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## Agenda for Course

1. What is the Middle East?  
Who are the Arabs?  
What is the source and role of ideology?
- 2. Competing Promises and Inter-War Problems**
3. World War II and the State of Israel
4. Islamism
5. America in the Middle East and Resolutions
6. The Management of Savagery and Conclusion

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## Twenty Five + 1

**Competing Promises**

Hussein-McMahon Correspondence  
 Sykes-Picot Agreement  
 Balfour Declaration

**Inter-war Problems**

Dissolution of the Caliphate  
 Increased Jewish Immigration  
 Establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood  
 Arab Uprisings and the 1939 White Paper

**“Solutions”**

The Final Solution  
 The State Solution

**The State of Israel and State Responses**

1948 War and al-Nakba  
 Twin Pillars Policy  
 1967 War  
 1973 War and the Camp David Accords

**Islamism**

1979 Iranian Revolution  
 Birth of Hezbollah  
 Globalized Jihad and the birth of al-Qaeda  
 Birth of Hamas  
 Intifadas

**America in the Middle East**

Operation Desert Storm  
 Al-Qaeda’s Declaration of War and GWOT

**Resolutions**

2006 Lebanon War  
 Mowing the Grass  
 Arab Spring  
 The Abraham Accords  
 ISIS and the Islamic Revolution

**An Appropriate Theory for War**

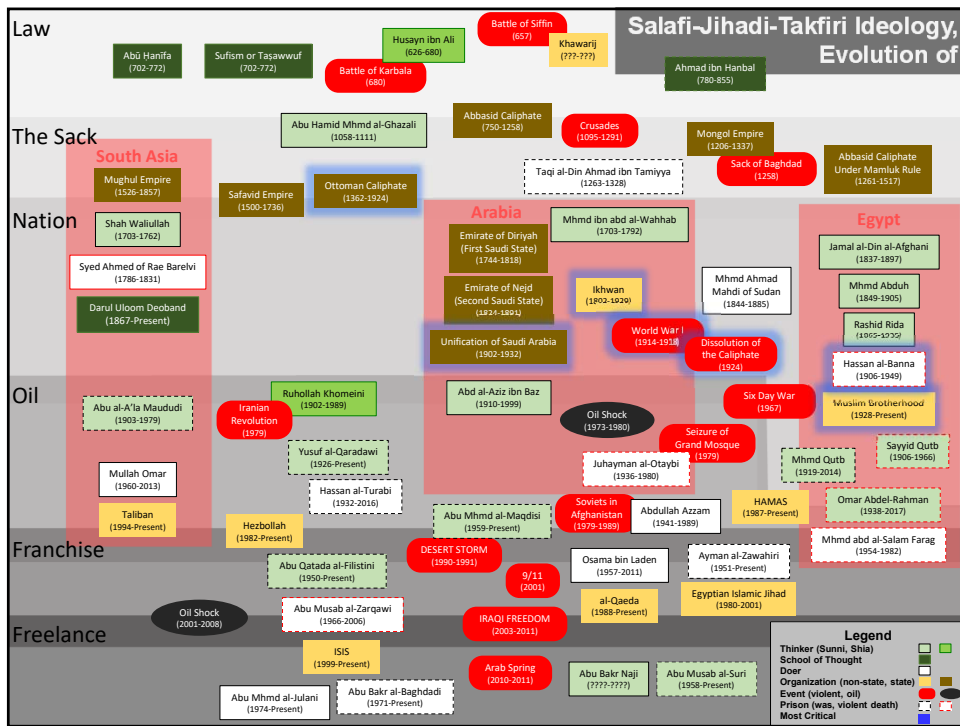
*The Management of Savagery*

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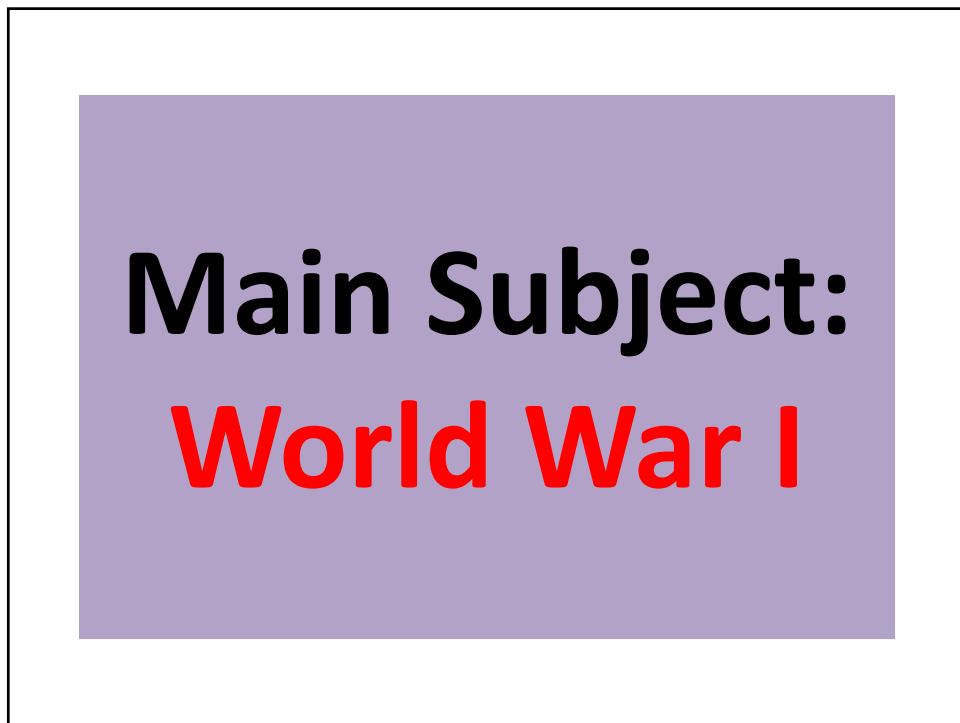
## Agenda for Today

- World War I
- World War I to 9/11 – Braided Chains
- Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire
- Muslim Brotherhood
- Mandates
- Problems in Palestine

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## World War I

### The Most Important War in Human History

- Death of 4 major empires  
(Russian, German, Austrian, Ottoman)
- Fatal wounding of 2 major empires  
(British, French)
- Creation of Soviet Union
- Creation of current Middle East problems
- Europe diminished
- U.S. elevated
- Birth of mechanized, combined arms tactics
- Most effective biologic weapon in history (Lenin)
- Created one of the most effective memes

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## Ottoman Sultan-Caliph



**Mehmed VI**  
(1918-1922) – Last Sultan



**Mehmed V**  
(1909-1918)



**Abdulmejid II**  
(1922-1924) – Last Caliph

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## 1914

### Declaration of Jihad

- 14 November – Fatwas read on jihad against opponents of Central Powers (including the following)
  - If several enemies unite against Islam, if the countries of Islam are sacked, if the Moslem populations are massacred or made captive; and if in this case the Padishah [i.e. sultan] in conformity with the sacred words of the Koran proclaims the Holy War, is participation in this war a duty for all Muslims? Answer: Yes.
- Sultan-Caliph Mehmed V made the following statement:
  - Russia, England, and France never for a moment ceased harbouring ill-will against our Caliphate, to which millions of Moslems, suffering under the tyranny of foreign dominations, are religiously and wholeheartedly devoted. ... Throw yourselves against the enemy as lions, bearing in mind that the very existence of our empire, and of 300 million Moslems whom I have summoned by sacred Fetva to a supreme struggle, depend on your victory.

