

# Power and Promises: Redrawing the Boundaries of the Middle East

By Jessica Williams, Winters High School

## California History Social-Science Standards Addressed

### 10.6 Students analyze the effects of the First World War.

10.6.1 Analyze the aims and negotiating roles of world leaders, the terms and influence of the Treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the causes and effects of United States's rejection of the League of Nations on world politics.

10.6.2 Describe the effects of the war and resulting peace treaties on population movement, the international economy, and shifts in the geographic and political borders of Europe and the Middle East.

## Historical and Social Sciences Analysis Skills:

### Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

2. Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

### Historical Interpretation

1. Students show the connections, casual and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
3. Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present day norms and values.

## Common Core Standards: Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects

### Reading Standards

#### Key Ideas and Details

1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.
2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

#### Craft and Structure

4. Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social studies.
6. Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

#### Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

9. Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.

### Writing Standards

#### Text Types and Purposes

1. Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*.
  - a. Introduce precise claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that establishes clear relationships among the claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.

## Primary Investigation Question

Were the European governments (Britain and France) justified in their decision to create mandates in the Middle East at the end of World War I?

## Teaching Thesis

Under the mandate system, Europeans practiced a thinly veiled imperialism instead of upholding promises to promote independence in the Middle East. The political boundaries in the Middle East drawn after World War I indicate the political and economic interests of the European countries rather than what was in the best interests of Arabs and other peoples of the Middle East.

## Procedures:

### DAY 1:

#### Activity 1 – Map Discussion and Comparison

1. For this activity, teachers should display the four different maps of the Middle East and use the Map Discussion Questions (TEACHER TOOLS 1) to encourage a brief discussion about each. After viewing each map, students will have an opportunity to compare them.
  - a. The Middle East Satellite Map (PPT slide 2) *GOAL: This lesson involves a lengthy analysis of how the political boundaries were drawn in the Middle East. This slide gives students the opportunity to see the geographical area as a blank slate with the potential to be divided in numerous ways.*
  - b. The Arab World in the Middle Ages (PPT slide 3)
  - c. Background Map of Ottoman Empire, 1914 (PPT slide 4)
  - d. Middle East Map, 2003 (PPT slide 5)
  - e. **Optional:** Provide students with the Outline Map (HANDOUT 1) and have them fill in the state names to have as a reference. *This is a valuable exercise but one that can be skipped for the sake of time.*
2. Using the Middle East Map Comparison (HANDOUT 2), have students compare and contrast all three maps. In whole-class discussion, students can speculate as to why the boundaries look the way they do today. Draw your students' attention to the states: Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and Iraq, which do not exist on the 1914 map. *Using PPT slide 6, you can display all 3 maps simultaneously.*

#### Activity 2 – Background Reading and Text Analysis

1. Display the Final Map of Post War Middle East (PPT slide 7).
2. Have students read and complete the Background Reading (HANDOUT 3). *This is structured so that students can better analyze the text. The directions are provided on the handout.*

## Check for Understanding

**Ticket Out the Door/Journaling** – Students answers the **Primary Investigation Question**: “Were the European governments (Britain and France) justified in their decision to create mandates in the Middle East at the end of World War I?” in 5 or more complete sentences.

### DAY 2:

#### Activity 1 – Review

1. Review student answers to **Ticket Out the Door** from previous day. Showing PPT slide 7 may help students remember the information from the day before.

## Activity 2 – Primary Source Analysis

1. Assign students to groups of 2-3 depending on class size. Each group will be assigned one document. Students will examine their documents and create a poster highlighting the title of the source, the author, the author’s perspective, and the main argument of the source. See Poster Presentation Guidelines (HANDOUT 4). Hang posters on wall –**check for accuracy before displaying.**
  - a. *All sources require time to sift through the difficult language. Some sources are shorter than others such as Sources 1, 2, 3, and 4. Source 13 is very dense and difficult, but provides a “translation” in italics next to the text. Sources 5, 6, and 6a should be viewed as one group, perhaps for a group of students who can sift easily through academic language.*
  - b. *If you would like your students to experience a more in-depth primary source analysis, please use the “Analyzing Evidence from an Individual Source” worksheet. However, it is not a necessary component of this lesson.*
2. Distribute the Reporter’s Notebook (HANDOUT 5). Once the primary source posters are displayed, students use this handout to record information from the other groups’ sources – similar to a **Gallery Walk.**
  - a. *Again, if you would like your students to experience a more in-depth analysis, use the “Analyzing Evidence from Multiple Sources, Making and Evaluating and Interpretation” worksheet after the students have recorded evidence from all of the sources.*

### Check for Understanding

**Whole Class Discussion:** As a whole class, debrief what information students gained from the gallery walk, emphasizing Arab perspectives versus British (or European) perspectives. *Use a T-chart to record arguments on both sides of the issue.*

**Ticket Out the Door/Journaling** – Students revisit their answers to the **Primary Investigation Question.** Adding 3 sentences to their first answer, have students explain whether their answer has changed and why.

### DAY 3 and/or homework:

#### Activity 1 – Cumulative Assessment

1. Using their background knowledge (HANDOUT 3) and their collection of evidence (HANDOUT 5), students will write an editorial following the Editorial Assignment guidelines (CUMULATIVE ASSIGNMENT A).
  - a. *For students who need a more challenging writing assignment, please use CUMULATIVE ASSIGNMENT B. This assignment is designed for students who have not only been exposed to argument and evidence, but who can also incorporate and refute counterclaims into their work.*

## The Middle East Satellite Map



[http://www.zonu.com/Middle-East/index\\_en.html](http://www.zonu.com/Middle-East/index_en.html)

