

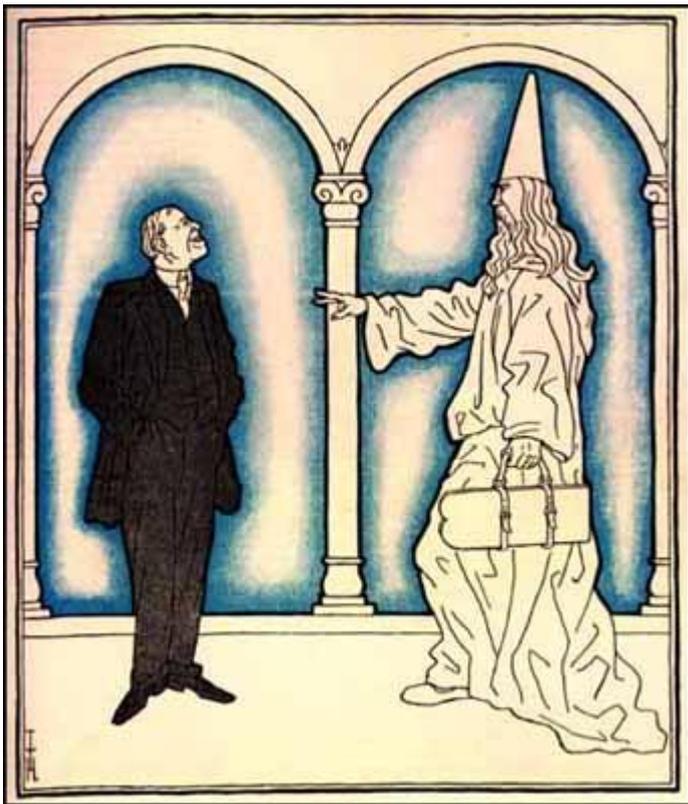


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**THE INVISIBLE PLAYER 19TH-20TH CENTURY IN THE MIDDLE
EAST: THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

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GOD: Woodrow Wilson, where are your 14 points?

WILSON: Don't get excited, Lord, we didn't keep your Ten Commandments either!

Thomas Heine

THE INVISIBLE PLAYER 19TH-20TH CENTURY IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The American attention was drawn towards the Mediterranean Sea as an essential water path for trade off shore in North Africa. Many of the American ships were attacked during the 19th century. The Piracy act forced the Americans to respond in order to protect their trade in the sea: "The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the United States opened in the eighteenth century with the piracy practiced on American ships by the forces of Ottoman satraps or bays ruling Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli as subordinates to the Sultan in Istanbul." The United States waged a successful naval war on those pirate states in the first years of the nineteenth century." (Carrington, 2008)

The strategic position of the Middle East on the Mediterranean, the water paths on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf as a connection between the Far East and the west was well recognized by Europeans and later on by the United States. Hence it was necessary to find ways to protect the trade routes that were controlled by the Ottoman Empire. The main concern back then was not the Arabs by themselves; it was more the Ottoman power in the area. Therefore, Europe that was expanding in the world saw in this Sultanate a source of threat to its interest. In this perspective the paper will discuss the great powers and the United States efforts in particular to fight the Ottomans through supporting the Allies of America during, before, and after the First World War. The second point in this paper is to discuss the role the missionaries, especially the protestant, in supporting the establishment of

Israel, since the early 20th century years. The third point will discuss Zionism and its friend's role in shaping the American policy towards the Middle East, even during President Wilson era.

By the beginning of the 20th century changes took place in Europe. Alliances started to be formed. Allies were divided Germany, Russia and Ottoman Empire on the one side, Great Britain and France on the other. It seems to be unfamiliar to see the new independent state as the US growing to be more powerful than older nations such as Germany, Britain, France, and others. It is difficult to assume that the US contribution in the new distribution of the world's power was insignificant or marginal. It is the opposite. The United States has participated and was highly needed to vanquish the Ottoman Empire and its German ally. After the war in 1919 President Wilson himself was resident in Paris, France until the Sykes-Picot agreement was implemented on the ground. This paper is going to prove that the United States Policy was not neutral towards the Middle East at any time. US foreign policy was active and present through the official support in three phases: the first was supporting France and Britain in implementing their plans to mandate Great Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine, and to divide the countries into: Syria, Lebanon under the French mandate, Iraq, Trans Jordan, and Palestine under the British mandate.