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## Arab Tribal Leaders in 1914

### Muslim Population by Empire

Ottoman	15,044,846
British	94,000,000

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<http://imgkid.com/british-empire-map-1914.shtml>

## British Empire Confused Leadership

**Colonial Office**  
Location: London  
Priorities:

- Income
- Trade Routes

**Government of India**  
Location: Delhi  
Priorities:

- India
- Trade Routes

**Governor-General of Sudan & High Commissioner of Egypt (Foreign Office)**  
Location: Khartoum & Cairo  
Priorities:

- Native Issues
- Trade Routes (Suez Canal)

**General Ignorance / Concern**

- Islam
- Role/Influence Caliph
- Turkish – Arab – European Relationships

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## World War I

**Western Front**

- July 1916: Somme
- March 1918: Spring Offensive
- Nov 1918: Armistice

**Eastern Front**

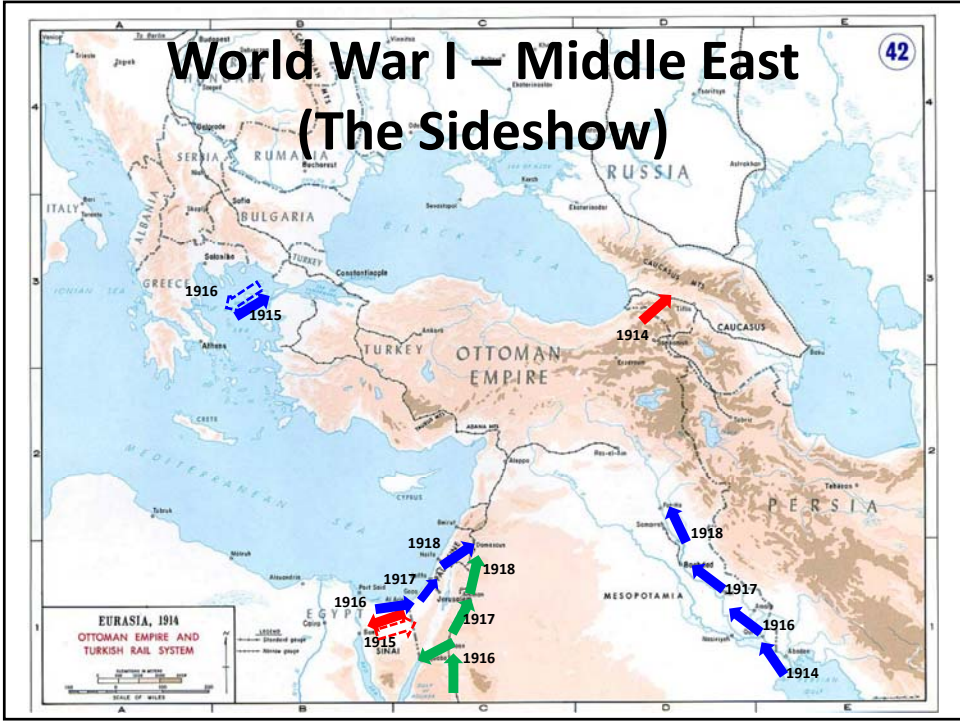
- 1914: Invasion of Poland
- 1917: Battle of Tannenberg
- 1918: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

**The Sideshow**

- 1915: Gallipoli
- 1917: Balfour Declaration
- 1918: Arab Revolt

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**1914**

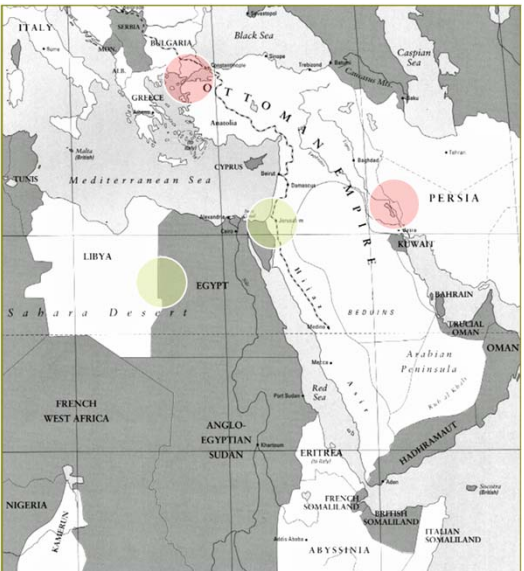
- Ottomans attacked Caucasus region
- British attacked Mesopotamia area

This map shows the Middle East in 1914, highlighting territorial control. The Ottoman Empire is shown in grey, covering the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, and the Arabian Peninsula. British territories are shown in white, including Egypt, Sudan, and parts of the Arabian Peninsula. Other powers like France, Italy, and Russia are also indicated. Key geographical features like the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Arabian Peninsula are labeled.

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## 1915

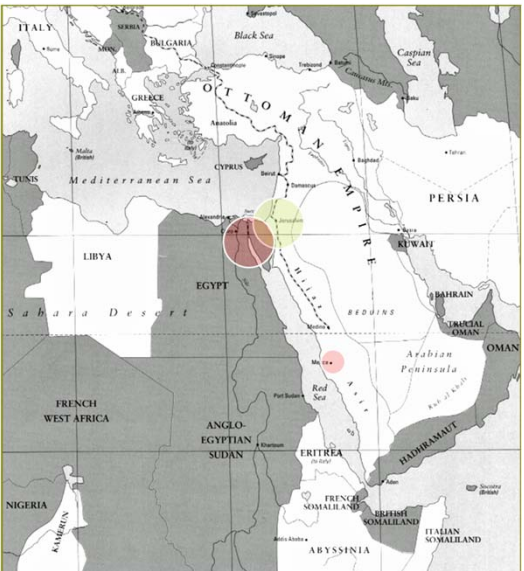
- Ottomans
  - Attacked Suez Canal
  - Attacked in Sahara
- British
  - Gallipoli campaign
  - March up country in Mesopotamia
- All attacks ended in failure



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## 1916

- Ottomans and British attack in Sinai – neither was successful
- Arab Revolt begins

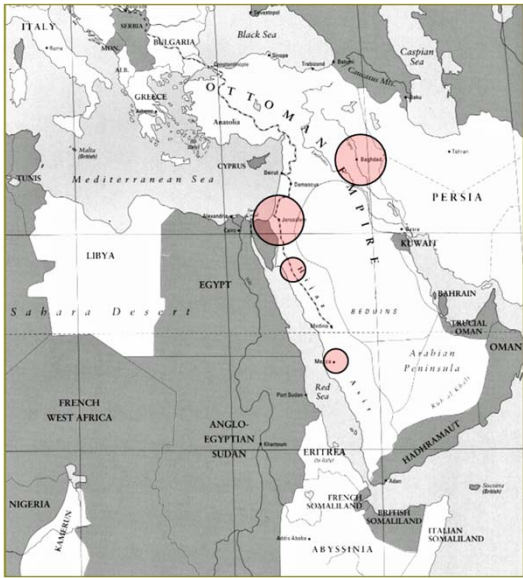


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# 1917

- British began to reverse their failures against the Turks



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## The Lighthorsemen Charge (1987)



[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_udGcMhbt&t=326s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_udGcMhbt&t=326s)

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## Field Marshall Edmund Allenby

1st Cavalry Division (beginning of the war)

Cavalry Corps (October 1914)

V Corps (May 1915)

British Third Army (October 1915)

Egyptian Expeditionary Force (June 1917)



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## Allenby's Official Proclamation of Martial Law

To the Inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed and the People Dwelling in Its Vicinity:

The defeat inflicted upon the Turks by the troops under my command has resulted in the occupation of your city by my forces. I, therefore, here now proclaim it to be under martial law, under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make necessary.