# The Arab World in the Middle Ages

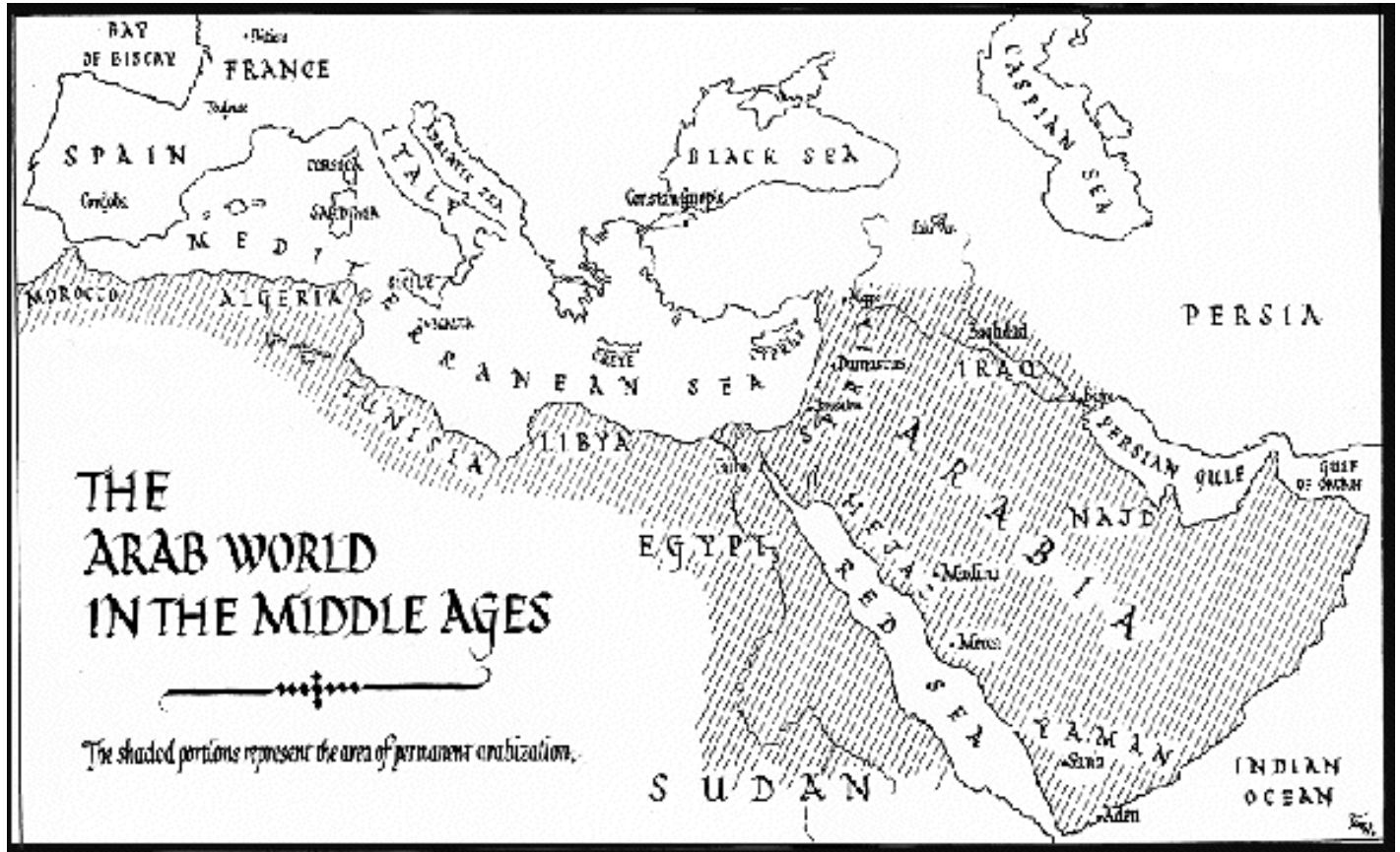


Image from Dr. Afshin Marashi, History Project Presentation

### Background Map of Ottoman Empire, 1914



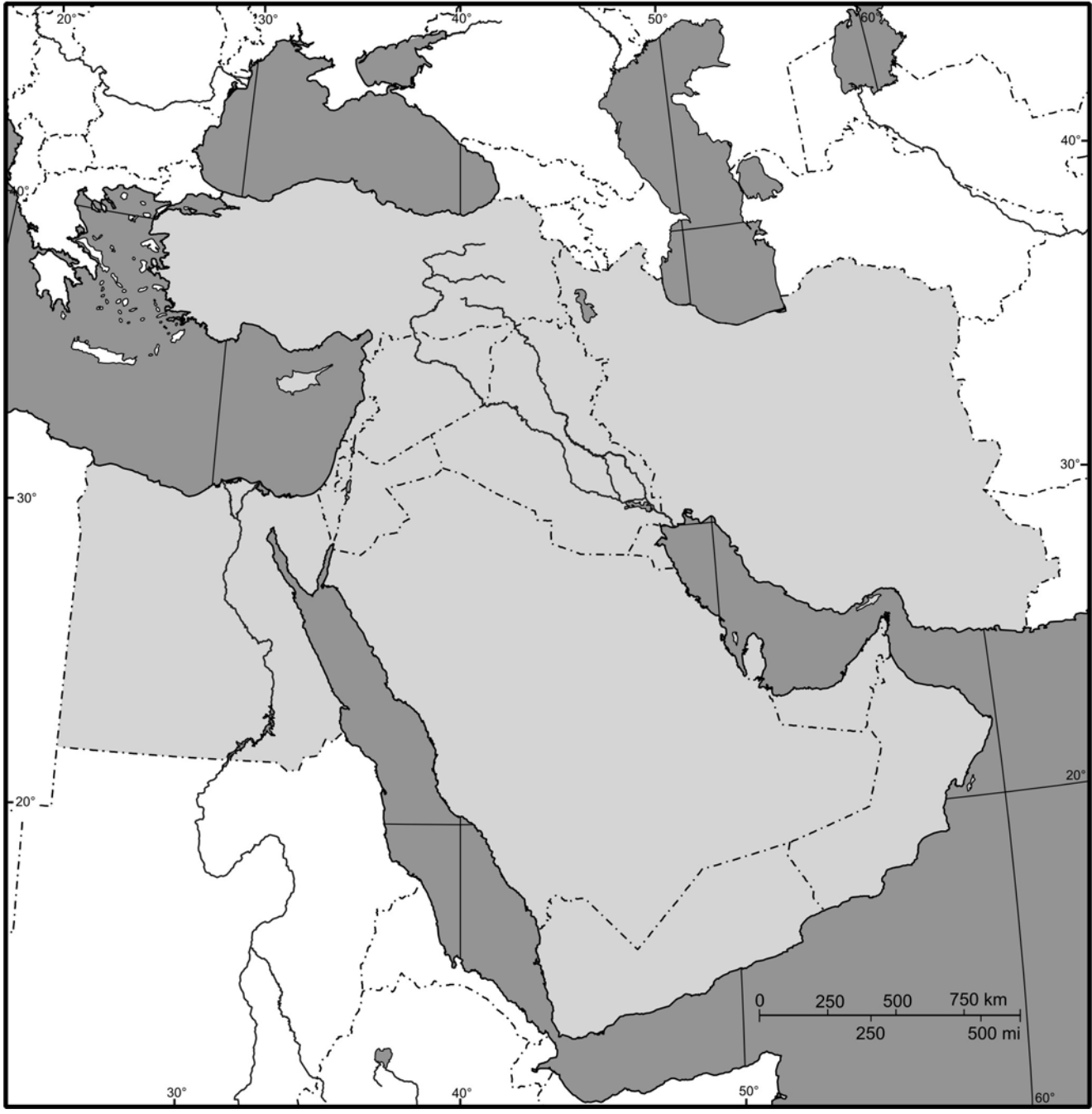
Image from Dr. Dale Crandell-Bear, History Project Middle East Institute

# Middle East Map, 2003



[http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east.html](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east.html)

Modern Middle East Outline Map



**Directions:** Label the map with the following country names and bodies of water:

- |               |                |                     |                |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|
| • Armenia     | • Egypt        | • Kazakhstan        | • Russia       |
| • Afghanistan | • Ethiopia     | • Kuwait            | • Saudi Arabia |
| • Aral Sea    | • Georgia      | • Lebanon           | • Sudan        |
| • Azerbaijan  | • Greece       | • Mediterranean Sea | • Syria        |
| • Black Sea   | • Indian Ocean | • Oman              | • Turkey       |
| • Bulgaria    | • Iran         | • Pakistan          | • Turkmenistan |
| • Caspian Sea | • Iraq         | • Persian Gulf      | • Yemen        |
| • Djibouti    | • Israel       | • Qatar             |                |
| • Eritrea     | • Jordan       | • Red Sea           |                |



