABIA

Riyadh

Ḥā'il

Buraydah

Hafar al Baṭīn

Al Jubayf

Ad Dammām

Dhahran

BAHRAIN

Doha

Abu Dhabi

Dubai

UNITED ARAB
EMIRATES

OMAN

Kirkuk

Baghdad

An Nāṣirīyah

Al Baṣrah

Ahvāz

Abādān

KUWAIT

KUWAIT

Hafar al Baṭīn

Persian Gulf

Manama

Ad Dammām

Dhahran

BAHRAIN

Doha

Abu Dhabi

Dubai

UNITED ARAB
EMIRATES

OMAN

UBI' AL KHALI

ZAGROS
MOUNTAINS

DASHT-E LŪT

Kermān

Zāhedān

IRAN

Shīraz

Būshehr

Bandar 'Abbās

Straits of Hormuz

OMAN

Gulf of Oman

Muscat

Mediterranean Sea

Suez Canal

Dead Sea

(lowest point in Asia, -408 m)

SINAI
PENINSULA

Gulf of Aqaba

E R N

R T

c of Cancer

Administrative
Boundary

AS

Introduction/Conclusion

- This is where ended last week while discussing the Treaty of Versailles.
- The United States did not join but Wilson's League began to grapple with the complexities of the international system with a reduced and yet considerable incorporation of his idealism.
- Looking at the outcome, the question we need to answer is if the inter-state system, after the experience of a devastating Great War, was ready for idealism. The League was the form of idealism that survived until 1946. Its successor organization, the United Nations since 1945, has confronted similar challenges in eight decades of its existence.

Introduction/Conclusion

- For the international system, however, the League marked a giant step forward from the Final Document of Congress of Vienna 1815 which distributed Europe and its people between royal houses, and the Congress of Berlin 1884-85 which fixed the rules for the scramble for Africa.
- National interests drive the behavior of states. They defend and advance them in terms of their understanding of existing realities. In the process, they collide with others or any bits of idealism if they determine that their crucial interests are at stake.

More Treaties

- In the last session, we focused on the Treaty of Versailles which made peace with Germany, but it was not the only Treaty the “penal-peace makers” negotiated during this period.
- Parisian chateaux were the centers of such negotiations.
 - Saint Germain hosted negotiations with Austria;
 - Trianon with Hungary;
 - Sevres with Turkey; and
 - Neuilly-sur-Seine with Bulgaria.

New World Map

- The Great War changed the map of the world. Four empires, the German, the Habsburg-- Austria-Hungary, the Romanovs' Russian, and the Ottomans collapsed. The Allies and Associated Powers drew the maps for this new world.
- So, just to continue from our last session, here's what they did in Europe.

European Map

- The Versailles Treaty did not mention Brest-Litovsk by name, but it abolished all German territorial appropriation of Russian territories which did not necessarily return to the Russian Empire's notion of Russia.
- Those territories went to either new nations or national groups.

EUROPE 1914



The old empires...

EUROPE 1923



...became new countries



Former Russian Empire

Defeated former empires:

- Germany
- Austria-Hungary
- Ottoman Empire

Free cities

Areas subject to referendum

Contested areas

European Map

The Treaty carved many new states out of the formerly Russian lands with one consequence. Most of them constituted not the “iron curtain,” then but a ‘quarantine belt,” or “cordon sanitaire,” around Bolsheviks. From the North:

- Finland, an autonomous region that Lenin had allowed to secede, became a state.
- Three Baltic Republics, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania emerged for the first time on the world map.

European Map

- Poland regained statehood 120 years later. It included the Polish Corridor, separating East Prussia from the rest of Germany, and access to the Baltic Sea via Danzig which was declared a free port.
- Austria and Hungary were reduced to German and Magyar rumps.
- A new Czechoslovakia combined the former industrial core of the Habsburg Empire, the Czech lands, and the areas of Slovak and the formerly Hungarian Ruthenian country. Czechoslovakia also incorporated the German Sudetenland.