However, lest any of you be alarmed by reason of your experience at the hands of the enemy who has retired, I hereby inform you that it is my desire that every person pursue his lawful business without fear of interruption.

Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore, do I make it known to you that **every** sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be **maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they are sacred.**

**Guardians have been established at Bethlehem and on Rachel's Tomb. The tomb at Hebron has been placed under exclusive Moslem control.**

**The hereditary custodians at the gates of the Holy Sepulchre have been requested to take up their accustomed duties** in remembrance of the magnanimous act of the Caliph Omar, who protected that church.

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## Allenby's Crusade?

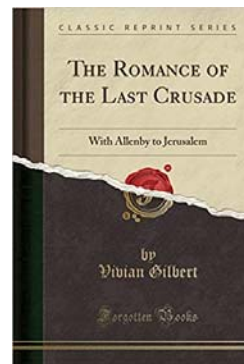
“Only now have the crusades come to an end.”



- quote attributed to General Allenby by Sayyid Qutb upon his entry into Jerusalem

Vivian Gilbert was a subaltern in Allenby's forces. Originally published in 1923.

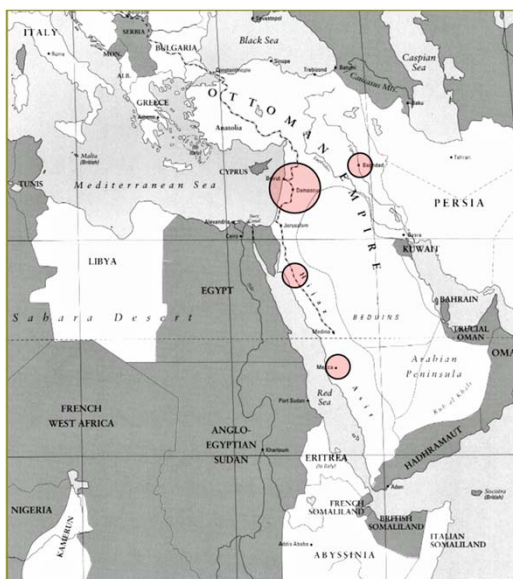
Understand the power of narrative.



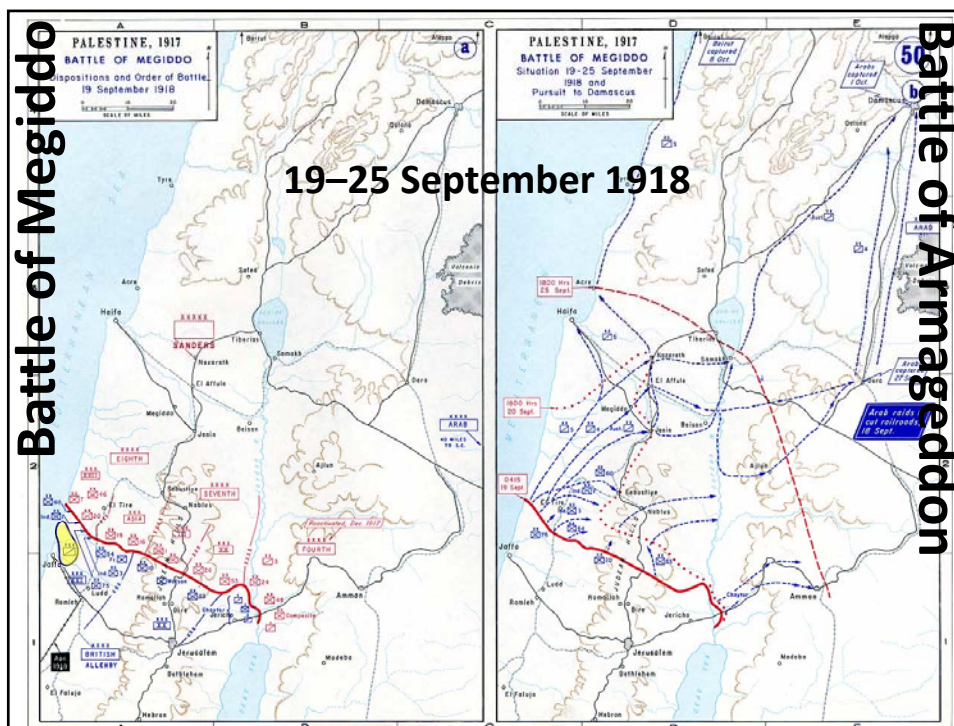
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## 1918

- British defeated the Ottoman Army which ended the war



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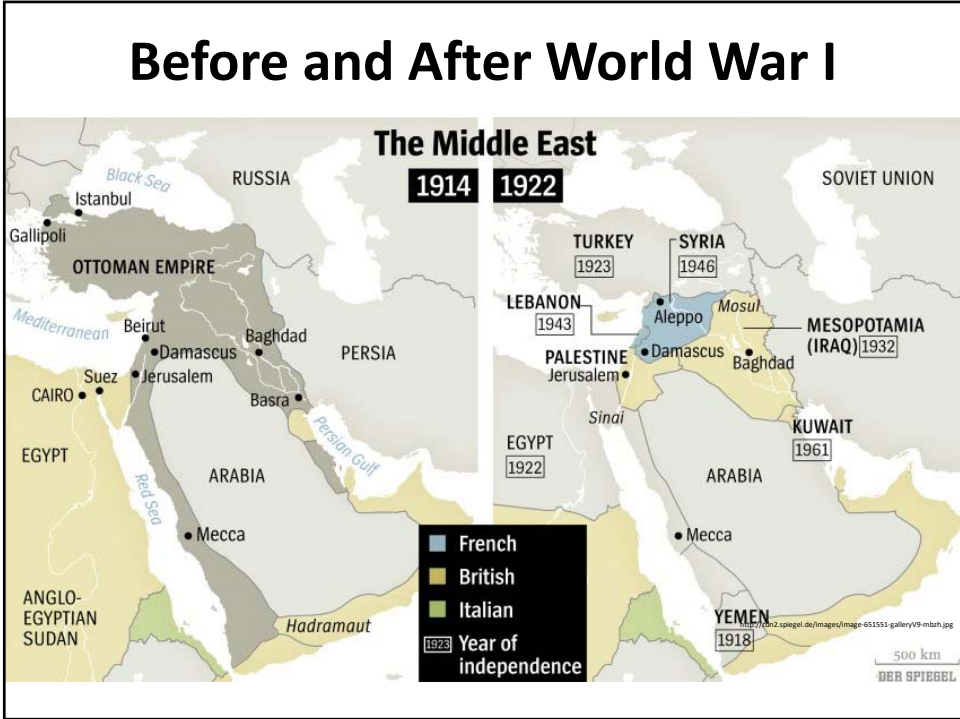


