

March 7, 2016

AP English Literature

Modern Troubles in the Land of the Ancients

“Cruel-hearted men could not easily bring themselves to destroy so many lives at one blow, even if they were as beasts of the field. We might hear their excuse and grant them pardon for killing those worthy men, but how can we excuse them for banishing under such pitiful and heart-breaking circumstances the innocent families of their victims - infants, delicate women and aged men - and inflicting on them other forms of suffering in addition to the agonies they had already endured in the death of those who were the support of their homes?”¹

The quote above describes a Syrian refugee crisis triggered by a radical new movement to re-establish the Arab Caliphate as the theocratic ruler of the entire Islamic world. The date of this account was not 2016, however, but 1916. Although this quote occurred exactly one hundred years ago, the terrors it describes are still relevant today. The only aspect of this conflict that has changed is the parties involved. Just in the past few months, the world has been shocked by several brutal terrorist attacks conducted by individuals claiming allegiance to the Islamic State. The Islamic State is merely the latest in a long series of terrorist and rebel movements that have arisen from the Middle East since the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the abolition of its caliphate in 1924. The caliphate, in simple terms, is a theocratic office, which has jurisdiction over all Muslim nations. In 1299, Osman I founded the last true caliphate, the Ottoman Empire. Prior to its dissolution, the caliphate ruled by the Ottoman Turks stretched over the entire greater

¹ Bin Ali, Sharif Hussein. “Proclamation of Independence from Turkey.” Ulema of Mecca. 27 June 1916. Speech.

and modern industrialized society. By examining the last century of history, the differences between British imperial strategies in the nations of Iraq and Jordan can be exposed, along with the unique consequences of these approaches. The characteristics of native leaders also cannot be ignored as they created the trajectories for each of these newly created nations which have carried forward into the 21st century.

Today, Iraq is a breeding ground for terrorism and sectarian violence. The Islamic State has taken advantage of the lack of an effective government in Iraq to use it as a launching point for both regional and global terrorist acts. The reason for this lack of central control can be found in its recent history. The removal of Saddam Hussein and the Ba'athist regime in 2003, has left Iraq sharply divided into three separate parts. According to an article written by Reuter's columnist, Michael Williams, "In Iraq, years of sectarian bloodletting following the U.S./UK invasion of 2003 have led the three main communities in the country — Sunnis, Shi'ites and Kurds — to go their own ways".² Currently, the official Iraqi government controls barely over half of the original Iraqi borders. In the northern region, known as Iraqi Kurdistan, the Kurds exercise virtual independence and have their own elected leaders and armed forces. The BBC's profile on Iraq confirms that "Iraq's 2005 Constitution recognises an autonomous Kurdistan region in the north of the country, run by the Kurdistan Regional Government".³ The Kurds are a non-Arab ethnic group, who have been historically subjugated and displaced by Middle Eastern nations. Kurds in Iraq also hold a religious divide with the majority of Iraqi people due to their practice of Sunni Islam. According the U.S. Department of State in their International Religious Freedom Report in 2005, "Shia Muslims, predominantly Arabs but including Turkmen, Shabak,

² Williams, Michael. "The Great Debate: Sykes-Picot drew lines in the Middle East's sand that blood is washing away." *Reuters (U.S.)*. N.p., 24 Oct. 2014. Web. 23 Jan. 2016.

³ "Iraqi Kurdistan Profile." *BBC*. BBC, 5 Feb. 2016. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

Middle East and encompassed all majority Muslim nations. Within this massive empire, a variety of different ethnic groups coexisted, each with its own dialects, religious preferences, and cultures. Fast forward 75 years after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the wounds suffered by the former Ottoman subjects are still visible.

In recent history, many politicians and media outlets have looked to the religious orientation of Middle Eastern terrorist factions as an explanation for their violent and seemingly arbitrary militant behavior. However, to simplify their anger and violence as religious extremism is to ignore a hundred years of colonial and political turmoil in the region that has created the breeding ground for this unrest. Although no moral justification exists for the acts of these terrorist groups, further examination of the Middle East's history of failed empires, poor dictatorial leadership, and colonial scheming makes the arrival of these brutal terrorist organizations seem inevitable. An analysis of the rationale and process by which the defeated Ottoman Empire was partitioned reveals the key factors enabling the growth of contemporary terrorist organizations in the greater Middle East, including the Islamic State. While many attribute the rise of jihadist terrorism to recent conflicts, such as the U.S. War on Terror, a deeper insight into the sociopolitical forces in the Middle East reveals that Islamist terror is merely a continuation of problems caused by the fall of the Ottoman Empire rather than an exclusively modern conflict.

