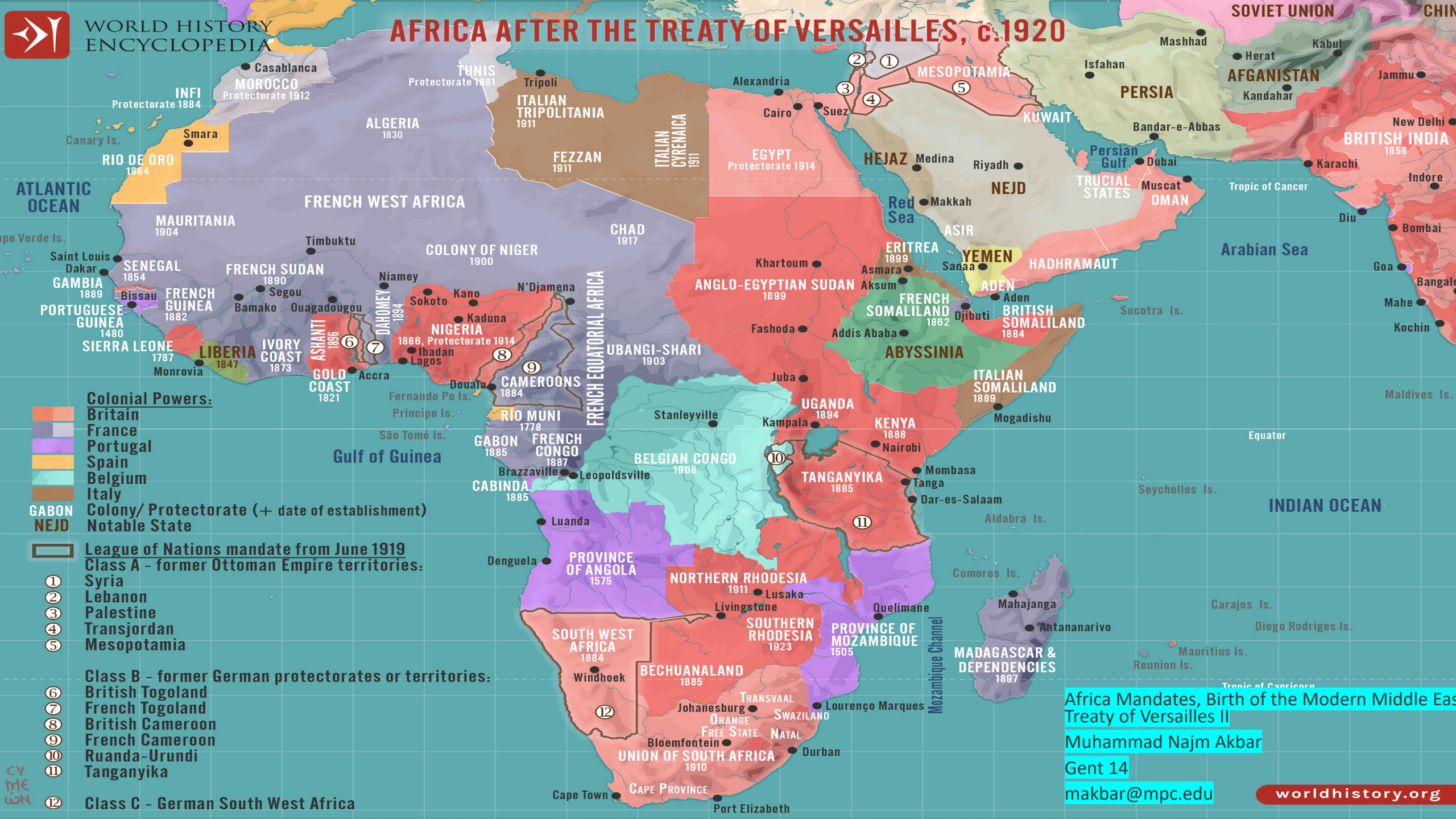




AFRICA AFTER THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, c.1920



Colonial Powers:

- Britain
- France
- Portugal
- Spain
- Belgium
- Italy
- GABON
- NEJD

Colony/ Protectorate (+ date of establishment)