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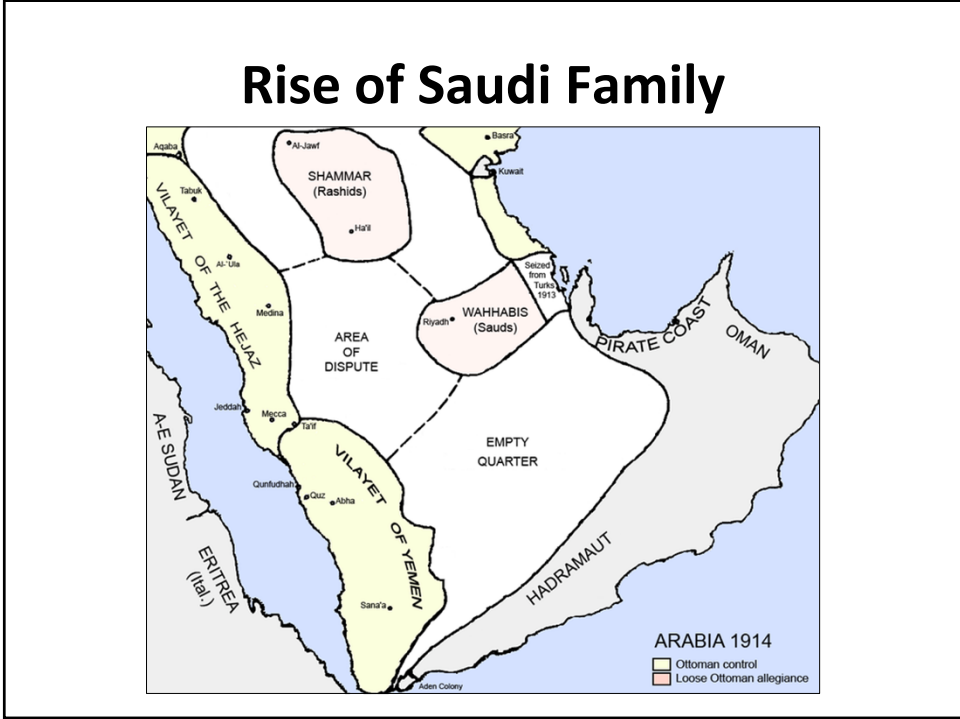
## Arab Revolt

- Brought the British in as protectors of the Arabs
- Who can declare a Caliph?
- Confused relationships across the peninsula
- Confused relationships between partners (Arabs) and allies
- Was there such a thing as an Arab?

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## Revolt in the Desert



T.E. Lawrence

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## Lawrence and Feisal

(1962)



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=49qNHfYq6XE>

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# Lawrence of Arabia

(what should we learn from him?)

They are meant to apply only to Bedu; townspeople or Syrians require totally different treatment. Handling Hejaz Arabs is an art, not a science, with exceptions and no obvious rules.

1. Go easy for the first few weeks. A bad start is difficult to atone for....
2. Learn all you can about your Ashraf and Bedu....
3. In matters of business deal only with the commander of the army, column, or party in which you serve. Never give orders to anyone at all, and reserve your directions or advice for the C.O....
4. Win and keep the confidence of your leader. Strengthen his prestige at your expense before others when you can.
5. Remain in touch with your leader as constantly and unobtrusively as you can. Live with him, that at meal times and at audiences you may be naturally with him in his tent.
6. Be shy of too close relations with the subordinates of the expedition.
7. Treat the sub-chiefs of your force quite easily and lightly. In this way you hold yourself above their level.
8. Your ideal position is when you are present and not noticed.
9. Magnify and develop the growing conception of the Sherifs as the natural aristocracy of the Arabs.
10. Call your Sherif 'Sidi' in public and in private. [Use the kunya when appropriate for others]
11. The foreigner and Christian is not a popular person in Arabia. However friendly and informal the treatment of yourself may be, remember always that your foundations are very sandy ones.
12. **Cling tight to your sense of humour.**
13. **Never lay hands on an Arab; you degrade yourself...the less you lose your temper the greater your advantage.**
14. While very difficult to drive, the Bedu are easy to lead, if: have the patience to bear with them.

15. Do not try to do too much with your own hands. **Better the Arabs do it tolerably than that you do it perfectly.**
16. If you can, without being too lavish, forestall presents to yourself. A well-placed gift is often most effective in winning over a suspicious sheikh. **Never receive a present without giving a liberal return**
17. Wear an Arab headcloth when with a tribe.
18. Disguise is not advisable. Except in special areas, let it be clearly known that you are a British officer and a Christian. At the same time, if you can wear Arab kit when with the tribes, you will acquire their trust and intimacy to a degree impossible in uniform.
19. If you wear Arab things, wear the best.
20. If you wear Arab things at all, go the whole way. Leave your English friends and customs on the coast, and fall back on Arab habits entirely.
21. Religious discussions will be frequent. **Say what you like about your own side, and avoid criticism of theirs...**
22. Do not try to trade on what you know of fighting. The Hejaz confounds ordinary tactics. **Learn the Bedu principles of war as thoroughly and as quickly as you can**, for till you know them your advice will be no good....
23. The open reason that Bedu give you for action or inaction may be true, but always there will be better reasons left for you to divine.
24. Do not mix Bedu and Syrians, or trained men and tribesmen. You will get work out of neither, for they hate each other.
25. In spite of ordinary Arab example, avoid too free talk about women.
26. Be as careful of your servants as of yourself.
27. **The beginning and ending of the secret of handling Arabs is unremitting study of them....**

*The Arab Bulletin, August 1917*

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**Main Subject:**  
**World War I to 9/11**  
**– Braided Chains**

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## Why? Braided Chains of Connection

**Emotional**

**Conceptual**

**Poetic**

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## Poetic Chain – Unity of Islam

**Successions of Sultan-Caliphs During the War**  
 Mehmed V (1909-1918)  
 Mehmed VI (1918-1922) – Last Sultan  
 Abdulmejid II (1922-1924) – Last Caliph

**Islam Divided**

**Muslim Brotherhood Formed**  
 Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949) – Founder  
 Organization Founded (1928)

**Motto:** 'Allah is our objective. The Prophet is our leader. The Qur'an is our constitution. Jihad is our way. Martyrdom is our highest hope'.

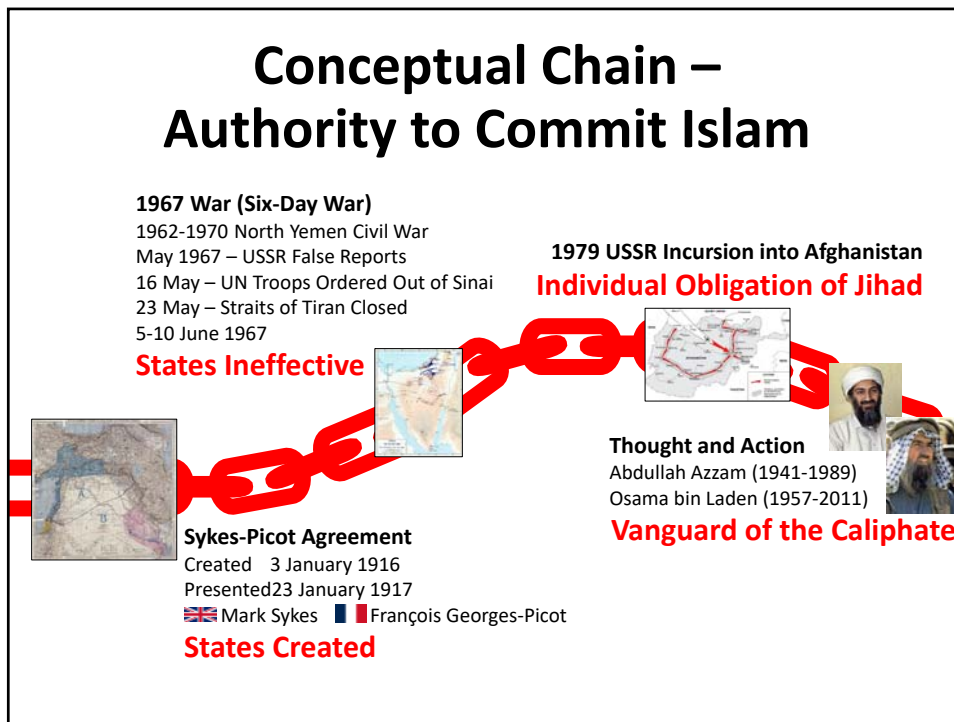
**Publications**  
 Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966)  
*In the Shade of the Qur'an* (1954)  
*Milestones* (1964)