The divergent fates of the nations of Iraq and Jordan demonstrate the responsibility of British colonial actions and the Ottoman Empire's downfall for the current unrest in the Middle East and the arrival of modern Islamist terrorism. Although Iraq shares British colonial ties and a physical border with Jordan, it has experienced a very different outcome as shown by a history of brutal coup d'états and recent terrorist activity, as contrasted with Jordan's stable government

Faili (Shia) Kurds, and others, constitute 60 to 65 percent of the population".⁴ Insurgents, primarily the Islamic State, presently control the northwest of Iraq [see Appendix B]. Currently, Iraq is rated number 7 on the Fragile State Index, in the high alert category. This rating was created by the American think-tank Fund For Peace using a computer generated scoring of social and economic indicators, such as poverty and economic decline, as well as political and military indicators like state legitimacy and human rights.⁵ The lack of unity within the country has led to violence between the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam, as well as between the ethnic Kurds and ethnic Arabs. Furthermore, the chaos within the country has enabled international Islamist terrorists to gain a foothold on Iraqi territory and use it as a base for widespread terrorist action. Iraq has also been a focal point for international conflict by Iranian backed Shi'ite groups and Saudi backed Sunni groups, as well as a main battlefield for the U.S. "War on Terror". This truly tragic state of affairs has led many to question the origin of these intractable problems. Yet this division represents a natural consequence of the arbitrary placement of Iraq's borders by the European victors after WWI.

In considering its lack of sectarian violence and political instability, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan holds a position of relative success and internal peace since it achieved full independence in 1948. Today, the Jordanian government remains a constitutional monarchy, led by King Abdullah II. King Abdullah II is the most recent monarch of the historic royal bloodline of Hashemite leadership, who have ruled the Jordanian people since its conception as the Emirate of Jordan in 1921. Jordan maintains an alliance with the United States and has aided the U.S. greatly in the War on Terror. Citizens of Jordan, although 97% Sunni Muslim, enjoy

⁴ - - -. U.S. Department of State: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. *Iraq: Religious Freedom Report*. Washington: GPO, 2013. Print.

⁵ "Fragile States Index 2015." FFP. Fund for Peace, 2015. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

religious freedom and political pluralism under their liberalized constitution. “The generally amicable relationship among religions in society contributed to religious freedom,” according to the U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.⁶ A variety of minority religious groups, such as Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Druze are officially recognized by the Jordanian government and are not subject to any significant persecution in their lands. The peaceful coexistence of these religious groups can be accredited to the strong, stable government and the lack of territorial divisions amongst the nation’s respective religious sects. “With few exceptions, there are no major geographic concentrations of particular religious groups,” according to the U.S. Department of State⁷. The ethnic uniformity amongst Jordan’s Arab population certainly contributes to its lack of territorial divisions and its lack of sectarian violence as compared to Iraq and other Middle Eastern nations. While other nations in the region have polarized concentrations of Sunni and Shia Muslims, Christians and Jews and of ethnic Kurds and Arabs, all sections of Jordan are predominantly Sunni Muslim Arab. There are no significant localized enclaves of ethnic or religious minorities that might be tempted to push for separatism. Jordan’s stability is maintained by a relatively large and modern military force, which has been aided greatly by the United States. In many respects, Jordan remains a model of successful Arab political leadership.

When faced with the starkly different outcomes between Jordan and Iraq, one is led to ask the question: How did Iraq end up this way, and why has Jordan succeeded? Prior to the creation of the state of Iraq, rural tribes, much like in the original Jordanian lands, inhabited most of the current day Iraqi lands. In their timeline of the history of Iraq, Libcom indicates that at the

⁶ United States. U.S. Department of State. *Jordan International Religious Freedom Report*. Washington: GPO, 2014. Print.

⁷ U.S. Department of State

beginning of the twentieth century “the countryside remains dominated by rural tribal groups, some of them nomadic”.⁸ If peace and stability had been the priorities in the creation of Iraq, leaders would have been chosen based on their ability to communicate with these rural tribesmen and build national unity. But this was not the top priority. A deeper analysis shows that the divergence between the development of Jordan and Iraq began instead with the pursuit of mineral rights in Ottoman lands by the European powers in the early 20th century.