# Map Discussion Questions

*Based on Primary Source Toolbox questioning strategies.*

1. What **strikes** you in looking at this map? What sorts of things **leap out** at you? What **grabs** your attention? What do you **know** about this area based on the map?  
➤ **Make two observations.**
2. What **puzzles** you? What don't you get? What do we need to talk about & to try to figure out? What do you find out here that you didn't know, or that **challenges** something you thought you knew?  
➤ **Ask two questions.**
3. What **patterns** do you see? What **commonalities** exist within the terrain? How does this map relate to other maps you have seen? What geographical features (physical and political) keep coming up?  
➤ **Identify at least one pattern.**
4. What **assumptions** can you make about the area based on what you see? Who lives there? Where might they live? What might be of importance to them? Why?  
➤ **Note one or more assumptions.**

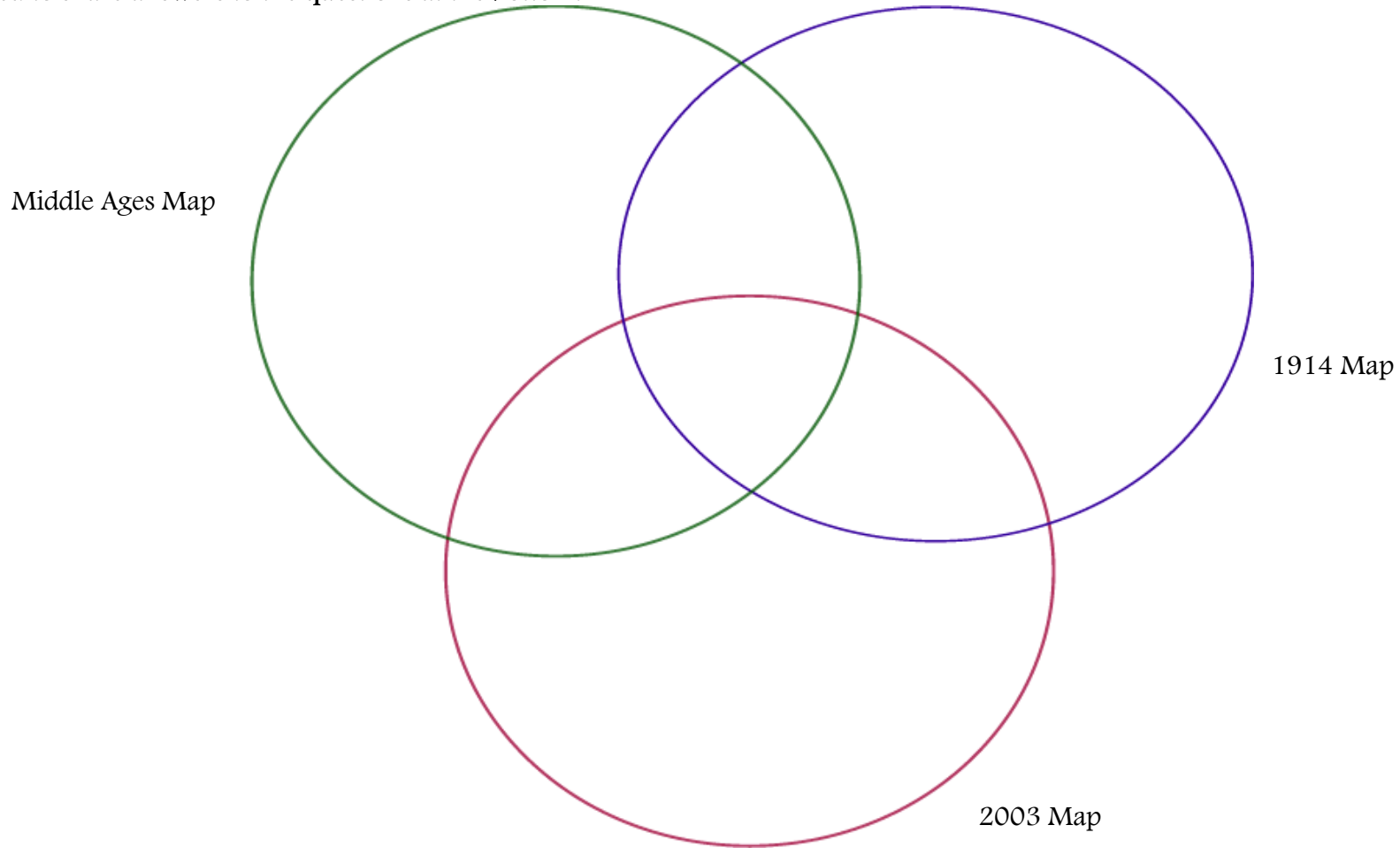
**Source:** Primary Source Toolbox developed by Dr. Karen Halttunen, USC Department of History. Adapted by Jeff Pollard, Natomas Charter School, Sacramento. Map Discussion Questions adapted from these two sources by Jessica Williams, Winters High School.

**HANDOUT 2**

**Middle East Map Comparison**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

**Directions:** Look closely at three maps of the Middle East (Middle Ages, 1914, and 2003). Where each circle overlaps another, list what is similar between those two maps. In the space that does not overlap, list what is unique to that map alone. In the middle, where each circle overlaps, list what is similar between all 3 maps. Using your keen powers of observation, list **10 items** in each section of this graphic. **Be prepared to share answers to the questions at the bottom.**



**Discussion Questions:**

1. How have the borders in the Middle East changed over time?
2. **Prediction!** Why do you think they changed?
3. **Prediction!** Who might have been angry about the changing borders?

**Background Reading: From Ottoman Collapse to the End of the First World War**

**Directions:**

1. Highlight the time markers in each paragraph and underline the subject in each sentence.
2. Fill in the table by copying or summarizing what each group did or felt. *Pay close attention to the hints already given in the table.*

Background Information	Ottoman Empire	Arabs	British/ Europeans
In the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Turks established and began to expand their empire. The Arabs, one of the groups living in the Middle East, became controlled by the Ottoman government.	established and began to expand their empire		X
During the First World War, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers alliance. The British government met with leaders of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Together they planned an Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire. The British wanted to create disorder and turmoil to make it difficult for them to fight in the war. The Arabs wanted to become an independent Arab nation.			
By the end of the First World War the Ottoman Empire had collapsed. Europeans took over control of the Middle East instead of granting independence to the groups within that area. This created deep-seated hatreds between the Arab world and Europe that still exist to this day. Europeans determined the borders of the modern Arab states based on secret agreements, perceptions of Middle Eastern society, and an eye toward resources and imperial control.		hold deep-seated hatreds toward the Europeans that still exist today	
After the peace process, the Arab regions of the defunct Ottoman Empire became " <u>mandates</u> " of the League of Nations, the international organization inspired by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson. These <u>mandates</u> were controlled by Great Britain, France, Japan, Australia, and South Africa. These nations controlled the governments of the <u>mandates</u> .	was <b>defunct</b> (not operating)		

**Answer the following questions using complete sentences.**

1. *In your own words*, what is a mandate?
2. What geographical areas and people became mandates? AND who controlled the mandates?
3. Why did the mandate system feel like a "new method of imperialism" to the people of the Middle East?
4. Does the mandate system help explain the current political borders of the Middle East? Why or why not?