The Americans may not be seen as directly involved in the Middle East. They were working with the British to minimize the Ottoman power in the Near East (the Middle East was referred to as the Near East). In addition the Americans participated in the commissions that were sent to the area to see about dividing the region into different states during different periods of times. The weird results always came in favorite of the people there, but the ultimate results were exactly what they were trying to prevent. (Zein, 1960)

The United States remained uninvolved at the beginning of WWI but many Americans turned, openly, against the Central Powers after German submarines began sinking unarmed American ships. As a result, in 1917, the United States joined the Allies with manpower they needed to win the war. In the fall of 1918, the Central Powers surrendered.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

If the actual war against the Ottoman Empire started with the abrupt of the First World War in 1914. However, this doesn't mean that Europe did not want to break free from the Ottoman power. France and Britain wanted to reduce the Ottoman power, through provoking the uprisings against the Ottomans in Greece and Balkan, and then in the Arab lands. The up rise of Sharif Hussein depended on: the people desire to free themselves, and the British support. Among the facts that led the Allies to win the war was the inner disintegration of the Ottoman Empire from the inside, and the second is the participation of the United States.

When France, Britain, and the US won the Great War: The Ottoman Empire was dismantled by the treaty of Sevres 1920, Turkey was cut back to 300,000 square miles and its territory in the Middle East was given as mandates to Britain and France. Greece declared war in 1921 to gain land from Turkey, but was beaten. In 1922 Mustapha Kemal (Ataturk) became President of the Turkish Republic and abolished the Sultanate (Ottoman Empire). By the treaty of Lausanne 1923 Turkey agreed to give up its North African territories and its Arabian kingdoms. One and half million Greeks and Turks were swapped between Greece and Turkey. (Peace to war, 2006)

By 1918 the war had ended. At that time the French Prime minister was George Clemenceau and the British Prime minister was David Lloyd-George. The American President was Woodrow Wilson. The suffering of the participants in the Great War was horrible, France had suffered particularly badly in the war, so when the diplomats met at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, their representatives, led by Prime Minister Clemenceau, pledged to make Germany pay. However, there were many complications. Britain, led by Prime Minister, was more sympathetic to Germany. Lloyd-George realised that if Germany was harshly punished this would cause great resentment amongst the Germans and could cause tensions in the future. He also believed that a strong Germany would be a good trading partner for Britain. Moreover, a healthy German economy would prevent the rise of extremist parties either Communists or Fascists. On the other hand Lloyd-George had to listen to British public opinion which was calling for Germany to be 'squeezed until the pips squeak!'

The other great victorious power was the USA. Led by President Wilson, the Americans had no great desire to punish the Germans. In January 1918 Wilson had proposed his Fourteen Points, which was a blueprint for a fair peace settlement at the end of the war. One of its main points was the idea of a League of Nations which would try to prevent major wars through negotiation. Wilson did not wish to punish the Germans, but at the Peace Conference he was overruled by Clemenceau and Lloyd-George. In order to accomplish the establishment of the League of Nations, Wilson was willing to loosen up on some of his principles.

It was supposed that the concept of a League of Nations is to deal with international problems as Woodrow Wilson has wished. In February 1918 he had put forward a proposal for peace known as the Fourteen Points. Wilson's Fourteen Points proposed a fair deal for

Germany and the establishment of a League of Nations. When Germany signed the Armistice in 1918, they believed that the peace deal would be based on the fourteen points. As it will be shown, Germany and Austria-Hungary were dealt with harshly. However, the League of Nations came to existence.

The League of Nations was established so that the Great Powers and other member countries could discuss issues rather than resort to war. The League also had other responsibilities; for example, World Health Program and an International Court of Justice. (Peace and war, 2006)

On the other hand, The League had a number of fatal weaknesses. First, three important countries were not part of the League: USA, USSR and Germany. It may seem surprising that the USA was not a member of the League, though Wilson wanted American membership. However, many leading American politicians wanted to keep out of international affairs. This policy of keeping to themselves was known as isolationism. In fact Wilson had had a lot of trouble getting the USA into the War in 1917; President Roosevelt faced a similar problem during 1939-1941. The USSR was not allowed to join until 1934 because its Bolshevik government was not recognised by the other Great Powers. Germany was not allowed to join initially as one of the punishments imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. Germany became a member from 1926-1933. Japan left the League in 1933 and Italy in 1937.

The second weakness was that the League of Nations did not have an army. If a conflict arose, states' members had to supply forces at their own expenses. League members were reluctant to interfere, especially Britain and France, which were the only two strong countries in the League. As a result, The League couldn't enforce its will; even economic

sanctions were not an effective method of control, because non-League countries could supply any goods instead.

The third weakness has to do with organisation. Each of the member countries sent delegates to the Assembly, but real power was concentrated in the hands of the Council, made up of permanent members Britain, France, Italy and Japan in 1920. Each member of the council had the right of veto, which meant that one opposing vote could stop action. (Peace to war, 2006).