As the Ottoman Empire met its inevitable end after being drawn into World War I in the early 1900s, many tribal and nationalistic movements began to stir. These movements attracted the attention of European colonial powers that hoped to undermine the Ottomans militarily and to ultimately gain a foothold in their oil-rich lands.⁹ In order to capitalize on the crumbling empire in the latter stages of the Great War, colonial powers such as France and Britain gave military and financial aid to rebel groups who were struggling for independence, ultimately leading to a broader uprising, which was known as the Arab Revolt. The Arab Revolt of 1916-1918 was the crucial event that created the opportunity for expanding both Arab self-rule and European imperialist exploitation.

The Arab Revolt served to catalyze the separation of Arab lands from the Ottoman Empire. Predominantly through British aid, many of the tribes of the western Arabian Peninsula in an area known as Hijaz were able to successfully gain independence from Ottoman rule. Led by Sharif Hussein bin Ali of Mecca, a coalition of Arab nationalists and tribal forces armed by the British, and advised by the legendary British adventurer T.E. Lawrence, were able to launch a successful offensive against Ottoman forces. Consistent with a long history of broken promises

⁸ Stevens. “1900-2000: Iraq Timeline.” *Libcom*. N.p., n.d. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

⁹ Alkhateeb, Firas. “The Arab Revolt of World War One.” *Lost Islamic History*. Lost Islamic History, 4 Aug. 2014. Web. 26 Jan. 2016.

from British colonial diplomats, Arab leaders were told that they would receive land and power if they were to successfully revolt against the Ottomans. Marina Ottoway, a researcher at the Wilson International Center for Scholars, argues, “The British themselves contributed to stirring up Arab nationalism by dangling in front of Hussein, the Sharif of Mecca, the vision of an independent Arab state under his rule when they were trying to enlist his support against the Ottomans and stir up the Arab revolt”.¹⁰ Little did they know that France and Britain had negotiated a secret agreement long before Arab forces triumphantly seized Damascus, effectively the capital of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. This negotiation between French and British diplomats was known as the “Sykes-Picot Agreement”, after the names of British diplomatic adviser, Mark Sykes, and French lawyer and diplomat, François Georges-Picot, who met in 1916 to draw up the plans. The agreement, if it came to fruition, would have effectively divided large portions of Arab lands into two regions, which satisfied the colonial endeavors of the imperialist nations [see Appendix A]. The proposal was for the British to have direct control over an area stretching from Baghdad to Basra and along the Persian Gulf. They would also have some degree of influence in an area between modern day Israel and Kuwait, which is where the nations of Iraq and Jordan arose. The French were to have direct control over the northern region of the Arabian Peninsula, extending from Haifa to southern Turkey. They would also have influence in the area containing modern day Syria and northern Iraq.

Ultimately, with the outcome of WWI and Arab nationalist movements, the French and British took possession of protectorates that differed significantly from the map drawn in the original Sykes-Picot Agreement. The primary differences were that the French sphere of influence was significantly reduced in size and that the degree of control of these lands by the

¹⁰ Ottaway, Marina. “Learning from Sykes-Picot.” *Wilson Center*. The Wilson Center, 19 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

European powers was reduced, in part due to their diminished economic capacity to exert control. The British chose to exert their colonial influence more actively in oil-rich Iraq and to allow more self-rule elsewhere. The lasting significance of the Sykes-Picot Agreement lies not in the specifics of its implementation, but in the clear ignorance of European diplomats to the probable reactions of the Arab people as they arbitrarily divided the Arab lands. Williams argues, “Iraq, like Syria, was a consequence of World War One and of the infamous, in Arab eyes, agreement between Sir Mark Sykes and Francois-Georges Picot which led to the division of the former Ottoman Turkish domains by the two leading European powers, Britain and France”.¹¹ These two diplomats, and the officials of the League of Nations, whose mandates ultimately set the national borders, merely took their respective economic ambitions into consideration as opposed to those of the Arab nationalists, such as Sharif Hussein bin Ali, who sought to build strong, independent nations.