Notable State

- League of Nations mandate from June 1919**
- Class A - former Ottoman Empire territories:**
- ① Syria
 - ② Lebanon
 - ③ Palestine
 - ④ Transjordan
 - ⑤ Mesopotamia
- Class B - former German protectorates or territories:**
- ⑥ British Togoland
 - ⑦ French Togoland
 - ⑧ British Cameroon
 - ⑨ French Cameroon
 - ⑩ Ruanda-Urundi
 - ⑪ Tanganyika
- Class C - German South West Africa**

Africa Mandates, Birth of the Modern Middle East
 Treaty of Versailles II
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CV
ME
WN



CYPRUS

LEBANON

ISRAEL

Alexandria

Cairo

EGYPT

Luxor

Aswān

NUBIAN
DESERT

Latakia

SYRIA

Beirut

Damascus

Golan Heights

Amman

Dead Sea
(lowest point in Asia, -408 m)

JORDAN

Al 'Aqabah

Tabūk

HEJAZ

Yanbu'
al Baḥr

Ḥalā'ib

Jiddah

Mecca

Kirkuk

IRAQ

Baghdad

An Nāṣirīyah

Al Baṣrah

Ḥā'il

Buraydah

SAUDI

ARABIA

Riyadh

Tehran

Qom

Arak

Eṣfahān

IRAN

Ahvāz

Abādān

Kermān

DASHT-E LŪT

Zāhedān

KUWAIT

Hafar
al Baṭīn

Persian Gulf

Al Jubayf

Ad Dammām

Dhahran

BAHRAIN

QATAR

Doha

UNITED ARAB
EMIRATES

Abu Dhabi

Dubai

Bandar
'Abbās

OMAN

Gulf of Oman

Muscat

OMAN

AL KHALI

Introduction

- We learned last week that the United States did not join Woodrow Wilson's League, which began to grapple with the complexities of the international system with a reduced and yet considerable incorporation of his idealism.
- For the international system, however, the League marked a giant leap 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.

Introduction

- Today, we will look at the impact the League of Nations had on the dissolved and defeated empires beyond Europe.
- We will see how it was different from Europe and the consequences it had for the subjects of the defeated empires.

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- Electronic Resources hyperlinked.

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 Versailles and auxiliary treaties carved many new states within Europe and recognized them as sovereign immediately.
- In Africa and the Middle East, the League of Nations managed the future of the territories that belonged to the defeated German Empire and the Ottomans.
- Article 22 of the League Covenant governed this arrangement. This is what it says:

- [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 (*Class A*) where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, 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 (*Class B*) 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.

- Article 22

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 (*Class C*), 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.