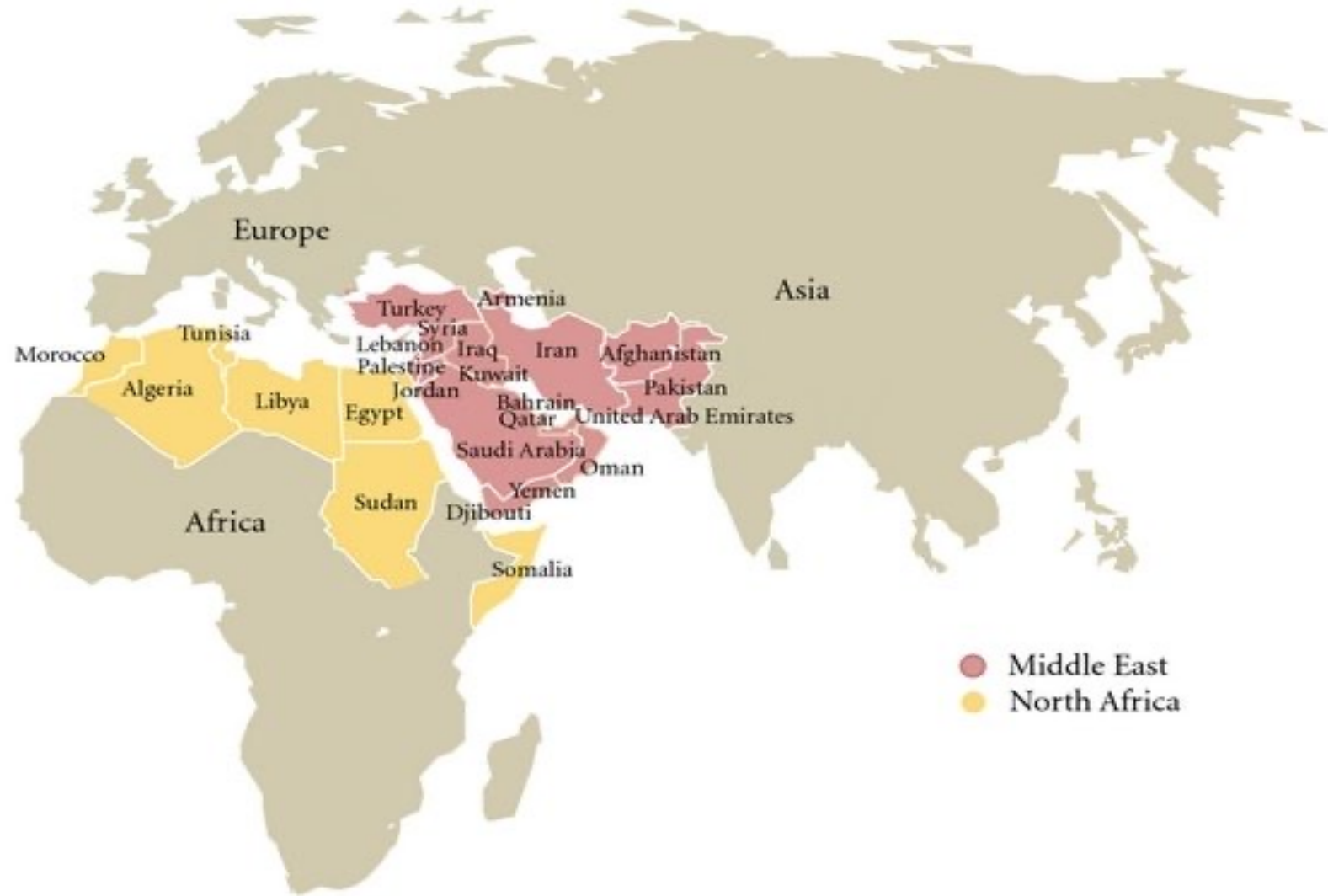
European Map

- In the South, the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire once extended to the Balkans including Greece and Serbia since the Ottoman victory of 1389 in the battle of Kosovo.
- In the new map of the Balkans, Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, and a fiercely independent Montenegro, all became part of the greater Yugoslavia.
- Rumania became bigger with the integration of the Russian region of Bessarabia.

What is the Middle East?

- Beginning this week, we will see how far the members of the League respected or not Wilson's idealism beyond the Hall of Mirrors of Chateau de Versailles where they signed his Covenant.
- The Middle East is our focus. Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is the preferred term now. It includes areas of West Asia and South Asia up to Pakistan.