Even prior to WWI, the access to oil had greatly influenced the interest of foreign powers in the region. Upon receiving concessions to drill for oil in the Ottoman provinces of Baghdad and Mosul in 1912, the “Turkish Petroleum Company [was] formed by British, Dutch and German interests acquires concessions to prospect for oil in the Ottoman provinces of Baghdad and Mosul (both later part of Iraq)”.¹² The quest for oil in Iraq would remain the main priority of the British in their role in the creation of Iraq. Sennott, a expert foreign correspondent in the Middle East, remarks, “Their map — with some slight amendments at the Paris Peace Conference treaty that followed the war in 1919 — disregarded a complex tribal culture, ignored the deep ethnic identities of Kurds and Arabs and overlooked the theological rifts between the

¹¹ Williams, Michael. “The Great Debate: Sykes-Picot drew lines in the Middle East’s sand that blood is washing away.” *Reuters (U.S.)*. N.p., 24 Oct. 2014. Web. 23 Jan. 2016.

¹² Stevens. “1900-2000: Iraq Timeline.” *Libcom*. N.p., n.d. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

Sunni and Shia”.¹³ After a series of native uprisings, and in hopes that they could better secure their interests in Iraq, the British installed a Hashemite king named Feysal, son of Sharif Hussein. Unlike the Hashemite king in Jordan, King Feysal had no ties to the people of Iraq that he was appointed to rule. Firas Alkhateeb, author of the book, *Lost Islamic History*, describes Feysal, “He was a Sunni Arab from Hejaz, who had revolted against the Ottoman Empire on the side of the British in World War One. After a failed bid to become king of Syria, he migrated to Iraq where he became king with little to no local input”.¹⁴ The Hashemite monarchy in Iraq was never very strong, and it was finally deposed in 1958 by a military coup, ultimately leading to the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in 1979. Alkhateeb points out how unsuccessful this strong-arm approach was, “Despite promoting secularism and Arab nationalism, the Ba’athists, under Saddam Hussein, continued to concentrate power in the hands of the Sunni Arab elites in Baghdad. The alienation of the Kurds and Arab Shi’as continued to drive a wedge in Iraqi society that directly led to the sectarian violence in Iraq in the early 2000s, after the American invasion of 2003”.¹⁵ Thus, Saddam’s tyranny held Iraq together for decades, but the lack of cohesion among the people living there once again became obvious after Saddam’s downfall. Since the creation of the relatively weak, yet democratic Republic of Iraq in 2003, a series of rebellions has occurred and the warfare between insurgents has been incessant. The new Iraq Republic is the first democratic government in Iraq to properly represent the ethnic, and religious demographic of Iraq with a majority of Shi’a Muslim leaders, but it has virtually no control over the 4 provinces constituting Iraqi Kurdistan or the portions of northwestern Iraq now controlled

¹³ Sennott, Charles M. “How ISIS is tearing up the century-old map of the Middle East.” *GlobalPost*. Global Post, 17 June 2014. Web. 23 Jan. 2016.

¹⁴ Alkhateeb, Firas. “The Roots of Iraq’s Sectarian Division.” *Lost Islamic History*. Lost Islamic History, 13 June 2013. Web. 6 Mar. 2016.

¹⁵ Alkhateeb

by ISIS. Thus, while the boundaries of Iraq served well as a client state for British oil interests, it has proven truly non-functional as a cohesive, independent nation.

Ironically, Jordan's founding shows some remarkable similarities with that of Iraq, but also some critical differences. With the onset of the Arab Revolt in 1916, Hashemite leadership first came to the attention of the British as potential leaders of client states in the region, and they would ultimately engineer the installation of Hashemite kings in both Iraq and Jordan. Allied with British forces, Sharif Hussein, a Hashemite emir (prince) of Mecca, along with his sons, Abdullah and Feysal, were able to free the Arab people from Ottoman control. Sharif Hussein had ambitions to become a new caliph, replacing Ottoman rule with a pan-Arab state. However, by the end of WWI, Sharif Hussein's desired lands in Iraq, Syria and the Arabian Peninsula were partitioned by European powers of the new League of Nations. Sharif Hussein, the leader of the Hashemites, made a vain effort to establish himself Caliph and ruler of the greater Hijaz. Alkhateeb notes that, "His only motivation seems to have been to create a kingdom that he would personally be the ruler of".¹⁶ In the face of Saudi military action and British intervention, only in the area known today as Jordan did Sharif Hussein's Hashemite Kingdom maintain itself. Ultimately, it was Sharif Hussein's son, Abdullah, who would realize this dream, but only within the borders of modern-day Jordan.