This was the situation after the First World War. The world was still suffering from the consequences of this horrible war. Hence the Allies created new states in the Middle East.

On this situation explains Zein Zein: "For a glimpse of what the future had in store for the Arab Near East, it is important to be acquainted with the British document which was written in 1917, well after the promises given to the Sharif Hussein in 1915 and the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. This document is a 'Statement of Foreign policy made to the Imperial War Council' and communicated to the American Secretary of State, M. Lansing (Secretary of state in USA) in Washington on May 18, 1917 by Mr. Balfour, Chief of the British Special Mission, which was then visiting the United States. The policy concerning Turkey was ominous and apocalyptic. It recommended: 'The practical destruction of the Turkish Empire is undoubtedly one of the objects which we desire to attain. The Turks may well be left- I hope they will be left- in a more or less independent position in Asia Minor. If we are successful, unquestionably Turkey will be deprived of all that in large sense may be called Arabia; she will deprived of the most important portions of the Valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris; she will lose Constantinople; and Syria and Armenia and the Southern parts of Asia Minor, if not annexed by the Entente Powers, it will probably fall more or less under their domination". (This document was referred to in the quotations,

needless to say that this document was a great “top secret.” In the Note which accompanied it, Mr. Balfour wrote to Mr. Lansing: “The proceedings of the Imperial War Council are, of course, absolutely secret”. (Zein, 1960)

ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The United States’ involvement with Israel and the Palestinian conflict had a huge impact on American foreign policy and international relations. American Christians are one of the leading contributors to the determination of how their nation engages with Israel and the question of Palestine. Thus, it is vitally important to understand the relationship of American Christians to Israel and Palestine from a historical perspective. An awareness of this historical backdrop will assist Christians and others vitally interested in the welfare of the Holy Land. (Canon, 2011)

President Wilson couldn’t escape the Zionist pressure on him. The ‘Zionist pressure’ was a further complication in the stormy waters through which appointment of an Inter-allied Commission sailed. Between May 8 and 16 1919, an exchange of four letters took place between Professor Felix Frankfort and President Wilson. On May 8, Professor Felix Frankfort, in the behalf of the Zionist Organization, wrote to President Wilson Expressing his Fears lest the appointment of the Inter-Allied Commission postpone the Near East settlement beyond Wilson’s stay in Paris and lead ultimately to a disposition of the problem contrary to the Balfour Declaration, on which Zionists hope had centered. Wilson did not reply until some days later, and finally, in response to Frankfort request for a reassuring word, remarked that he had never dreamed that a renewed assurance of his adhesion to the Balfour Declaration was necessary.” (Howard, 1942)

As a result, the Zionist movement got their first assurance from President Wilson himself. As it was mentioned above Balfour Declaration was discussed when Balfour met with the American Secretary of State, M. Lansing in Washington on May 18, 1917.

The British aim back then was to prevent the French mandate over Syria, however, after a long discussion this was agreed on. This did not stop at this point, but there was a suggestion that the Americans or the English should mandate power over Palestine, Armenia and Constantinople, and Italy perhaps for the Caucasus. The main point was to divide the 'Old Man's States' (Ottoman Empire). There were doubts that the American Congress would approve any mandate. The Americans back then were deeply involved in South America and their economy was not strong enough. It is clear that the American administration had another reason to Join Europe for war in the First World War.

ZIONISM AND PROTESTANTISM

In the early twentieth century, the vast majority of American Protestants advocated for Jewish restoration of the Holy Land. Both theologically liberal and conservative American Christians supported Jewish aspirations for a homeland in Palestine. However, it was American Liberal Protestants, not Conservative Christians (Evangelicals), who were the most influential pro-Zionists in the years preceding the state of Israel. Through organizations such as the American Christian Palestine Committee (ACPC), Protestant clergy organized campaigns for education, awareness, and political advocacy on behalf of Jewish restoration to Palestine. As an expression of the intricate relationship between Protestant Liberals and the Christian Zionist movement, magazines like The Christian Century published abundant articles about Palestine and the political situation in the Middle East. Liberal Protestants were deeply involved and invested in Jewish settlement in Palestine. Some historians have

claimed that the state of Israel would not exist if it were not for the support of American Christian Liberal Protestants during this era. (Canon, 2011)