Middle East and North Africa





Turkey

Armenia

Azerbaijan

Turkmenistan

Tajikistan

China

cece

Cyprus

Mediterranean Sea

Syria

Iran

ASIA
MIDDLE
EAST

Afghanistan

India

Lebanon

Iraq

Israel
Palestine

N

Suez Canal

Sinai

Jordan

Kuwait

Pakistan

75° E

Egypt

Gulf of Suez

Gulf of Aqaba

Bahrain

Persian Gulf

SOUTHEAST ASIA

ya

TROPIC OF CANCER

Qatar

Saudi Arabia

United Arab Emirates

Oman

Gulf of Oman

AFRICA

Red

Arabian

The Empires

We must remember that until the Great War, the areas constituting the Middle East or MENA had been part of multiethnic empires of various sizes.

Beginning with the Mesopotamians, Egyptian Kingdoms, Persians, Macedonian-Greeks, Romans and Byzantium, Persians again, the Muslim Caliphates, and after the Mongols, the Ottomans.

The Empires

In North Africa, the Muslim Caliphate of the Fatimids ruled Egypt and North Africa until the Ottomans defeated them in the 16th century after taking over the remnants of Byzantium and Constantinople earlier in 1453.

The Expansion Ends

The Ottoman Empire had a long period of expansion beginning in the 14th century when they reached their outermost limits in the Balkans.

The constituents of their multiethnic and multicultural empire began to contract in 1829 when the Greeks gained independence. A year later, France entered Algeria and continued to Tunisia in 1881.

The Expansion Ends

The pace increased during the second half of the 19th century when Serbia, Romania, and Cypress became independent in 1878.

Britain occupied Egypt in 1880.

Austria annexed Bosnia Herzegovina in 1908 when Bulgaria also became independent, and Crete joined Greece.

The Expansion Ends

Italy took over Tripoli in 1912, before the onset of the First World War.

The Great War ended the Ottoman sovereignty over the Middle East.

The Treaty of Sevres formalized this outcome.

The Allied Powers decided the future of Ottoman areas comprising the Levant and Mesopotamia. This was the birth of a new Middle East.

Let us see how the Allied Powers accomplished this task.

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

One way to look at it is to recall relevant sections of Wilson's fourteen points of January 8, 1918.

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

XII. The Turkish portions 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 and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

Another essential point to consider is the way the Covenant of the League of Nations translated the Wilsonian vision. Here is Article 22 of the Covenant that stipulated the mandate system.

- [Article 22 of the Covenant](#)

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States ~~which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by~~ peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