**Islam is the Solution**

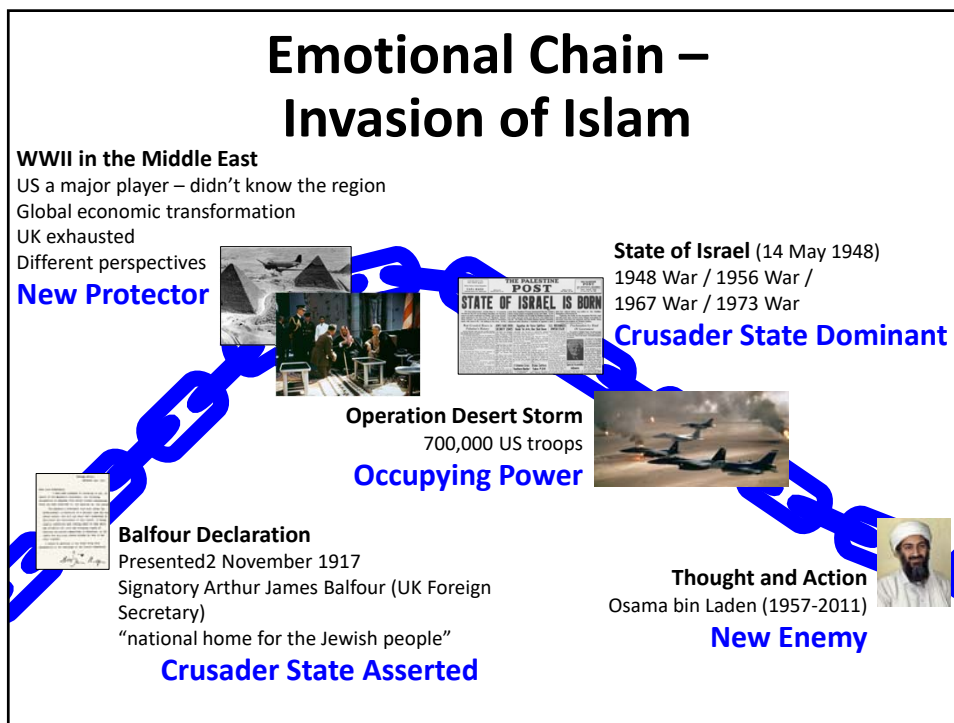
**Action**  
 Abdullah Azzam (1941-1989)  
 The Afghan Jihad (1984-1989)

**Islam Reunited?**

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# Main Subject:

## Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire

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## U.S. Involvement in Middle East During WWI

### World War I – Associated Power

No declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire

### King-Crane Commission

(Henry Churchill King and Charles R. Crane)

1919 Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey

Arab public wanted independence; then American assistance; then ...

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<b>How the Map was Redrawn</b>		<b>Zionism (Religion)</b>
<b>Hussein – McMahon Correspondence</b>		1915 – 1916
<b>Sykes-Picot Agreement</b>	November 1915 – March 1916	
	(announced by Bolshevik Russia 23 November 1917)	
<b>Balfour Declaration</b>		2 November 1917
Armistice of Mudros		30 October 1918
Treaty of Sèvres		10 August 1920
<b>Cairo Conference</b>		February – March 1921
Abolition of Ottoman Sultanate		1 November 1922
Declaration of Republic of Turkey		29 October 1923
Abolition of Caliphate		3 March 1924
Treaty of Lausanne		24 July 1924

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## Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (1915 – 1916)

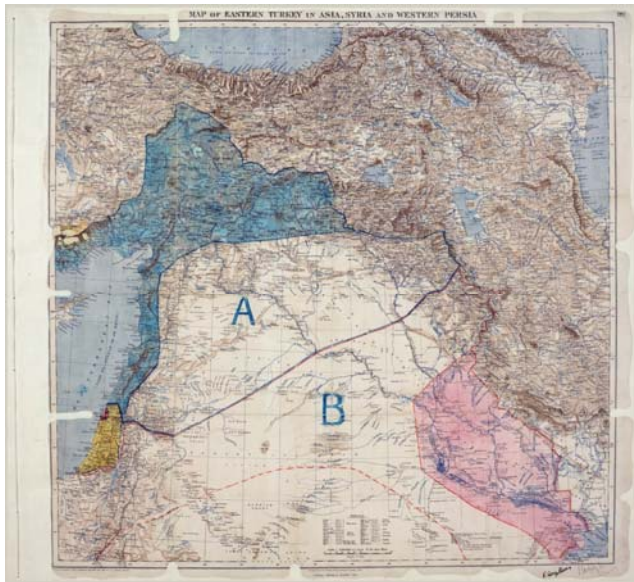
The districts of Mersin and Alexandretta, and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, cannot be said to be purely Arab, and must on that account be excepted from the proposed delimitation. Subject to that modification, and without prejudice to the treaties concluded between us and certain Arab Chiefs, we accept that delimitation. As for the regions lying within the proposed frontiers, in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to interests of her ally France, I am authorized to give you the following pledges on behalf of the Government of Great Britain, and to reply as follows to you note: *That subject to the modifications stated above, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sharif of Mecca.*



**Henry McMahon**  
British High  
Commissioner for  
Egypt  
To Hussein ibn Ali  
24 October 1915

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## Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)