ANSWERS TO HANDOUT 3

Background Reading: From Ottoman Collapse to the End of the First World War

Directions:

1. Highlight the time markers in each paragraph and underline the subject in each sentence.
2. Fill in the table by copying or summarizing what each group did or felt. *Pay close attention to the hints already given in the table.*

Background Information	Ottoman Empire	Arabs	British/ Europeans
In the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Turks established and began to expand their empire. <u>The Arabs</u> , one of the groups living in the Middle East, became controlled by the Ottoman government.	established and began to expand their empire	were one of the groups living in the ME became subject to the Ottoman govt.	X
During the First World War, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers alliance. The British government met with leaders of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Together they planned an Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire. <u>The British</u> wanted to create disorder and turmoil to make it difficult for them to fight in the war. <u>The Arabs</u> wanted to become an independent Arab nation.	joined the Central Powers	planned an Arab Revolt wanted to become an independent nation	met with leaders of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire planned an Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire wanted to create disorder and turmoil to make it difficult for them to fight in the war
By the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire had collapsed. <u>Europeans</u> took over control of the Middle East instead of granting independence to the groups within that area. This created deep-seated hatreds between the Arab world and Europe that still exist to this day. <u>Europeans</u> determined the borders of the modern Arab states based on secret agreements, perceptions of Middle Eastern society, and an eye toward resources and imperial control.	had collapsed	hold deep-seated hatreds toward the Europeans that still exist today	took over control of the ME instead of granting independence to groups within the area determined the borders of the modern Arab states based on secret agreements, perceptions of Middle Eastern society, and an eye toward resources and imperial control
After the peace process, the Arab regions of the defunct Ottoman Empire became " <u>mandates</u> " of the League of Nations, the international organization inspired by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson. <u>These mandates</u> were controlled by Great Britain, France, Japan, Australia, and South Africa. <u>These nations</u> controlled the governments of the <u>mandates</u> .	was <b>defunct</b> (not operating)	became mandates of the League of Nations were controlled by GB, France, Japan, Australia, SA	controlled the governments of the mandates

Answer the following questions using complete sentences.

1. In your own words, what is a mandate?
2. What geographical areas and people became mandates? AND who controlled the mandates?
3. Why did the mandate system feel like a "new method of imperialism" to the people of the Middle East?
4. Does the mandate system help explain the current political borders of the Middle East? Why or why not?

# Final Map of Post War Middle East Institution of the Mandate System



Image from Dr. Dale Crandall-Bear, History Project Middle East Institute

## Gertrude Bell Information Paper, undated

Gertrude Bell traveled extensively throughout the Middle East prior to World War I. As she learned to speak fluent Arabic and Persian, she also became so knowledgeable about the region that she was able to construct detailed and accurate maps of areas that no other European had yet compiled. Because of her knowledge of the Middle East and its society she was recruited by the British Foreign Office and worked for them in Baghdad. She was very influential in determining the present-day borders of Iraq.

Political union [a national independent government] is a conception unfamiliar to a society which is still highly coloured by its tribal origins [such as the Arabs] and maintains in its midst so many strongly disruptive elements of tribal organization... It is well to dismiss from the outset the anticipation that there exists any individual who could be set up as a head or a figure-head for the Arab provinces as a whole... [*In other words:* There may not be anyone who can successfully lead the Arabs.] The sole individual who might be regarded as a possible figure-head is the King of the Hejaz, but though he might become the representative of religious union among the Arabs, he would never have any real political significance. Mesopotamia being preponderately Shi'ah, his name carries no weight there... [*In other words:* The King of the Hejaz might be a good religious leader, but he could never lead the Arabs politically.]

Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations*, New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006, p. 248.

## T. E. Lawrence *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*

An archeologist by training, T. E. Lawrence, through his studies, became well acquainted with the Middle East. He worked closely with King Faisal during and after World War I and the Arab Revolt. Like Gertrude Bell, he wrote a great deal about his experiences in the Middle East including his book *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

The Arab Revolt had begun on false pretences. To gain the Sherif's [a leader of the Arabs] help our Cabinet had offered, ..., to support the establishment of native governments... [T]he Arabs... asked me, as a free agent, to endorse the promises of the British Government... I could see that if we won the war the promises to the Arabs were dead paper... [*In other words:* The Arabs wanted to make sure the British would keep their promises, but Lawrence knew they would not.] Yet the Arab inspiration was our main tool in winning the Eastern war... but, of course, instead of being proud of what we did together, I was continually and bitterly ashamed.

Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations*, New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006, p. 248.

## Charles Hardinge, Viceroy of India Letter to the Foreign Office, 1916

Charles Hardinge was the Viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916. His views are representative of the British Indian Office. British India had been conquered and controlled through British military power with no representation for the Indians. The Indian Office felt that this was the best possible way to bring a state under control and wanted to see the same done in the Middle East.

I devoutly hope that this proposed Arab state will fall to pieces, if it is ever created. Nobody could possibly have devised a scheme more detrimental to British interests in the Middle East than this. It simply means misgovernment, chaos and corruption, since there never can be and never has been any consistency or cohesion among the Arab tribes...

Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations*, New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006, p. 251.

## British Foreign Office

In March 1917 the British government decided that Basra *Vilayet*, an area in southern Iraq of interest to the British, was to be permanently retained under British rule and Baghdad should be run as an Arab state with British support. Lord Curzon had much foreign experience as the Viceroy of India prior to Charles Hardinge. He would become Foreign Secretary in 1919. A. T. (Arnold) Wilson was also part of the Foreign Office as colonial administrator of Iraq. This secondary source summarizes the British view of an independent Arab state.

Imperial ideology considered “the peoples of the East” to be in no way ready for self-government. Curzon, in discussing moves towards Indian democracy in 1917, thought it would lead to “a narrow oligarchy of clever lawyers.” The process should be evolutionary and slow enough to last “for hundreds of years.” This view was echoed by A. T. Wilson, who argued that Iraq had “no competent” authority to which to hand over power. To allow self-determination would be to sow the “seeds of decay and dissolution,” an “anarchic” step.

Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: the Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, p. 11.

## Letter from Sharif Husayn (Leader in Arabia) to Sir Henry McMahon (British Representative)

During the war, the British government met with leaders of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire about a possible Arab Revolt. The British goal was to create disorder and turmoil in the Ottoman Empire.

In 1915, Sherif Husain Ibn Ali, the Arab ruler of the Hijaz (the area of western Arabia that included the holy cities of Mecca and Medina) began discussions with the British government. Husain proposed that Arab armies under his direction would join the war on the British side and launch a military uprising against the Ottoman Empire. In exchange for this military assistance, Husain asked for a British commitment of support for the creation of an independent Arab state in the Middle East after the war. The following two documents consist of Husain's letter to the representative of the British government, Sir Henry McMahon, and McMahon's reply.

July 14, 1915

To his Honor,

Whereas the whole of the Arab nation, without any exception, have decided in these last years to accomplish their freedom, and grasp the reins of their administration both in theory and practice;

... the Arab nation [asks] the Government of Great Britain, ... for the approval, through her deputy or representative, of the following fundamental propositions...

Firstly - England to acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries, bounded on the north by Mersina and Adana up to the 37' of latitude ... [and] up to the border of Persia; on the east by the borders of Persia up to the Gulf of Basra; on the south by the Indian Ocean, with the exception of the position of Aden to remain as it is; on the west by the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina. [see map]

Secondly - The Arab Government of the *Sherif* to acknowledge that England shall have the preference in all economic enterprises in the Arab countries whenever conditions of enterprises are otherwise equal.