Some more ardent Christian Zionists, such as Dean Alfange, chairman of the American Christian Palestine Committee (ACPC) of Great New York, asserted in 1945 that Jewish claims to the land were legitimate and should be supported by any means necessary, even violence. Alfange called on Jews of Palestine “to win their independence the way Americans won theirs in 1776” by resorting to arms, insisting that “bloodshed and rebellion are the answer to the Palestine question.” At the time of Alfange’s speech, most American Protestants had great empathy for the suffering of Jewish refugees and thus supported the agenda of Jewish Zionists for settlement in Palestine by the Jews. However, a small number of Protestant clergy began to express concerns and criticisms toward Christian Zionism. By the late 1940s, The Christian Century started to get the reputation of being “anti-Zionist” and not completely supporting the Christian Zionist agenda. For example, in 1946, the magazine’s editorial board responded to Alfange’s speech and argued that this pursuit of violence would have tragic effects and that there was not “a single mitigating factor in deliberate mischief-making of this kind.” According to The Christian Century, the ACPC and its constituents led the way in making mischief in Palestine. (Canon, 2011)

In spite of the Christian voices that protested against the Zionist groups conduct in Palestine. The involvement of American Protestants in support of the establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine further confused an already complex situation in the Middle East. Christian Zionists supported any means necessary, even violence, in seeing their aspirations for Jewish restoration of the land come. These advocates used parallel ideas of American patriotism and triumph as the ideological framework to justify the creation of a Jewish

homeland in Palestine by any means necessary. Such mischief making was not helpful at bringing about a peaceful solution to the Jewish refugee problem resulting from Europe while also respecting the dignity and human rights of the people already living in the land of Palestine. The ACPC led the way in gaining public support and positive cultural opinion on behalf of the Zionist movement in the 1940s.

One can ask if, Thomas Woodrow Wilson was the son of a Presbyterian minister, would Wilson have ever been able to go against the Presbyterian teachings. This seems unlikely to happen for many reasons: first, representatives of the Zionist organization were present in the meeting with the peace commission. Secondly, these Zionists were in close contact with the President's advisors. Thirdly, if Wilson was able to act upon the peace committee's recommendations, ignore the French demands, which are going to be highlighted later. Anderson maintained that the Zionist Movement was supported by the American Politicians. Harry S. Truman was a long life student of the Bible. He comes from a Baptist family. He regularly attended the Presbyterian Church. Truman was a devoted Christian and claimed that he had read the Bible twice before the age of twelve! Clark Clifford, a Cabinet Secretary recalled Truman reading from the Old Testament "he felt the Jews derived a legitimate historical right to Palestine." (Anderson, 2005)

The point here is not merely to go through the American presidents religious beliefs, it is to clarify the effect the religion had on them when Palestine was taken from its original people and give it to the Jews. Anderson in his book explains that. He gives many examples but he has a notable conclusion in one of his chapters: "While it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish the exact impact of anyone or all of these influences on the attitude of the general

public, there is a substantial evidence that, working together these influences have created a predisposition on the part of a substantial portion of the British and American people, including some key leaders, to support the Zionism cause and the state of Israel.” (Anderson, 2005)

THE PEACE COMMISSION ON HOLD

Captain William Yale was the technical advisor to the American Section of the International Commission on Mandate in Turkey, in July, 1919. Zein explains: “...that it was found in the national Archives in Washington: general Records of the American Commission to negotiate peace, Paris 1918-1919- Record group 256: “A report on Syria, Palestine, and Mount Lebanon for the American Commission, Captain Yale has written.” (Zein, 1960)

“While the Catholic sects as a body”, Captain William Yale wrote in his report, “he asked for the independence of Great Mount Lebanon from Syria under the guidance of France. In addition, they wished that Mount Lebanon would be separated from Syria, whether should or should not France impose Mandatory Power in Syria. Yale also suggested that a party among the Greek Orthodox joined the Catholics in their Program for a greater Mount Lebanon”. According to Captain Yale’s report, “the Christians of mountain Lebanon numbered approximately before the war 345000 and of greater Lebanon 519000. If the total population of Syria be placed at 2,500,000, this means that over the fifth demanded that Greater Mount Lebanon should be constituted as a separate state with no political relation with the interior. On the other hand, the Muslims of Beirut, Tyre Sidon and other parts of Lebanon, made it clear to captain William Yale that they opposed the separation of

Mount Lebanon from Syria, endorsed Syrian Independence under the Emir Faisal and “were determined that the Young Arab government shall dominate the coast and Lebanon”. But Yale adds: “Mount Lebanon is a distinctly Christians have no desire to fall under the Muslim domination of the interior”. (zein, 1960)

During the last days of President Wilson’s stay in Paris, as the allies were discussing the mandate division between France and Britain in 1919, there was a proposal made by the American Commission lead by Captain Yale. At the end of his mission Yale proposed: “Mount Lebanon to be a separate political unit under the mandate of France; Syria from Maan to Akaba to Aleppo with the ports of Tripoli and Latakia to be considered as a ‘provisionally independent state with an Arab government representative of its inhabitants. This state was to be under the mandate of France”. (Zein, 1960)

The British were going to accept this proposal; however, President Wilson left to the States without authorizing the commission to make decisions ending by this the dream for an Arab State in Syria. This calls to the belief that the American committee knew that the majority of the Syrian and Lebanese did not want the separation from Syria under the leadership of King Faisal, still they recommended otherwise.