François Georges-Picot  
French Diplomat



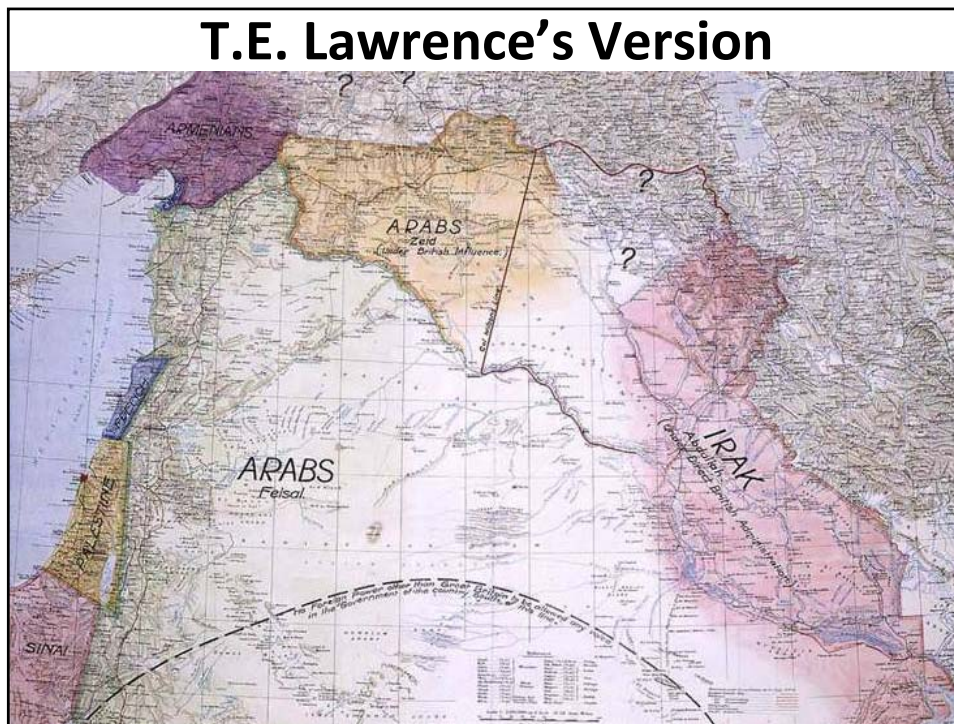
Sir Mark Sykes  
British Officer-Diplomat

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## Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)

1. That France and Great Britain are prepared to **recognize and protect an independent Arab State** or a **Confederation of Arab States** in the areas (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.
2. 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.
3. That in the brown area [Palestine] **there shall be established an international administration**, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with the other Allies, and the representatives of the Shereef of Mecca.
4. That Great Britain be accorded (1) the ports of Haifa and Acre, (2) guarantee of a given supply of water from the Tigris and Euphrates in area (A) for area (B). His Majesty's Government, on their part, undertake that they will at no time enter into negotiations for the cession of Cyprus to any third Power without the previous consent of the French Government.
5. [Port Access Issues]
6. [Railway Issues]
7. [Railway Issues]
8. [Tariff Issues]
9. It shall be agreed that the French Government will at no time enter into any negotiations for the cession of their rights and will not cede such rights in the blue area to any third Power, except the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States without the previous agreement of His Majesty's Government, who, on their part, will give a similar undertaking to the French Government regarding the red area.
10. The British and French Governments, as the protectors of **the Arab State**, shall agree that they will not themselves acquire and will not consent to a third Power acquiring territorial possessions in the Arabian peninsula, nor consent to a third Power installing a naval base either on the east coast, or on the islands, of the Red Sea. This, however, shall not prevent such adjustment of the Aden frontier as may be necessary in consequence of recent Turkish aggression.
11. The negotiations with the Arabs as to the boundaries of the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States shall be continued through the same channel as heretofore on behalf of the two Powers.
12. It is agreed that measures to control the importation of arms into the Arab territories will be considered by the two Governments.

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## Balfour Declaration (November 2, 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



Arthur James Balfour  
UK Foreign Secretary



Walter Rothschild  
MP and Baron

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## National Pact Misak-ı Millî

1. The future of the **territories inhabited by an Arab majority** at the **time of the signing of the Armistice of Mudros** will be determined by a referendum. On the other hand, the territories which were not occupied at that time and inhabited by a Turkish majority are the homeland of the Turkish nation.
2. The status of Kars, Ardahan and Batum [**Eastern Turkey-Armenia**] may be determined by a referendum.
3. The status of Western Thrace will be determined by the votes of its inhabitants.
4. The security of Istanbul and Marmara should be provided for. Transport and free-trade on the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles will be determined by Turkey and other concerned countries.
5. The rights of minorities will be issued on condition that the rights of the Muslim minorities in neighboring countries are protected.
6. In order to develop in every field, the country should be independent and free; all restrictions on political, judicial and financial development will be removed.

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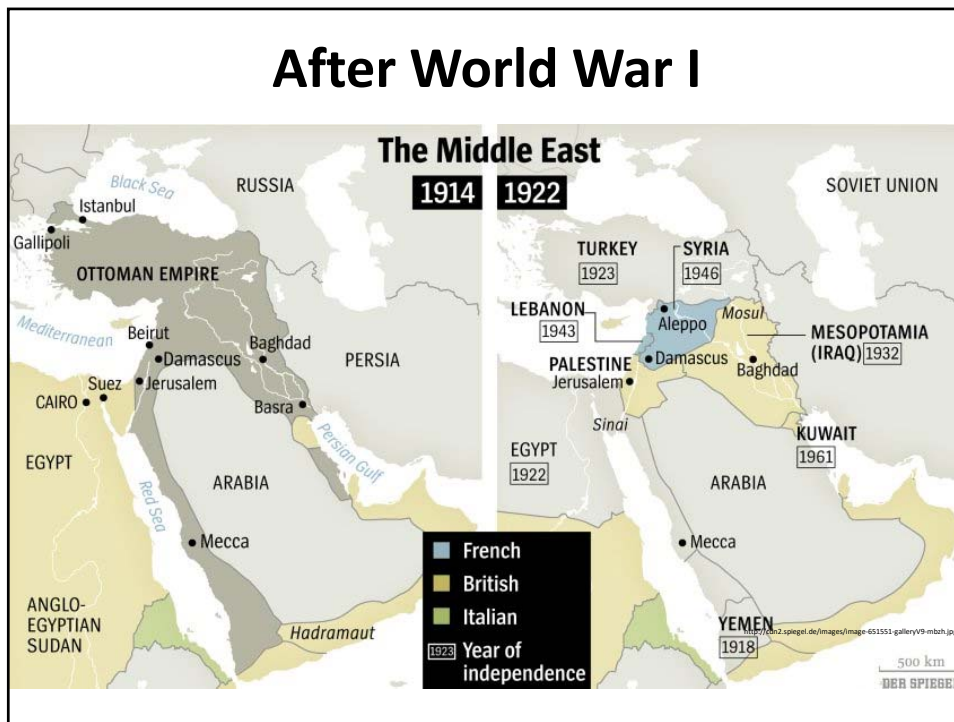




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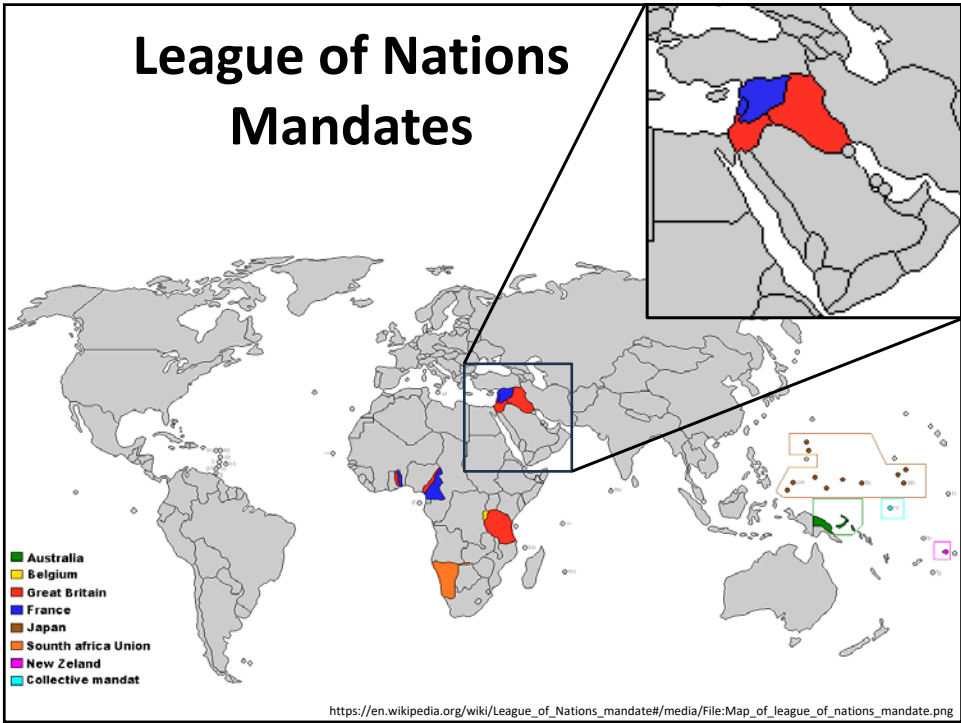