## McMahon's Reply to Sherif Husain

A month after receiving Sherif Husain's letter, McMahon responded cautiously to the demands for an independent Arab state. Speaking for Great Britain, and aware of conflicting promises made or about to be made to allied states, he committed British support to Husain in establishing a vaguely defined desert kingdom, carved out of greater Syria.

October 24, 1915.

I have received your letter with much pleasure and your expression of friendliness and sincerity have given me the greatest satisfaction.

... I have realised, however, from your last letter that you regard this question as one of vital and urgent importance. I have, therefore, lost no time in informing the Government of Great Britain of the contents of your letter, and it is with great pleasure that I communicate to you on their behalf the following statement, which I am confident you will receive with satisfaction.

... As for those regions lying within those frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests 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 recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca.

(3) When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories...

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs and will result in a firm and lasting alliance, the immediate results of which will be the expulsion of the Turks from the Arab countries and the freeing of the Arab peoples from the Turkish yoke...

(Compliments).

(Signed): A. Henry McMahon

## Boundaries Discussed in McMahon-Husayn Correspondence, 1915

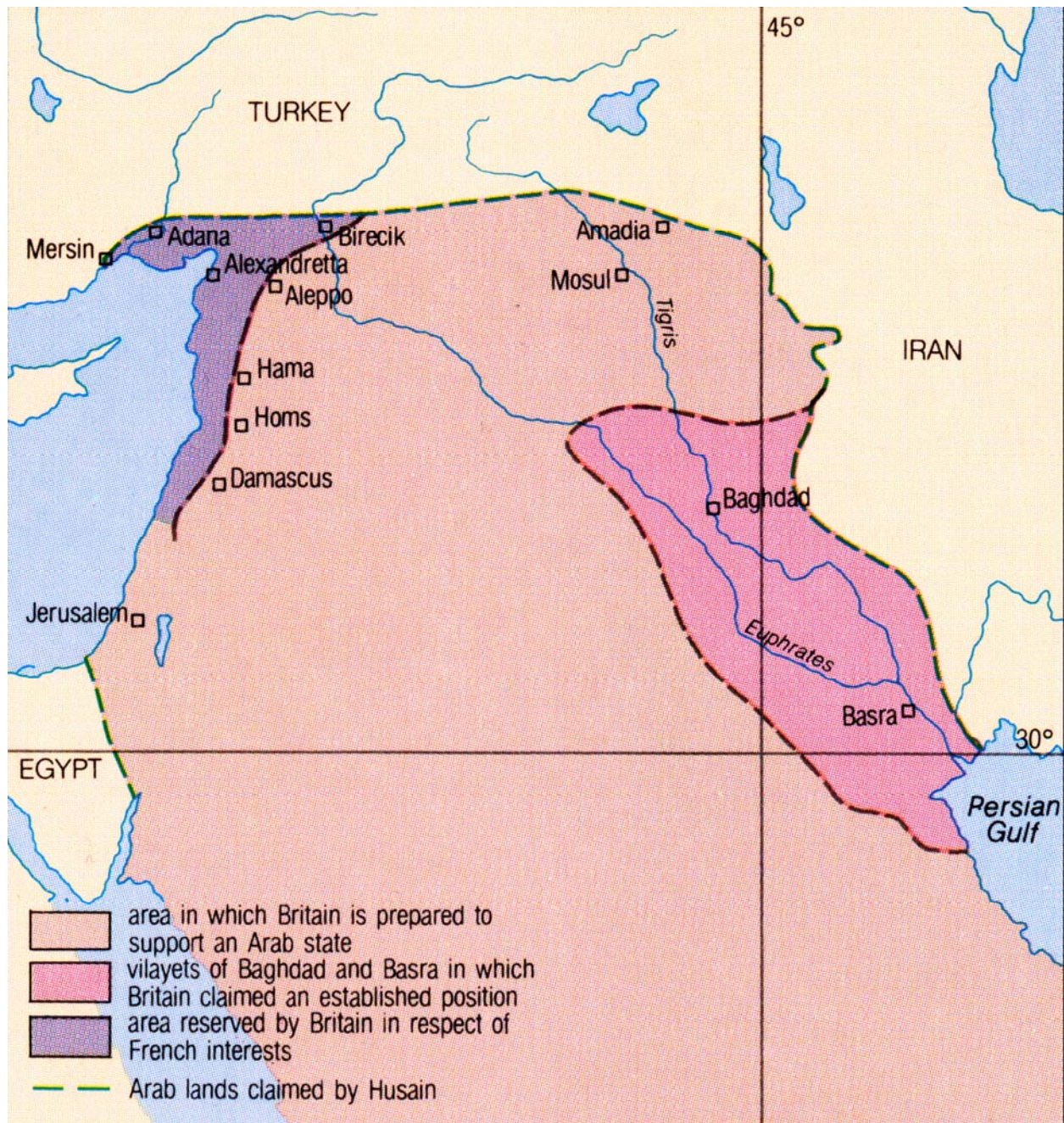


Image from Dr. Dale Crandall-Bear, History Project Middle East Institute

## The Balfour Declaration

At the same time that Britain was negotiating with the Arabs, they were also involved in discussions with the leaders of the Zionist movement, who wished to establish a Jewish homeland in the Middle East. Some officials in the British government believed that an endorsement of the Zionist project would cause the Jewish populations of Germany to withdraw their allegiance to Germany. The final decision of the British government was communicated to the leaders of the Zionist movement in a famous letter from Arthur James Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild.

Foreign Office  
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

## The Sykes-Picot Agreement: 1916

The Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 16, 1916 was a secret understanding between the governments of Britain and France defining their respective spheres of post-World War I influence and control in the Middle East (then under Ottoman control), after the expected downfall of the Ottoman Empire. The boundaries of this agreement still remain in much of the common border between Syria and Iraq.

The agreement was negotiated in November 1915 by the French diplomat François Georges-Picot and Briton Mark Sykes.

It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments:

That France and great Britain are prepared to recognize and protect an independent Arab state or a confederation of Arab states (a) and (b) marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. That in area (a) France, and in area (b) great Britain, shall have priority of right of enterprise and local loans. That in area (a) France, and in area (b) great Britain, shall alone supply advisers or foreign functionaries at the request of the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

That in the blue area France, and in the red area great Britain, shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

... That great Britain has the right to build, administer, and be sole owner of a railway connecting Haifa with area (b), and shall have a perpetual right to transport troops along such a line at all times. It is to be understood by both governments that this railway is to facilitate the connection of Baghdad with Haifa by rail,...