- Article 22

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

- Article 22

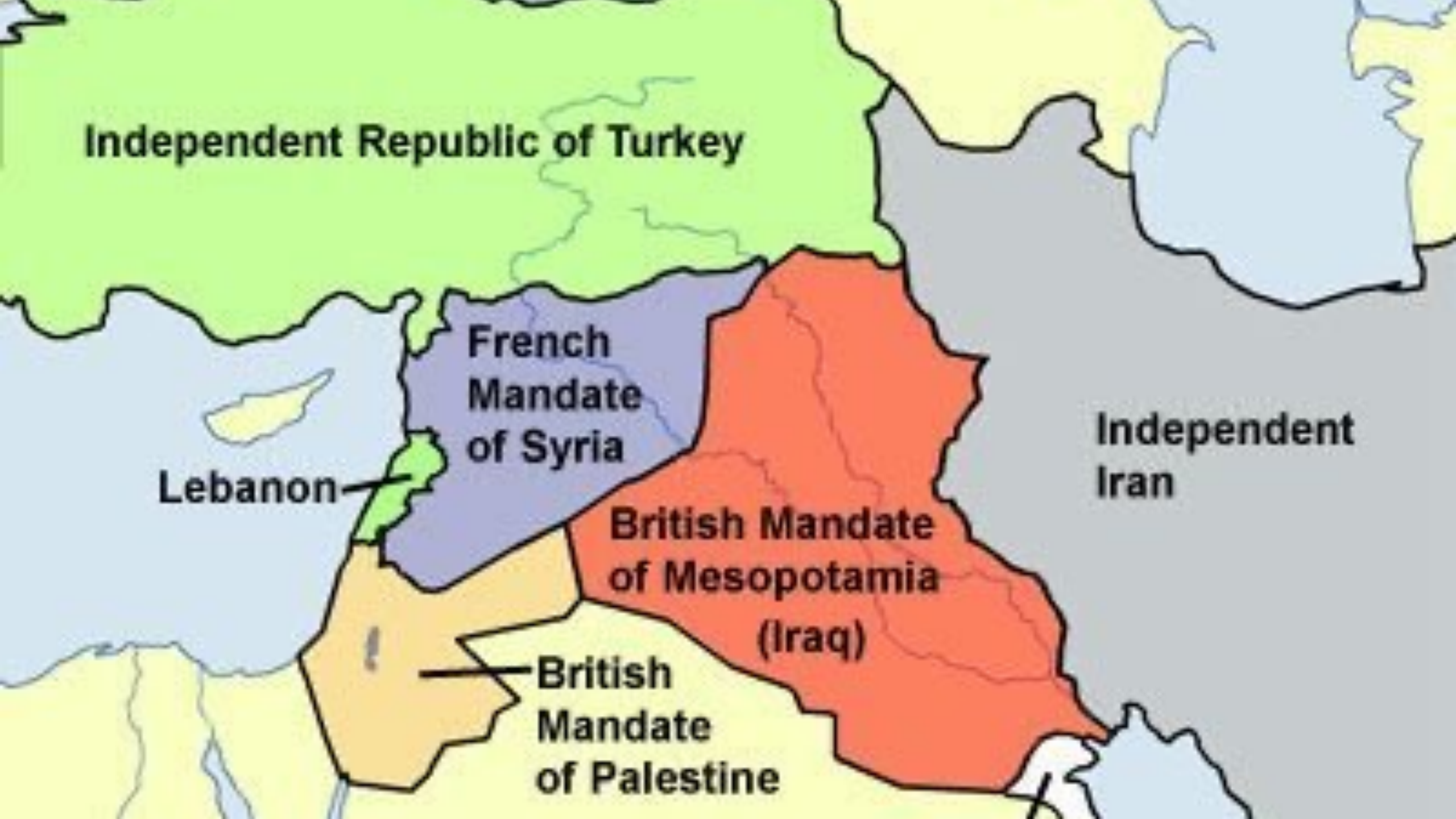
Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the ~~South Pacific Islands~~, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.



AFRICA
 SCALE OF MILES
 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000
 REFERENCE





Independent Republic of Turkey

Lebanon

**French
Mandate
of Syria**

**British
Mandate
of Palestine**

**British Mandate
of Mesopotamia
(Iraq)**

**Independent
Iran**

The League of Nations Mandate—Palestine

July 24, 1922

This is how it begins:

- **The Council of the League of Nations:**
- Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of [Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations](#), to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

The League of Nations Mandate—Palestine

July 24, 1922

- Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the [declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917](#), by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and...

The League of Nations Mandate--Palestine

- This is a different and specific mandate. It is not about Wilson's twelfth point which says:

XII. The ----- Ottoman Empire ----- 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.....

The League of Nations Mandate--Palestine

- This is also not about Article 22 of the Covenant which says:

.....inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization....

It is about a promise, which the British made in 1917. Here is the promise:

Balfour Declaration 1917

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

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

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur James Balfour

Fulfilling the Promise

ART. 2.

- The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Fulfilling the Promise

ART. 4.

- An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration to assist and take part in the development of the country...

Fulfilling the Promise

ART. 6.

- The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ART. 7.

- The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Unfulfilled Promise:

The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence 1916

- Since 1915, the British had been in contact with the Sharif (Emir, leader) of Mecca, Hussein Ibn Ali to launch an Arab Revolt against the Ottomans. Detailed correspondence between him and the British High Commissioner to Egypt reveals the political, logistical, and financial range of this coordination and the promise of an Arab Kingdom.

Unfulfilled Promise:

The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence 1916

- Arab Revolt was a success but the McMahon correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration manifest that the British explored multiple options simultaneously in pursuit of different interests. Finally, the Sykes-Picot became an instrument to uphold the Balfour Declaration.
- In Wilsonian terms, Balfour was a public affirmation while secrecy shrouded M-M correspondence.