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# Main Subject:

# Mandates

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## Cairo Conference (12 March 1921) Transjordan

... establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine west of the Jordan and a separate Arab entity in Palestine east of the Jordan. Abdullah, if installed in authority in Transjordan, could preside over the creation of such an Arab entity.




Winston Churchill  
H.M.G. Secretary of State for the Colonies  
February, 1921

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**Main Subject:**  
**Muslim**  
**Brotherhood**

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## State vs. Non-State




Prophet Mohamed




Seljuk Turks




Mahdiya  
Mhmd Ahmed




Muslim Brotherhood




Khawarij




Assassins



PLO



Young Turks



Mujahidin

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## Hassan al-Banna

(1906-1949)

- Founded Muslim Brotherhood
- J: Violent struggle necessary to revive Islam.

**Motto of Muslim Brotherhood**

“Allah is our objective.  
The Prophet is our leader.  
The Qur’an is our constitution. Jihad is our way.  
Martyrdom is our highest hope.”



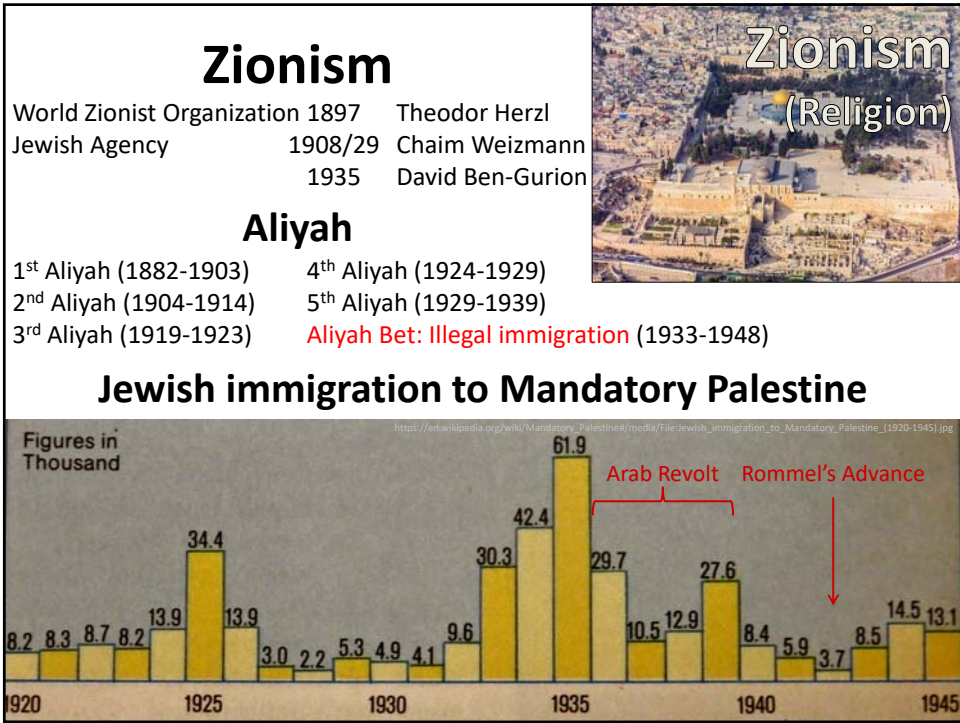
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# Main Subject:

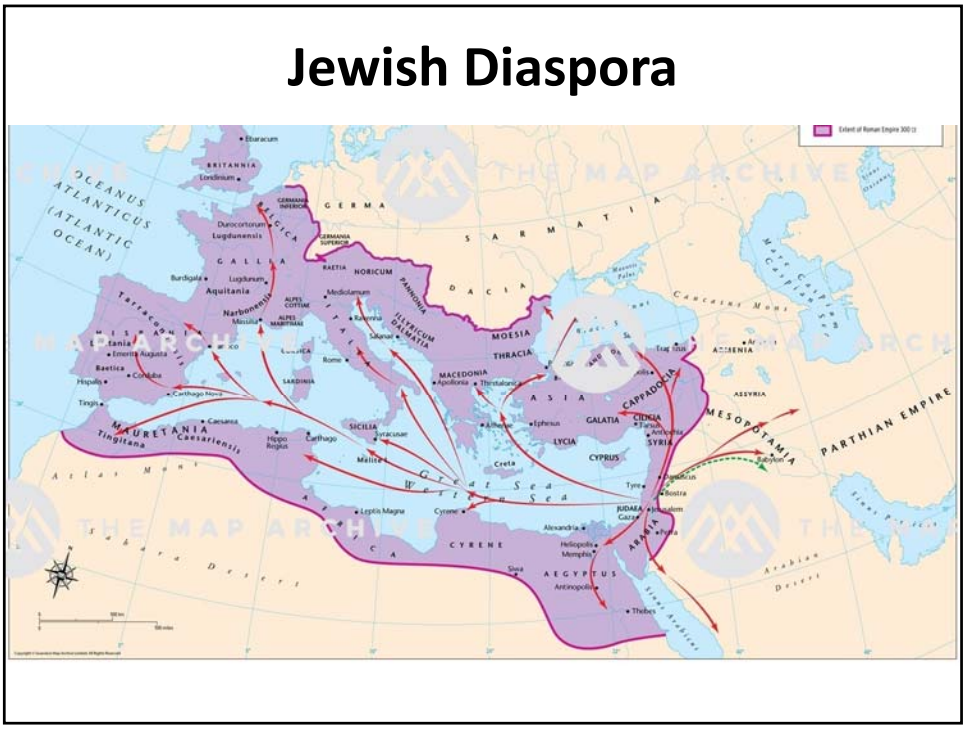
# Problems in Palestine

57



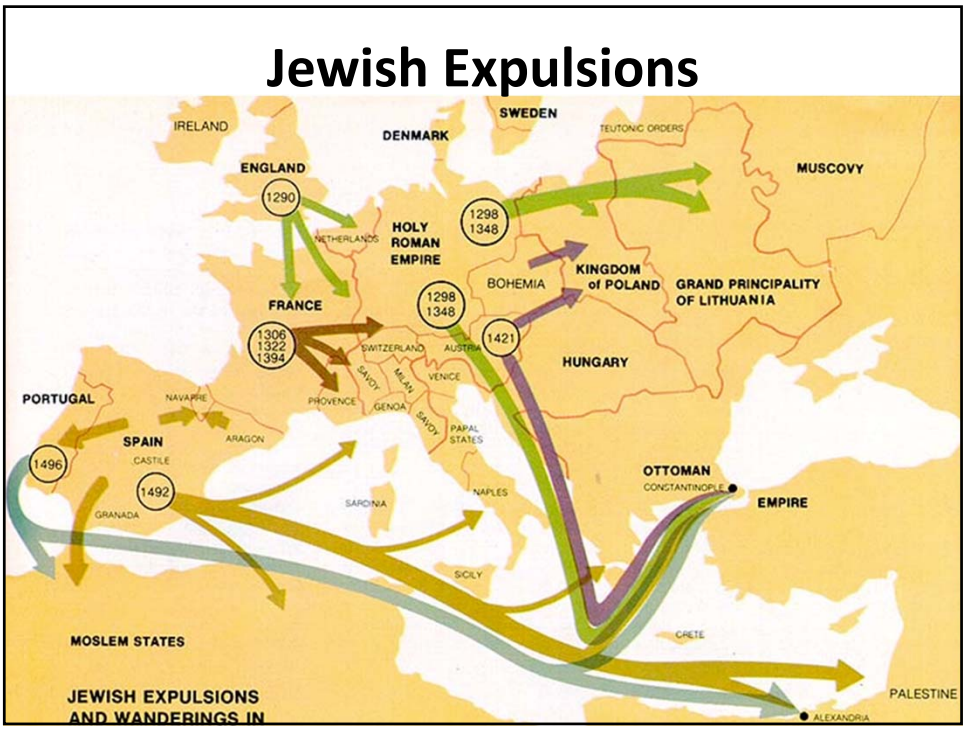
58

# Jewish Diaspora

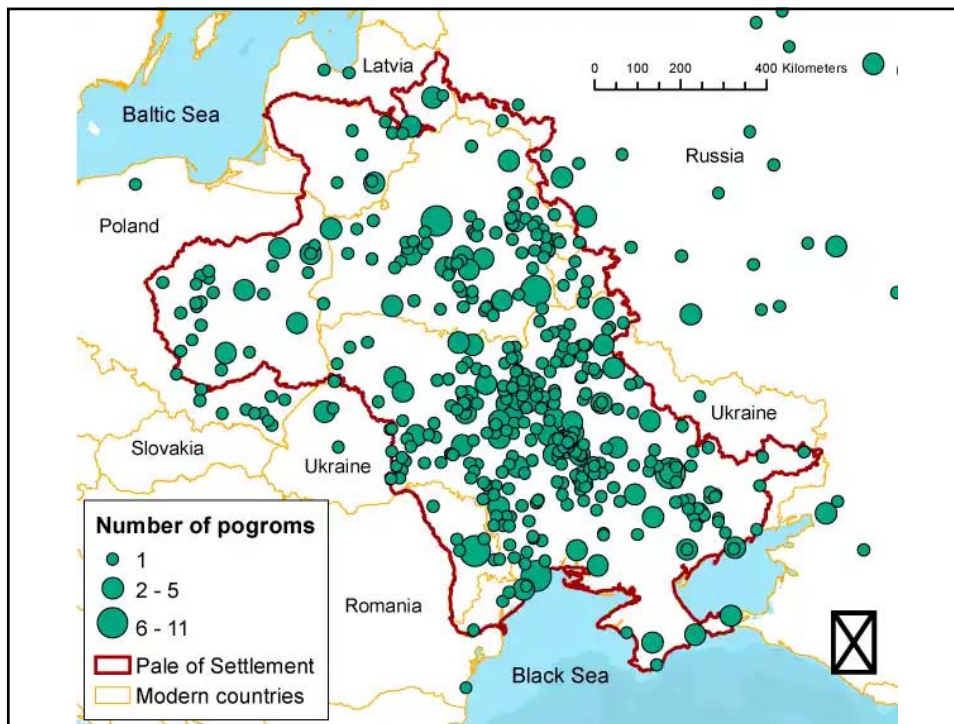


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# Jewish Expulsions



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## Zionism



Theodor Herzl

- Rejected the possibility of Jewish assimilation in Europe.
- Sought a state for Jews in Ottoman and then British Palestine.
- Initially most popular among Eastern European Jews, mainly secular Jews.
- Initially rejected by many Reform and Orthodox Jews.

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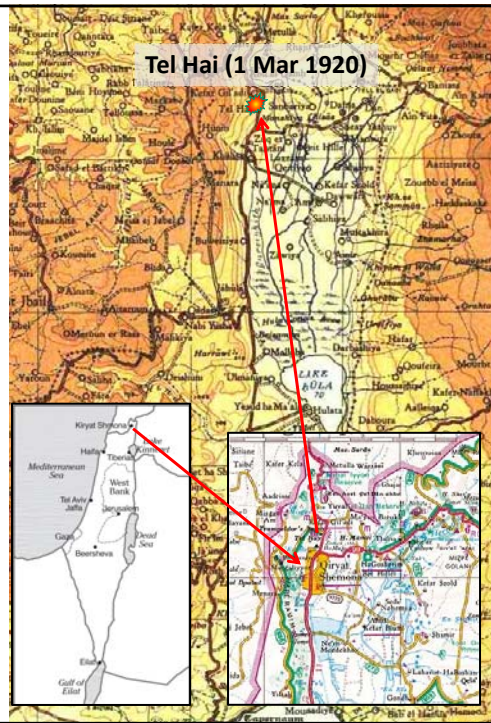


## Battle of Tel Hai

“Birth of the Fighting Jew”

- Associated with the Franco-Syrian War
- Tel Hai was in the French Mandate
- A Shiite Arab militia attacked the Jewish settlement
- Eight Jews and five Arabs were killed
- Joseph Trumpeldor, former Russian officer and decorated 1905 war hero died of wounds

“The Alamo of the Jews in Palestine”



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## Jewish Groups

Haganah (the defense)

Palmach (acronym: strike force)

Irgun (abbr: the national military organization in the land of Israel)

Lehi (Stern Gang) (acronym: fighters for the freedom of Israel)

“In fact, there is a division of roles; one organization advocates individual terrorism (Lehi), the other conducts sporadic military operations (Irgun) and there is a third organization which prepares itself to throw its final weight in the decisive war.”

– Menachem Begin (*Blood in Zion*, p12)



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## Arab Opposition

- Franco-Syrian War (Mar-Jul 1920)
- Black Hand formed (1930)
- Arab Revolt (1936-1939)
  - April-October 1936 Arab Strike
  - Revolt continues in autumn of 1937
- Arab Higher Committee (1936)
- Peel Commission
- Axis Propaganda



1895-1974



Amin al-Husseini  
Grand Mufti of Jerusalem  
(in office 1921-1948)



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## Contact Information

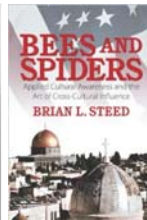
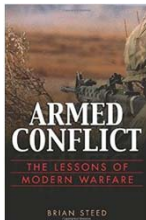
**Brian L. Steed**

[www.narrativespace.net](http://www.narrativespace.net)

[www.narrative-strategies.com](http://www.narrative-strategies.com)

[narrativespace.net@gmail.com](mailto:narrativespace.net@gmail.com)

<https://www.linkedin.com/in/brian-l-steed/>



**NS NARRATIVE STRATEGIES**  
CHANGING THE WAY POWER WORKS

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