Article 22

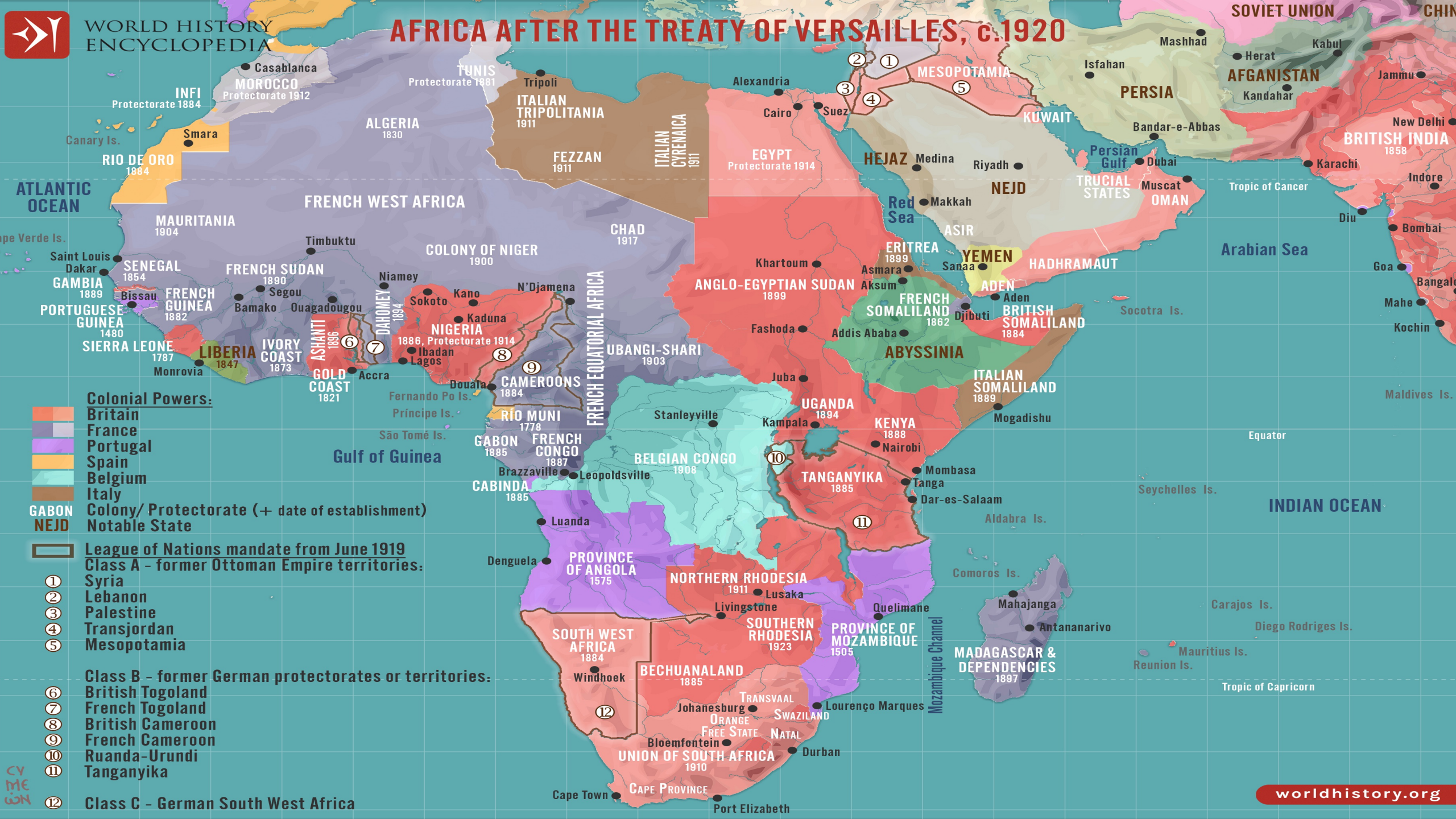
- Briefly, for the first time in history, the potential colonies became the responsibility of the League, an international organization. The League delegated this responsibility to major European as well as international and regional powers (coincidentally, the victors).
- For the first time in history, an international organization interposed between potentially colonized people and the victors of the war.
- The role it assigned to the victors was in no terms absolute, a departure from classical colonialism. They had to follow the A 22 rules and submit a compliance report to a League commission.

Mandated Africa

- In a separate unit, we will focus on Africa and decolonization.
- Today, we will take a quick look at the end of the German possessions in Africa, which did not revert to colonial status but became mandates under the League of Nations, which entrusted them to the victors.



AFRICA AFTER THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, c.1920



Colonial Powers:

- Britain
- France
- Portugal
- Spain
- Belgium
- Italy

- GABON
- NEJD
- Colony/ Protectorate (+ date of establishment)
- Notable State

League of Nations mandate from June 1919

Class A - former Ottoman Empire territories:

- ① Syria
- ② Lebanon
- ③ Palestine
- ④ Transjordan
- ⑤ Mesopotamia

Class B - former German protectorates or territories:

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- ⑧ British Cameroon
- ⑨ French Cameroon
- ⑩ Ruanda-Urundi
- ⑪ Tanganyika

Class C - German South West Africa

⑫

The Middle East

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.

The open covenants did not materialize. The imperial powers had reached an agreement in 1916, which impacted the Mandates as well.

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



Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916

- The mandates in the Middle East followed the terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. These arrangements, however, excluded the provision of the Constantinople Agreement under which, 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.
- Britain had made promises during the war to different groups supporting them. Interpretation of these promises became controversial.