During the revolt, Abdullah was able to successfully unify and build support among the tribes and townspeople of Jordan. Abdullah's connection to the people and tribes of Jordan, unlike Feysal's relations with the Iraqi people, was intricate and close overall. The historic Royal Hashemite Court of Jordan claims, "This is exemplified by him being one of the first Arab leaders to adopt a system of constitutional monarchy during the early years following the

¹⁶ Alkhateeb, Firas. "The Arab Revolt of World War One." *Lost Islamic History*. Lost Islamic History, 4 Aug. 2014. Web. 26 Jan. 2016.

formation of his country, and the need he felt - from his experience - for the participation and representation of his people".¹⁷ After the previous Ottoman lands were partitioned, Abdullah was named emir of Transjordan, a British mandate. The Transjordan means literally "across the Jordan", and thus the Jordan river formed the natural boundary between it and the land of Palestine, in which the Jewish homeland contemplated by the Balfour Declaration of 1917¹⁸ would be created. Additionally, bounded by harsh desert to the south and east, and by French interests to the north, the Transjordan mandate at its founding had fairly natural boundaries, circumscribing a fairly uniform Sunni Muslim population. Before the revolt, Abdullah had powerful local leadership roles, as a representative in the Ottoman court in the Western Arabian Peninsula. Emir Abdullah began the process of nation building long before Jordan gained full independence in 1946, where he would be crowned King Abdullah I.¹⁹ In 1928, Emir Abdullah summoned a legislative council to draft Jordan's first constitution, making Jordan a constitutional monarchy. Just a year later, Abdullah hosted the first parliamentary election. With their relatively liberalized constitution and democratic elections, Jordan secured relatively stability and modernized their nation. By the time they achieved independence in 1946, Jordan would be a beacon of peace and stability amongst the deteriorating states in the greater Middle East.

To the surprise of the British, the Jordanian people proved that previous tribesman and Arab townspeople were capable of building stable, democratic institutions. The success of King Abdullah I can be accredited to his positive relationships with the people of Jordan and his close

¹⁷ Royal Hashemite Court. "King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein (1882-1951)." *The Hashemites*. Royal Hashemite Court, n.d. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

¹⁸ The declaration by Lord Balfour of the UK in 1917 announced the intention of European powers to create a homeland for Jews in Palestine in the region between the Mediterranean sea and the Jordan river.[Ottaway, Marina. "Learning from Sykes-Picot." *Wilson Center*. The Wilson Center, 19 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.]

¹⁹ Royal Hashemite Court

ethnic ties with those he governed. Hashemite leadership had already been established in the Hijaz and was merely continued by King Abdullah in Jordan. By backing the Arab revolt militarily with weapons and financial aid, the Hashemite leadership in Jordan was able to create a situation in which an ethnically, religiously, and linguistically cohesive nation could be created. Speaking of Abdullah I's efforts, the Jordanian government recounts that "Over the next thirty years, he focused on nation-building thus developing the institutional foundations of modern Jordan".²⁰ Thus, Jordan provides the ideal outcome for nation building in the Middle East. Britain's "hands-off" approach in Jordan also enabled its success. The British financial and military support of the grassroots movement during the Arab Revolt allowed for positive local leadership to take hold and to create an optimistic future for the state of Jordan. With its current ethnic and religious uniformity, Jordan maintains relative stability and peaceful alliances with European nations. A World Bank analysis indicates that "Over the past 10 years, Jordan has had success pursuing structural reforms in education, health and privatization and liberalization".²¹ This continuation of stability in Jordan has allowed countries like the United States to safely lend financial aid to help the Jordanian military fend off insurgents, who have sealed the destructive fate of other Middle Eastern countries.

The history of Jordan provides an example of successful leadership by Arab royalty with ethnic ties to the land and its people. In Jordan, though there was a supportive British presence, the Arab rulers were granted self-determination and dignity in their creation of an independent constitutional monarchy. Interestingly, Arab tribal kings, some of whom are blood relatives of Sharif Hussein, were also put in place by European sponsors forming other new Arab countries in the region, such as Syria, Saudi Arabia, and most notably, Iraq, which was later to become the

²⁰ Royal Hashemite Court

²¹ "Jordan." *The World Bank*. World Bank, 2014. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

epicenter of 21st century Middle Eastern war and terrorism. By comparing the relative success of Jordan with the “failed state” of Iraq, it is clear that strong grassroots support for home-grown leaders combined with effective but limited external backing was the necessary formula for success in nation-building in the Middle East.