# The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916

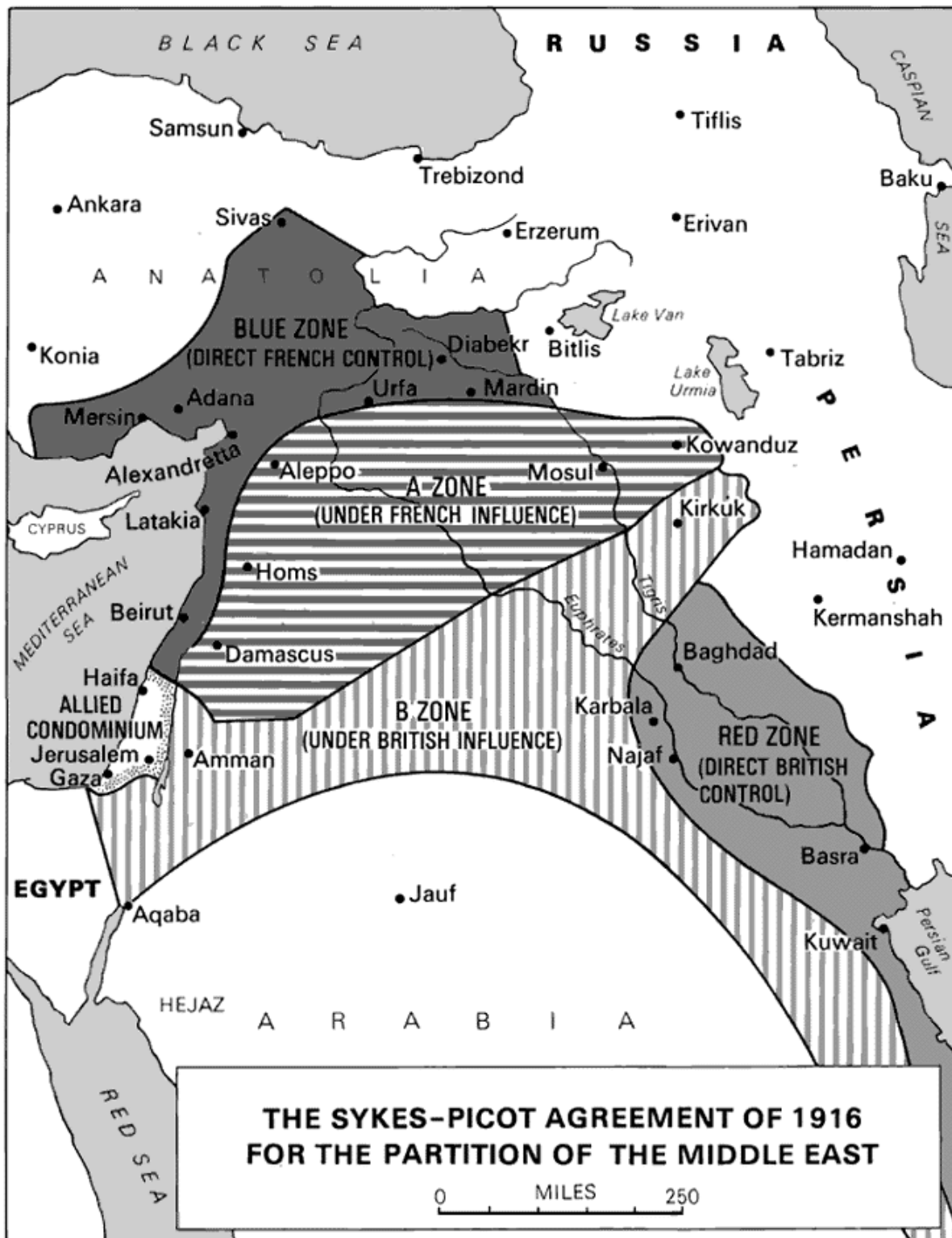


Image from Dr. Afshin Marashi, History Project Presentation

## President Wilson's 14 Points, 1918

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once and for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

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

At the end of World War 1 the territories that had earlier been under the control of the Ottoman Empire were, according to Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, to become "mandates" of the League of Nations, the international organization inspired by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson. These mandates were to be administered, however, by Great Britain, France, Japan, Australia, and South Africa, and the system was correctly seen as similar to traditional imperialism.

It became apparent in the opening weeks of the Versailles peace conference that Great Britain and France would not honor their wartime promises to Arab leaders for independence and instead planned to divide the Arab Middle East between them. To express their views, Syrian nationalists called a Syrian Congress, which Palestinian and Lebanese delegates also attended, and adopted the following resolution on July 2, 1919. Britain and France ignored it and proceeded with their plans.

Damascus, Syria, July 2, 1919

We the undersigned members of the General Syrian Congress, meeting in Damascus on Wednesday, July 2nd, 1919...provided with credentials and authorizations by the inhabitants of our various districts, Muslims, Christians, and Jews, have agreed upon the following statement of the desires of the people of the country who have elected us to present them to the American Section of the International Commission...

1. We ask absolutely complete political independence for Syria within these boundaries. *[The region described includes today's states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan.]*
3. Considering the fact that the Arabs inhabiting the Syrian area are not naturally less than other more advanced races and that they are by no means less developed than the Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, and Romanians at the beginning of their independence, we protest against Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, placing us among the nations in their middle stage of development which stand in need of a mandatory power.
4. ... [D]esiring that our country should not fall a prey to colonization and believing that the American Nation is furthest from any thought of colonization and has no political ambition in our country, we will seek the technical and economical assistance from the United States of America, provided that such assistance does not exceed 20 years.
9. We ask complete independence for emancipated Mesopotamia [*present-day Iraq*] and that there should be no economic barriers between the two countries.

## Abdallah Al-Nadim, Egyptian Revolutionary

Al-Nadim was one of the key figures of the 1882 Egyptian revolution. His remarkable and, for that time, unique life was later to become a source of inspiration for the revolutionary younger generations of Egypt. In 1892 he started the satirical journal *Al-Ustadh*, which soon became the main avenue for critical social comment. He was forcibly silenced on 13 June 1893, this time at London's insistence.

### How Can the East be True to Itself?

Once the Europeans had achieved their goals in their own countries, they surged forth, inspired by the twin visions of science and industry and driven by the twin force of religion and monarchy; they penetrated the countries of the East, first as tourists and traders, then as observers and eventually as dominators...

Europe has told us unambiguously: you are savages because you do not know how to make clothes and furniture and because you need our manufactured goods which you will only be allowed to receive if you sign the relevant economic treaty. This is how Europe ensured the penetration of her products into the East, that she might seize its wealth; she destroyed all the Eastern industries and grabbed the products necessary to them... The Orientals have been reduced to mere employees, planting, harvesting and manufacturing in order that Europe's trade should grow, her fortune increase and the power of her royal houses be swelled by the resulting flow of wealth...

Abdallah al-Nadim, "How Can the East be True to Itself?" in *Contemporary Arab Political Thought*, edited by Anouar Abdel-Malik, translated by Michael Pallis. Originally published in French: Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970. London: Zed Books, 1983, 88-92.



## The Emergence of Arab Nationalism

Arab nationalism began to emerge in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As the Turkish-led Ottoman Empire continued to decline, Arabs living within the Empire (who made up a majority of its population) began to articulate a form of Arab nationalism that differentiated their interests as Arabs from the policies of the Turkish leaders of the Ottoman state. The following document, published in a Cairo newspaper in 1914, is typical of the many proclamations that appeared in the Arab press during these years.