When peace negotiations began in October, 1918, Wilson was in France to sign a peace agreement with all the major countries involved in the First World War. These countries objected to certain points in Wilson's Peace Programme. Wilson insisted that his Fourteen Points should serve as a basis for the signing of the Armistice. Wilson attended the Paris Peace Conference and supported the Versailles Treaty. The Republicans who controlled the Senate, disliked the proposed League of Nations, when they refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson began a nation-wide campaign to win support for the Paris Peace

Agreement. During the tour, he collapsed in 26th of September, 1919. This was one month after the peace commission had finished its work. At that point, Wilson did not give his approval Captain Yale in particular the authorization to implement in accordance with the commission's results. That he had collapsed, Wilson was an invalid for the last three and a half years of his life. He died in 1924.

One of Wilson's points asserts on the right of the people to decide for themselves was manipulated. According to Zein, in one of meetings to discuss the issue of Syria was held in Wilson's house in Paris. Clemenceau and Lloyd-George were present at this meeting. The three issues that were discussed were Damascus, Mosul, and Palestine. Furthermore, Zein continues to describe Wilson's attitude, when he first tried to hold on to his 14 points that he could not go beyond. Finally, Wilson wanted to completely ignore the London agreement of April 1919 and Sykes-Picot all together. after a hard discussion with Wilson, Clemenceau expressed that he was willing to go with the regional inhabitants decision interpreted by the committee, then Wilson clarified that: " that was necessary from his own point of view...he did not think that these people should be left entirely to themselves. They required guidance..." That discussion took place because Britain did not want to give Syria up to the French mandate. After nine days no Anglo-American went to Syria and that relieved Clemenceau. However, another commission, "American Section of the international Commission on Mandates in Turkey" had already gone to the Near East, and two members were with it Dr. Henry Churchill King and r. Charles R. Crane. the commotion was called the King- Crane committee.

Balfour Declaration was in 2 Nov. 1917. It was a declaration in which the British foreign minister promises Palestine national homeland for the Jews. The Arab community was

seeking to get independence from the Ottomans. They were greatly disturbed when they heard the news. The British broke their promises to help the Arabs to establish their independent state under the leadership of Sharif Hussein of Mecca.

Hayward Bless was called to give his opinion as an expert on the Syrian Issues. He was the president of the Anglican colleague in Syria. At that Time Feisal and the Arabs were demanding for a poll to be held by the international committee to ask the Syrians about what they wanted. The decision whether to have Syria under mandate or not was supposed to be up to Syrians to accept the mandate or the independence.

People of the south of Lebanon were struggling to get independence under the leadership of Feisal. The south was preparing for the polls and petitions to be signed and handed to the commission. Many meetings were held with Faisal to agree on the demands on declaring Syria as a kingdom with a parliamentary system led by him. Also, there were a list of demands among them, complete independence, non-central parliamentary state, non-acceptance of any treaty that would divide the Arab countries, decline the Zionist demands in Palestine, accepting any technical and economical help from the Americans first and secondly from the British and non from the French, and finally declaring the Independence of Iraq.

The meeting with the American committee was established in 10th of July 1919 in Sidon and then in Tyre, and in many southern Lebanon areas and villages. The poll results came as the following: most of the people refused the French mandate. The report was delivered to President Wilson in August 1919, however he was too sick to do anything, the report was neglected. (Bassam, 2011)

THE ROLE OF MISSIONARIES

It was interconnected interests that joined these two groups, the protestant and Zionist together. The first one believed in the near coming of Christ. Hence they believed in the necessity of building back again the Jewish safe state required for the second coming of Christ. In the middle of the 19th century, missionaries came in large numbers to Palestine from all the sects. Each Christian sect wanted to have control Nazareth church, and claim supremacy over the holy city, Jerusalem. The Zionist movement basically started as a Jewish movement to establish their own state. The Journalist Theodor Herzl, One of the Zionist movement establishers was not interested in Palestine as a home land for the Jews in particular. However, it was clear that Palestine as a religious symbol was more attractive for the Jews as their homeland. Secondly, the Protestants who supported this move because they believed in the second coming of Christ. This belief was not shared by the Catholic Church.