The comparison and contrast between the Arab states of Iraq and Jordan serves to highlight the reasons why Iraq has become a chaotic haven for terrorist groups and sectarian violence. In recent years, much of the focus of the conflicts in the Middle East has been on their respective religious preferences and jihadist ideologies. After further analysis of the development of the crumbling state of Iraq, one begins to see the conflicts occurring in Iraq today as a continuation of the problems created during the building of their nation. Borders created heedless of ethnic divides, leadership installed without representation of religious and cultural majorities, and constant upheaval by militaristic regimes and insurgents, have all contributed to the current instability in the greater Middle East, especially in Iraq. Both the former colonial powers and the particular Arab leaders in each nation share part of the blame for this situation.

While radical Islam is often blamed for triggering violence in the region, the aspect of religion that incites the combatants most often is the political struggle between the Sunni and Shi'a factions, rather than the nature of Islam itself. This assertion is backed by the lack of violence and religious persecution in Jordan, which is relatively uniform in terms of its Islamic sects, with a Sunni Muslim population of 95% and a Shi'a population of less than one percent. The cause for conflict also rests in the hands of local leadership. In the case of Iraq, religious persecution has largely been driven by the government. Hashemite leadership in Jordan, on the other hand, has taken a more secular approach to governing, likely due to the fact that religious divides are not an issue in their nation. The leaders in Jordan have created the most democratic of

the constitutional monarchies in the region, sharing significant authority with the parliament and even allocating nine seats to Jordanian Christians in accordance with their minority representation in the population, according to the U.S. State Department²². As in other parts of the world, conflicts that have manifested as religious differences actually represent broader sociopolitical divides.

Thus, the success of Jordan and the failure of Iraq have resulted from the combined influences of Westerners and of the Arab people during critical stages of the formation of these two nations. The current sectarian crisis in Iraq proves the theory that borders should have been drawn according to the ethnic and religious affinities of the native populations rather than the economic convenience of British and French imperialists. If the lessons of Iraq and Jordan are taken to their logical conclusion, the key to future success will be for the Arab people as whole to gain more say in their own governance. This concept was in play on the world stage at the end of WWI, as U.S. President Woodrow Wilson sought to create a new world order, in which there would be equity among nations and a recognition of the rights of all people to determine their own fates. In the words used by Wilson in his famous Fourteen Points Speech,

“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”.²³

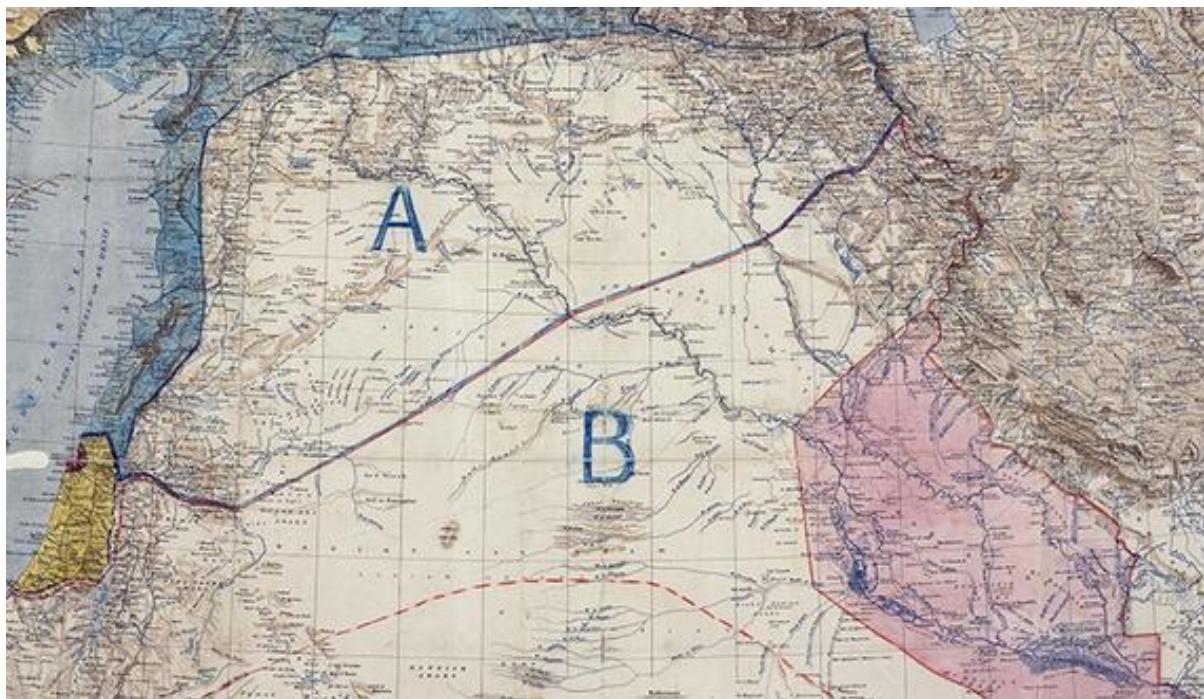
Unfortunately, President Wilson’s vision of self-determination by the previously colonized people never came to fruition. His untimely death in 1924 may have contributed to this failure. Perhaps, Wilson’s vision of the future of the world could still be relevant in the current day, as nations look for solutions to the turmoil in present day Iraq and the greater Middle East. Indeed,