...When will you know that your country has been sold to the foreigner? See how your natural resources have been alienated from you and have come into the possession of England, France, and Germany. Have you no right to these resources? You have become humiliated slaves in the hands of the usurping tyrant; the foreigner unjustly dispossesses you of the fruit of your work and labor and leaves you to suffer the pangs of hunger... The Country is yours, and they say that rule belongs to the people, but those who exercise rule over you in the name of the Constitution [i.e., the Ottoman government] do not consider you part of the people, for they inflict on you all kinds of suffering, tyranny, and persecution. How, then, can they concede to you any political rights? In their eyes you are but a flock of sheep whose wool is to be clipped, whose milk is to be drunk, and whose meat is to be eaten....

Arise, O ye Arabs! Unsheathe the sword from the scabbard, ye sons of Qahtan! Do not allow an oppressive tyrant who has only disdain for you to remain in your country; cleanse your country from those who show their enmity to you, to your race and to your language....

## Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, 28 June 1919

The League of Nations determined that instead of granting the territories of the former Ottoman Empire independence they would become “mandates” of other countries. It was the responsibility of the controlling country to help the “mandate” grow economically and politically so that they could become independent nations later on. The “mandates” soon realized that, although the system proposed eventual independence, it was just a new system for the old imperialism.

Article 22. 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 civilization and that securities for the formance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

**[In other words:** *Former colonies and territories, once controlled by another nation or empire, may not be able to govern themselves in the modern world. The League of Nations should be given guidance and security to these areas.*]

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...

**[In other words:** *Nations that are considered more advanced and experienced will be responsible for the former colonies and territories. The former colonies and territories will become their “Mandatories.” The advanced nations must teach the former colonies and territories how to be independent nations.*]

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development 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.

**[In other words:** *The areas that were once under the control of the Ottoman Empire will become Mandatories before they can become independent nations. They are not advanced enough to become independent nations.*]

<http://www.mideastweb.org/leaguemand.htm> Accessed March 2008.

### British and French Mandates, 1920

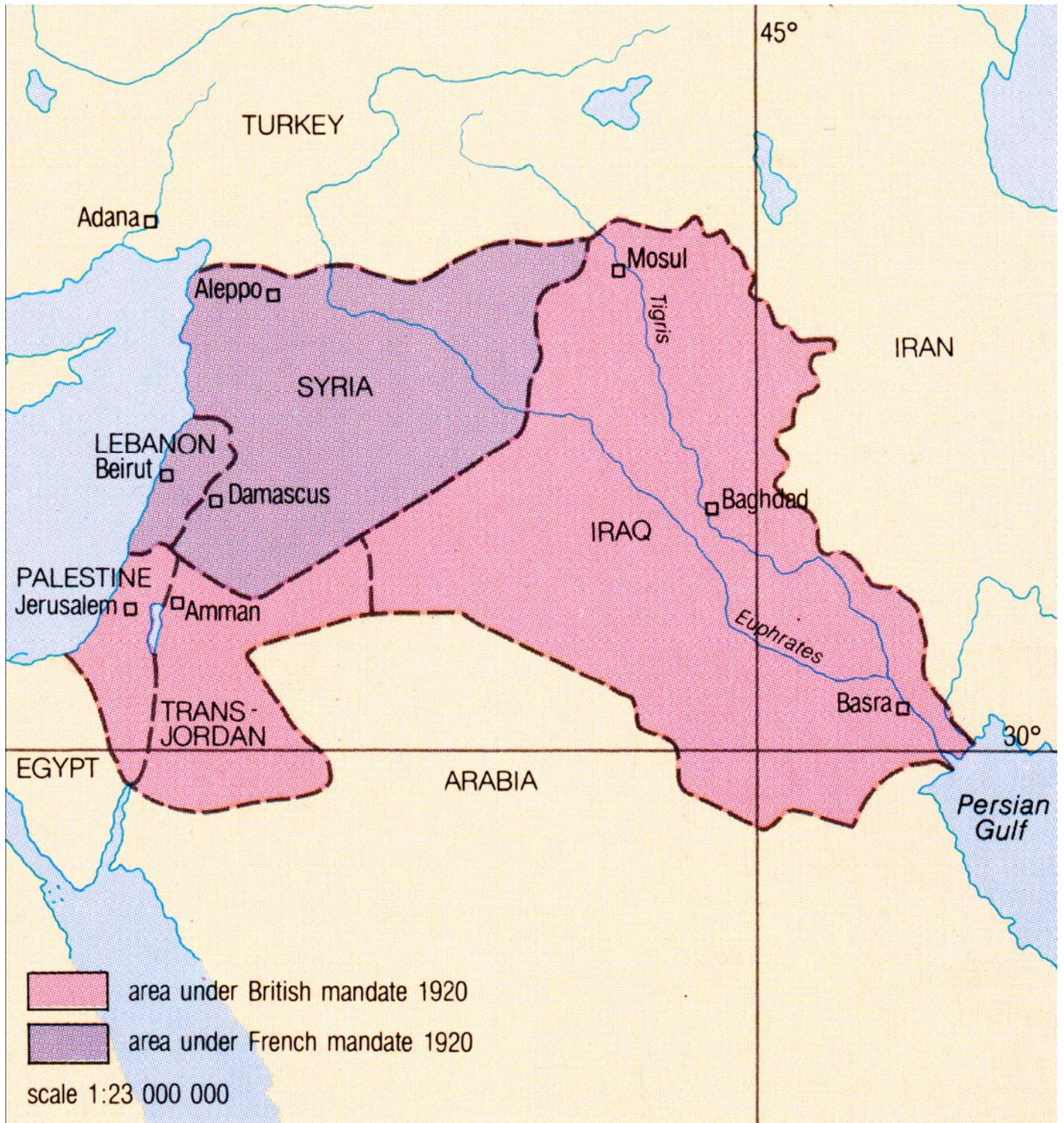


Image from Dr. Dale Crandall-Bear, History Project Middle East Institute

**HANDOUT 4**

**POST WW1 – MIDDLE EAST  
POSTER PRESENTATION GUIDELINES**

*This is meant to serve as a simple source summary to share with your fellow classmates. Please choose information thoughtfully and write legibly. Be prepared to answer questions about your source... you are the expert!*

**Directions:**

1. Write the FULL name and date of your source(s) at the top of your poster.
2. On your poster, answer the following questions:
  - i. Who is the author of your document?
  - ii. What is the document about?
  - iii. What is the author's **perspective**?
  - iv. What is the author's **main argument**?
  - v. Does this author support the creation of an independent Arab nation?
3. Write one brief quote (no more than two lines) on your poster. The quote must show the author's main argument.

*\*\*Make sure to include all the group members' names on the poster.*

**HANDOUT 4**

**POST WW1 – MIDDLE EAST  
POSTER PRESENTATION GUIDELINES**

*This is meant to serve as a simple source summary to share with your fellow classmates. Please choose information thoughtfully and write legibly. Be prepared to answer questions about your source... you are the expert!*

**Directions:**

1. Write the FULL name and date of your source(s) at the top of your poster.
2. On your poster, answer the following questions:
  - i. Who is the author of your document?
  - ii. What is the document about?
  - iii. What is the author's **perspective**?
  - iv. What is the author's **main argument**?
  - v. Does this author support the creation of an independent Arab nation?
3. Write one brief quote (no more than two lines) on your poster. The quote must show the author's main argument.