Paul D. Carrington poses the question in his article's title: "Could and should America have made an ottoman republic in 1919?" In his introduction Carrington points out that the purpose of the essay is to question the wisdom of the evangelical ambition; and he compares this wisdom to the neo-conservative wisdom in Iraq, he stresses that this wisdom should be remembered with remorse for centuries to come. Carrington in his essay strongly suggests the American's interest in the Middle East was not only for spreading democracy. (Carrington, 2008)

This fact about the American protestant missionaries was clearly described in the writings of Abu Jaber: "Palestine was always a shrine for all the Christians, not only for the Palestinian Christians, but also for Christians from all over the world. Each Christian group or sect wanted to claim a piece of Nazareth and Jerusalem the two Christian most important sites.

It was not until the mid of the 19th century that the Protestant Christians got interest. First came the English, then the Prussians, and then in 1819 arrived the first two protestant American Missionaries. (Abu Jaber, 2004).

The first American missionaries to come to Jerusalem directly from New York were Levy Parsons and Pliny Fisk. The decision to send them was taken for two reasons, the first spreading the Bible and the Christian teaching among the people. The second reason was related to the protestant Christian doctrine that believed in the second coming of Christ. It was believed that the second coming will be sooner than people think. Therefore, spreading the word of God became a great necessity. On the other hand, according to Abu Jaber, who quotes Khalil Ibrahim Kazkaia. Kazkaia wrote the history of the Apostolic Evangelical Church and published it in Egypt in 1925. In another version of the story, Kazkaia wrote: "in the year 1822, the first protestant missionary arrived to Jerusalem; its members were the followers of Kelvin. They started spreading their books and ideas. Palestine at that time was open to all ideas. The books were distributed in all languages, even in Hebrew. And their first missionary's name was Yusuf Wolf, who was basically a Jew and then became a Christian. He lived in the Armenian convent and worked hard to establish for the protestant sect."(Abu Jaber, 2004, p.18)

On the same issue Carrington explains: "By 1818, American Protestants were increasingly ambitious to bring the world to their faith. They would begin by correcting the failures of the Crusades to recover the Holy Land for those of correct beliefs. Missionaries went forth from the Old South Church in Boston to take their faith to the Holy Land of Palestine".

The ending result of the actions that took place couldn't be isolated from a long going on procedure. The western powers have been strongly standing behind the actions that took

place; not only that, but also the United States itself was supportive of the Greek fights with the Ottoman sultanate, though they did not fight next with it like the rest of their European allies. That time in Jerusalem was very difficult and struggle was at its most. The city in that period was affected with wars that took place and the conflicts among the different missionaries that were trying to establish themselves and affirm their existence and power. The Protestant in particular wanted to convert others into their dominations.

Very little success was achieved in converting either the Jewish or Arab population of Palestine to any Protestant faith." More progress was made in Lebanon and Syria, primarily among those of other Christian faiths. Education became the primary means of spreading the Protestantism's words. These efforts had the support of the United States government to the extent of providing occasional protection for missionaries by numerous consular officials spread around the Ottoman Empire, and on a few occasions by the United States Navy. Of course not everyone was impressed with this missionary enterprise; however, Minister William Makepeace Thackeray met with the American consul in Jerusalem. Learning of the scheme to make Palestine and Syria an independent state for Christianized Jews he concluded that the minister "has no knowledge" of the region "except what he derives from prophecy." But the minister was expressing a widely shared idea that had been advanced in 1844 by George Bush, a biblical scholar at New York University and the ancestor of two American Presidents. In the decades that followed, the Protestant missions in the Holy Lands attracted, in addition to pilgrims, American tourists. ° Mark Twain was among them. In 1869, he recorded his exploration of the region, reporting among many other things the deeply moving discovery in Jerusalem of the grave of his ancestor Adam. (Carrington, 2008)

It was one of the dreams of the religious protestant to convert as many Christians of other sects into Protestantism. It seems that eagerness to do this was getting more condensed. Since as it has been said, they believed that the return of Christ was near and they needed to spread Christian belief in Palestine, the kingdom of Christ. On the other hand, the Ottomans were not happy. "The Ottoman Sultan saw in the attempt to convert Muslims into Christians as a capital offense because it is an attempt to convert a Muslim away from the Islamic faith. Since the missionaries were not allowed to convert Muslims, they would start with the Jews, Maronite Christian, Orthodox, and Armenian populations in the region and bring all of them to the Protestant faiths. It was also envisioned that Jews in other lands could be brought back to their place of cultural origin and converted to Christianity." (Carrington, 2008)