²² U.S. Department of State

²³ Wilson, Woodrow, U.S. President. “Fourteen Points Speech.” 8 Jan. 1918. TS.

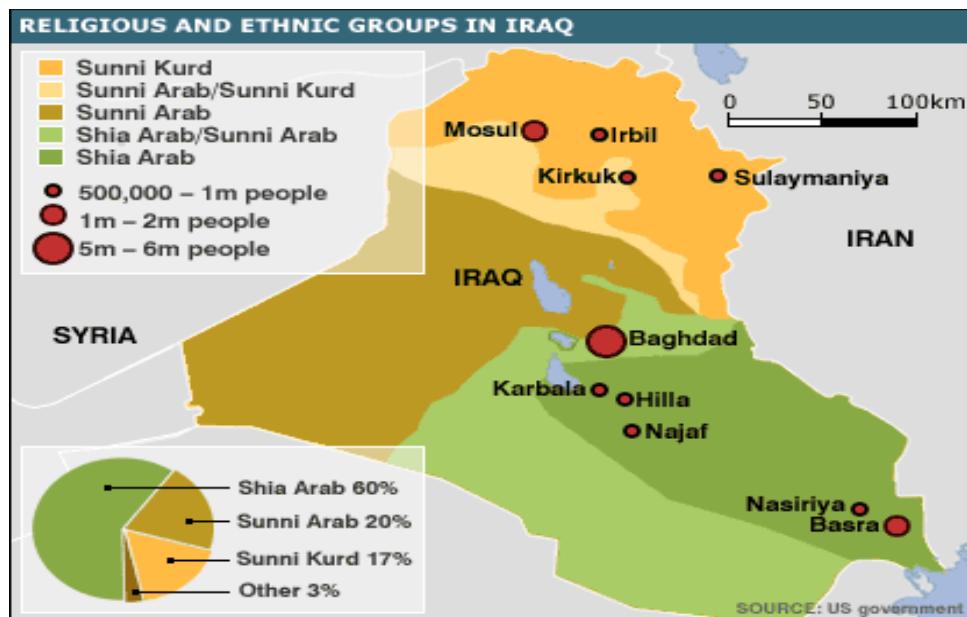
the events that occurred during the Arab Spring of 2011 should be viewed as the latest attempt by the Arab people as a whole to obtain a voice in their own governance. Some might conclude that Western powers are more comfortable with the royal families who control most of the oil wealth in the region than with the seemingly chaotic democratic movements that arose in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Libya, and elsewhere. In fact, the failure of many of these movements could be seen as a replay of the post-WWI failures of Western powers to adhere to the democratic principles and of native leadership to build democratic governance and stability in their respective regions. If there is to be hope for the future of Iraq and safety from Islamist terror for the rest of the world, it must likewise rest in a positive partnership between Western partners and Arabs working together for a better Iraq and a better world.

Appendix A: Map of Original Sykes-Picot Agreement²⁴



²⁴ Alkhateeb, Firas

Appendix B: Current Map of Iraq by Ethnic/Religious Majority²⁵



²⁵ "Religious and Ethnic Groups in Iraq." *Eupedia*. Eupedia, n.d. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.

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