*\*\*Make sure to include all the group members' names on the poster.*

**HANDOUT 5** *Reporter's Notepad*

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

You have been assigned the task of writing an editorial on the dispute over where political boundaries should be drawn in the Middle East after World War 2. Your job is to investigate the situation and report back to your home office. After you have taken your notes, you will write an editorial explaining how you think the borders should be drawn based on your assigned perspective. You must include evidence from **AT LEAST 6 SOURCES** in your final write up. Fill out **ALL** boxes here.

**ORIGINAL RESEARCH** (Summarize your own source here.)

TITLE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S PERSPECTIVE	AUTHOR'S MAIN ARGUMENT

**EXTENDED RESEARCH** (Information from sources that other groups researched.)

**Directions:** Using the information from the posters, fill in the table below. In the last column, explain if the new source supports your original source, extends (adds something to) the argument of your original source, or contests your original source. **Briefly explain your choice.**

TITLE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S PERSPECTIVE	AUTHOR'S MAIN ARGUMENT	SUPPORT, EXTEND, OR CONTEST?

TITLE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S PERSPECTIVE	AUTHOR'S MAIN ARGUMENT	SUPPORT, EXTEND, OR CONTEST?

**POST WW1 – MIDDLE EAST  
ANALYZING EVIDENCE FROM AN INDIVIDUAL SOURCE**

<b>TITLE OF SOURCE(s):</b>		
<b>STEPS:</b>	<b>QUESTIONS:</b>	<b>FINDINGS:</b>
<p><b>1. Literal Source Questioning</b> <b>TASK:</b> To discover the literal aspects of the source.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who wrote the document?</li> <li>• What is the setting? (time and place)</li> <li>• What are the author’s qualifications, background, and expertise?</li> <li>• Did the recorder have firsthand knowledge of the event? Or, did the recorder report what others saw and heard?</li> <li>• Was the information recorded during the event, immediately after the event, or after some lapse of time?</li> <li>• What type of document is this? (poetry, diary, government document)</li> <li>• What is the document about?</li> </ul>	
<p><b>2. Looking for Perspectives</b> <b>TASK:</b> To determine the point of view represented by the source.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the author’s social position?</li> <li>• What religion, sex, and social class is the author?</li> <li>• What is the intent of the author?</li> <li>• What perspective or point of view is presented?</li> <li>• What basic assumptions are implicit in the document?</li> <li>• Is the recorder trying to be neutral or is the recorder biased in some way?</li> <li>• How might the source be biased?</li> <li>• What “loaded” words are used? (clues to bias)</li> <li>• What is omitted?</li> </ul>	

<b>STEPS:</b>	<b>QUESTIONS:</b>	<b>FINDINGS:</b>
<p><b>3. Looking at the Context</b>  <b>TASK:</b> Understanding how the historical circumstances surrounding the source affected its creation and content.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who is the intended audience?</li> <li>• What other events surrounded the source?</li> <li>• What was present in the predominant culture of the time?</li> <li>• How might the context affect the content of the source?</li> </ul> <p>To achieve <b>historical empathy</b>, we must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• understand the event/person in their context</li> <li>• understand that the past was different from the present.</li> <li>• question how much agency or power the historical figure had to act.</li> <li>• appreciate that the eventual outcome of the situation was unknown to people at the time.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>4. Assessing the Significance of a Source</b>  <b>TASK:</b> Identifying what we can learn from this piece of evidence.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can we determine the literal aspects of the source?</li> <li>• What point of view does the source represent?</li> <li>• What can we learn from the point of view of the source?</li> <li>• What questions does the source answer about my topic or the leading question?</li> <li>• What questions are left unanswered?</li> <li>• How does the source contribute to an understanding of the issues or perspectives of the time?</li> </ul>	



**POST WW1 – MIDDLE EAST  
ANALYZING EVIDENCE FROM MULTIPLE SOURCES, MAKING AND EVALUATING AN INTERPRETATION**

<b>TITLE OF SOURCE(s):</b>		
<b>STEPS:</b>	<b>QUESTIONS:</b>	<b>FINDINGS:</b>
<p><b>5. Corroboration</b> <b>TASK:</b> Comparing evidence from one source to other sources</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are there other sources to support this source?</li> <li>• Are there sources that disagree with this source? Why?</li> <li>• What’s the same? What’s different?</li> <li>• What are the reasons for the similarities and differences?</li> <li>• Do sources acknowledge counter evidence?</li> <li>• Was anything omitted?</li> </ul>	
<p><b>6. Interpretation</b> <b>TASK:</b> Constructing an explanation about history.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Which sources will I choose to help me with my topic or leading question? Why?</li> <li>• How many pieces of evidence do I need?</li> <li>• How will I create an answer to my question that incorporates and accounts for conflicting evidence?</li> </ul>	
<p><b>7. Evaluating the End Product</b> <b>TASK:</b> Assessing my interpretation or explanation about history.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is my explanation convincing?</li> <li>• Does my explanation have support from several pieces of evidence?</li> <li>• Does my explanation reflect the multiple perspectives of the event or era?</li> <li>• Is my explanation clearly written or demonstrated in my final product?</li> </ul>	

## POST WW1 – MIDDLE EAST EDITORIAL ASSIGNMENT

**Directions:** Imagine you are a reporter on assignment to investigate the creation of mandates in the Middle East after the First World War. Using the information gathered on your **Reporter's Notebook**, write an editorial answering the question: *Were the European governments (Britain and France) justified in their decision to create mandates in the Middle East at the end of World War I?*

### Editorial Guidelines:

#### Introduction:

- Provide a brief historical background of this issue.
- Briefly explain both sides of the argument over the creation of mandates.
- State your argument: *Were the European governments (Britain and France) justified in their decision to create mandates in the Middle East at the end of World War I?*

#### Body:

- Provide 3 pieces of evidence that support your argument.
- For each piece of evidence, include another piece of supporting evidence.
- For each group of evidence and supporting evidence, provide an analysis.

#### Conclusion:

- Restate, but do not repeat, your argument.
- Summarize your points of evidence.
- Imagine that the year is 1920, shortly after the First World War ended. Include a call to action that tells your readers what they can do to help change or maintain the situation in the Middle East. This is your brief moment for creativity, *use it wisely!*

## POST WW1 – MIDDLE EAST EDITORIAL ASSIGNMENT

**Directions:** Imagine you are a reporter on assignment to investigate the creation of mandates in the Middle East after the First World War. Using the information gathered on your **Reporter's Notebook**, write an editorial answering the question: *Were the European governments (Britain and France) justified in their decision to create mandates in the Middle East at the end of World War I?*

### Editorial Guidelines:

#### Introduction:

- Provide a brief historical background of this issue.
- Briefly explain both sides of the argument over the creation of mandates.
- State your argument: *Were the European governments (Britain and France) justified in their decision to create mandates in the Middle East at the end of World War I?*

#### Body:

- Provide 3 pieces of evidence that support your argument.
- For each piece of evidence, include another piece of supporting evidence.
- For each group of evidence and supporting evidence, provide an analysis.
- Include counterclaims and then refute those arguments
- Include at least 3 quotes (these can be specific pieces of evidence) – quotes can be paraphrased but it must be clear where the information is coming from.

#### Conclusion:

- Restate, but do not repeat, your argument.
- Summarize your points of evidence.
- Imagine that the year is 1920, shortly after the First World War ended. Include a call to action that tells your readers what they can do to help change or maintain the situation in the Middle East. This is your brief moment for creativity, *use it wisely!*