American religious missionaries were at first resisted by the Sultan. This was changed by the revolution in Greece that ended in 1827 with the separation of that nation from the Empire. Many Europeans and Americans had lent support to the Greek revolutionaries, but the United States Navy had, unlike those of England, France, and Russia, stood aside lest its involvement undermine the hope of the United States to isolate the world's hemispheres that it had expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. In 1830, the Sultan rewarded American disengagement in the Greek Revolution with a trade agreement. (Carrington, 2008)

Khalidi and Faroukh in their book "Al-Iste'mar wa al- Tabshir fi al- belad al-Arabia": which means: "Missionary and Occupation in the Arab Land", clarify that : discuss the missionaries' role in the Middle East, and the missionaries persisting attempts to convert to Christianity people from all sects, especially in Syria and Lebanon. They came to the area in missions of medicine or education and other humanitarian efforts. However, coming in the name of humanitarian work did not prevent them from continuous tries to manipulate the peoples'

need to deliver a message they wanted to accomplish. As an example, they tell the story of a Druze man that was obliged to forge his becoming Christian just to keep his job. A second example was distributing the Bibles to patients coming for medication. (Khalidi and Faroukh, 1973)

In the educational field, the effect of the missionary schools was even deeper. The teachers ought to be Christians in all missionary schools. There was a need to convert as many Muslims as possible and to them the effect the teacher would have on his/her students been most assured.

Primary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities were established by Christians to do charitable work and promote conversion. In the Middle East, Christian missionary schools were founded in the wake of the expansion of Western power and influence in the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. With the fall of the empire, the European dominated the region. Then the European mandates over the post - World War I successor states, a variety of motives led both lay and religious organizations to aid in the educational enterprise of modernizing the peoples of the region. Ottoman system granted limited autonomy to the various Christian communities - allowed Christians to bring in missionaries to staff new schools and train teachers in the sciences, which were considered the secret of Western power and prestige. Practically all Western nations sent missionaries at some time, but the most sustained efforts were those of the American Board of Christian Missions (ABCM) and the Arabian Mission (both U.S. Protestant), the North African Mission (French Protestant), the Church Missionary Society (British Anglican), and a variety of Roman Catholic orders and congregations. (Donohue, 2004)

Several of these missionary schools have become notable institutions Such as: the American University of Beirut, Saint Joseph University of Beirut, Aleppo College, Baghdad College (now Baghdad University), Robert College of Istanbul (now Boğaziçi University), and the American University in Cairo. Undoubtedly, the widespread elementary schools in Lebanon and Syria had the broadest impact. By 1894, for example, the Jesuits (Society of Jesus) had 192 primary schools in the region with students numbering some 8,000 boys and 3,000 girls, and the American Protestant Mission had 130 primary schools with more than 7,000 students. Today, the teaching orders of men, of women, and of dedicated Christian lay teachers - all citizens of Middle Eastern countries - still direct primary and secondary schools that were formerly mission operations. (Donohue, 2004) And they all have been in the area in support and under the protection of their governments. Hence they were to serve those countries interests.

THE ZIONIST INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT AND USA

Historians, politicians, journalists, and religious editors all write and debate about the complexities of the ongoing violence between Israel, Palestine, and surrounding Arab nations. The United States' involvement with Israel and the Palestinian conflict has a huge impact on American foreign policy and international relations. American Christians are one of the leading contributors to the determination of how their nation engages with Israel and the question of Palestine.

Canon (2011) explains the relationship between American Christians and Israel, by saying that claims scholars have incorrectly bifurcated on the engagement of American Protestants into two categories, pro-Zionists and anti-Zionists. This over simplification rests on a false binary and neglects to acknowledge the intricacies of American Christian attitudes toward

Palestine, including diverse theological beliefs, multifaceted concerns for Jewish refugees from World War II, commitment to access and maintenance of the Holy Sites in Palestine, treatment of Arabs, and the desire for a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem. (Canon, 2011)

Though Canon in her article is trying to explain the shifting of the liberal Christians sentiments towards supporting Zionism, she still explain the sentiments prevailed at list in the writings of Voss till 1947: “Like other Christian Zionists of this era, Voss’s motivation and support of the Zionist movement was inspired by his theological beliefs that the restoration of Jews to Palestine was a part of God’s divine plan. Voss, like other Christian Zionists, saw the Jews’ return to the land of Palestine as nothing short of miraculous. In reference to the fulfilment of God’s covenant with Abraham, Voss believed the entire world was amazed by the accomplishment of the Jews establishing a state in Israel: “Not only Jews stood in awe but non-Jews as well—for the Zionist hope, in this fulfilment, had overtones of the Eternal.” (Canon, 2011)

Voss’s view is representative of Christian Zionists and their belief that God was on the side of the Jews. Christian Zionists believed the establishment of the Jewish state was an expression of divine providence. Prior to 1948, Protestant Christians placed little emphasis on eschatology, or a theology of the end times. Ideas of Armageddon and the prophetic role of the Holy Land in eschatological accomplishment of biblical promises concerned most Christian Zionists little during this period.