Unfulfilled Promise:

The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence 1916

McMahon October 1915:

“...The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab and should be excluded from the limits demanded.

With the above modification, and without prejudice of our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, **we accept those limits.**

Unfulfilled Promise:

The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence 1916

As for those regions lying within those frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interest of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter:-

1. Subject to the above modifications, **Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca...**"

The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 for the Partition of the Middle East



Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916

- The mandates in Syria/Lebanon and Iraq, with Jordan, separated later, followed the terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. These arrangements, however, excluded the provision of the Constantinople Agreement under which France and Britain, against historic British preferences, Czarist Russia would have secured control of the Straits and Constantinople.
- Bolsheviks renouncing the war and making the secret pacts public after the Russian Revolution excluded that possibility.



Great Britain's Division of the Mandated Area, 1921-1923

The Mandates--Syria/Lebanon

- France had present-day Syria and Lebanon. Syria gained independence in 1946, and Lebanon in 1944.
- Leading the Arab Revolt, Hussein's son Amir Faysal had occupied Damascus. He ruled from March to July 1920 but failed to reap the benefits of victory. The French and the League of Nations deposed him.
- The British consented but Hussein decided to avenge Faysal's humiliation. His son, Abdallah mobilized an army to wage a war on the French.
- The British figured out a solution.

The Mandates—Palestine/Jordan

- Great Britain had present-day Israel, the Palestinian territories, Jordan, and Iraq. The British divided their Palestine Mandate into two and offered the area east of Jordan as a principality to Abdalla Ibn Hussein.
- Territory to the west of Jordan retained the name of Palestine and complied with the terms of the mandate until 1947 when the UN partitioned Palestine into two states.
- The British left its inhabitants to sort out a conflict that continues to this day.

The Mandates—Palestine/Jordan

- Amman became Abdallah's capital.
- After gaining independence in 1946, Trans-Jordan became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
- Abdallah's descendants continue to rule Jordan.

The Mandates--Iraq

- Britain also found a home for Faysal.
- The mandatory power joined the Ottoman provinces of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul and granted Faysal the throne of Iraq.
- Iraqis overthrew Faysal's descendants by 1958 but beginning in 1920, the mandatory power faced a series of revolts.
- The British practiced air-policing, bombing civilians for the first time to control them. Iraqis won independence in 1932.

State-building

- We have seen so many nation-states emerging following the Great War. Here is what historian James L. Gelvin (*The Modern Middle East*, 2016) thinks about the ones in the Middle East, “ State-building in the Levant and Mesopotamia was initiated by victorious European powers rather than by the inhabitants of the region. No Washington or Garibaldi forged nations through wars of national liberation. No Valley Forge became a mythic symbol of nation-building. No indigenous Bismarck or Napoleon stirred patriotism through conquest. States in the Levant and Mesopotamia were plotted on maps by diplomats and received their independence in stages....” (204).

State-building

- Gelvin continues, “....tribal, ethnic, and sectarian affiliations come about as the result of choices people make under particular historical circumstances. They are neither permanent nor inflexible and should be viewed as the product of history, not its driving force, ” (204).
- Muslim scholars have been divided over the rationale of nation-states based on nationalist ambitions. Nation-states offer a structure to manage a defined territory, and its resources, and evolve a certain notion of distinct nationalism within the larger universe of what Muslim scholars define as Muslim ummah, a construct they prefer over the narrow confines of nation-states.

Conclusion

- The Great War ended four Empires while two others, Great Britain and France, expanded their colonial realms for a few more decades.
- Peace Conferences of 1919 in Paris fixed the world map for the collapsed empires of Germany, the Hapsburgs, Romanovs, and the Ottomans. They followed two formulas in doing so. The territories detached from the German, Romanov, and Hapsburg empires became independent nations immediately.
- The League of Nations mandated Ottoman territories in the Middle East, like Africa and the Pacific, to “civilized nations” before they could be free. New nation-states now demarcate the spaces that remained part of various multiethnic empires for centuries until the end of the Great War.