Independent Republic of Turkey

Lebanon

**French
Mandate
of Syria**

**British Mandate
of Mesopotamia
(Iraq)**

**British
Mandate
of Palestine**

**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

The mandate fulfilled 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

- The Arab Revolt was a success, but the McMahon correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, 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 (Mersin)



Unfulfilled Promise: The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence 1916

... and Alexandretta (Iskenderun) 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** (Letter # 4).



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...** (Letter # 4).

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 a separate mandate for Mesopotamia. 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 had to comply 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--Mesopotamia

- 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 in 1921.
- Iraqis overthrew Faysal's descendants in 1958.
- 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.

The Mandates--Mesopotamia

- The League formally terminated the mandate in 1932 as Iraq joined the League as an independent state, the first ever to do so.
- The Mesopotamian Mandate, however, had a turbulent history from the outset. The British did not assume the role of a mandatory power directly. Instead, they had the mandate text incorporated into a series of Treaties with the Kingdom of Iraq, beginning in 1922.

The Mandates--Mesopotamia

- Historian Priya Satia argues that the Mesopotamian mandate triggered public demands for more democratic control over British foreign policy in the Middle East.
- Several factors, such as domestic demands for transparency, financial burden, Iraqi resistance to the notion of being a mandate territory, and the imperial will to avoid irksome Mandate requirements, prompted Britain to design a synthesis between Wilsonian internationalism and British imperial craft.

The Mandates--Mesopotamia

- Susan Pedersen calls the outcome “decolonization's Faustian bargain.” She defines it as ceding “significant internal authority (including the right to enrich their followers and repress their perceived enemies) through collaboration with, and at the price of ceding a measure of economic and military control to the former colonial power,” (977).
- Several members of the Permanent Mandate Commission raised objections to the elements of the “Faustian bargain” in the management of the mandate and its termination in 1932.

The Mandates--Mesopotamia

- In the debates at the Permanent Mandatory Commission, “Two issues— whether that independence was a kind of imperialism in disguise and whether Iraqi nation-building would threaten non-Arab populations—dominated,” (p. 985).
- The British finally won despite facing criticism over continued British military presence and for the concessions granted to the British-dominated Iraq Petroleum Company.
- Oil became the most precious asset the imperial powers coveted. After Iran, Mosul became another source of supply. The other Arab oil wells would gradually follow.

State-building

- We have seen so many nation-states emerging following the Great War. Here is what historian James L. Gelvin 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....” (p. 204).

State-building

- Gelvin thus envisages a common nation-building formula across the globe. This might be unfair. One of the biggest losses of conquered people is that they lose their history. Mesopotamia is one such story. Will Durant says, “Sumerian civilization... was a synthesis of rough beginnings and occasional but brilliant mastery. Here, within the limits of knowledge, are the first states and empires, the first irrigation, the first use of gold and silver as standards of value, the first business contract, the first credit system, the first code of law, (contd.)

State-building

- ...the first extensive development of writing, the first stories of the Creation and the Flood, the first libraries and schools, the first literature and poetry, the first cosmetics and jewelry, the first sculpture and bas-relief, the first palaces and temples, the first ornamental, metal, and decorative themes, the first arch, column, and dome. Here, for the first time on a large scale, appear some of the sins of civilization: slavery, despotism, ecclesiasticism, and imperialistic war. It was a life, differentiated and subtle, abundant and complex. Already, the natural inequality of men was producing a new degree of comfort and luxury for the strong, and a new routine of hard and disciplined labor for the rest...” (The Story of Civilization, Part I, p. 134)
- Inheritors of such a long history of empires and state building, however, faced multiple challenges in dealing with their new status.

State-building

- 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 identity within the larger universe of what Muslim scholars define as the Muslim ummah. They preferred that construct 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.
- The Peace Conferences of 1919 in Paris fixed the world map for the collapsed empires of Germany, the Habsburgs, the Romanovs, and the Ottomans. They followed two formulas in doing so. The territories detached from the German, Romanov, and Habsburg empires became independent nations immediately.
- The League of Nations mandated the defeated empires' territories in the Middle East, 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.