An additional, the issue that was posed in Versailles was the Balfour Declaration. In 1916, Britain had proclaimed that it has "viewed with favour" the aspiration of Zionist Jews to establish a homeland in Palestine. Palestine had been occupied by the British Army since

1917. The Declaration had been made as an initiative towards Chaim Weizmann, the English leader of the Zionist movement that had emerged among the Jewish population of Europe in the late nineteenth century. The British government in making the Declaration was at least partly motivated by the hope of elevating the spirit of the patriotism of British Jews who were, not without reason, sceptical of the war being fought in the trenches of France, and also perhaps of weakening the support given to the German and Austrian governments by their large and generally patriotic Jewish subjects. (Carrington, 2008)

The patriotic Jewish spirit needed lifting. Britain, back then, was going through financial difficulties because of the war expenses and lack of labourers due to war casualties. Hence people like the multimillionaire Rochelle were needed in rebuilding the economy.

Thus the Ottoman Empire was in a terminal condition, as the World War came to an end and the victors assembled at Versailles. Not only the Ottoman Empire was ended, but those of the Czar, of Hapsburg Austria, and Germany were in states of collapse. The Empires of Britain and France were very nearly so. One item on their agenda was: what to do with the collapsed domain of the Sultan? Among the ideas on the table were that the United States might assume responsibility for governing the territories of Armenia and Palestine, at least until such time as the peoples of those areas were suited to self-government. Prime Minister Lloyd George, a zealous imperialist was not himself in favour of the idea, tentatively asked if the United States might be willing to step in and take responsibility for bringing peace and order to the Holy Land. Colonel Edward House, Wilson's unofficial advisor, advised the Prime Minister that the United States was unsuited to imperial responsibilities such as he suggested. But there were in 1919 other Americans at Versailles who were concerned about the future of the Ottoman territories and eager to address the

issues. One was Ambassador Morgenthau; in 1915, he had found himself heavily involved in the issue of Armenia. He was distressed beyond measure over the reports he received from American observers of the slaughter, over the indifference of the Sultan's government as much as by its inability to prevent it, and over the unwillingness of the German Ambassador to join him in bringing pressure to bear on the Sultan. When America entered the war and he was recalled, Morgenthau had returned to America to raise money and support for the Armenian cause. Embittered by his experience with the Ottoman government, but inspired by the American experience and sharing the American evangelical spirit, Morgenthau proposed that the Ottoman Empire be converted into a federation of ethnically centred but heterogeneous democratic states that would have included Arabia, Armenia, Cyprus, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey. It would be the role of their federal government, not unlike that established in Philadelphia in 1787, to maintain order among these culturally distinct entities and conduct foreign affairs. His plan was warmly supported by Protestant religious groups desiring unfettered access to the Holy Land and by Armenians who had relocated and organized to defend themselves. It was opposed by Zionists for the reason that the plan did not fit with their ambitious to control a nation to be erected around Jerusalem, an ambition Morgenthau deemed imprudent. Felix Frankfurter attended the Conference as a representative of the American Zionists to advocate compliance with the promise of the Balfour Declaration. He was among the critics of Morgenthau's proposal. Another American at Versailles was Howard Bliss, a founder of the American University in Beirut. He had come on his own ticket on behalf of those interested in Protestant missions in the Ottoman region. He urged that the people of the region be asked what solution they preferred. He was supported in this recommendation by Prince Feisal. President Wilson had himself at the outset protested against secret agreements

made between Britain and France dividing the Ottoman territories to be conquered and, in light of his own former positions and declarations; he could hardly disagree with the proposal. An effort was made to establish a commission including French and British members to conduct the factual inquiry. Neither Clemenceau nor Lloyd George could oppose the idea of such a survey although both thought it "childish." They lent no support to the effort, and wanted to divide the Ottoman Empire between themselves. The relationship between them became so estranged over the issue of Syria that Clemenceau at one point challenged Lloyd George to a duel. (Carrington, 2008)

When British and French cooperation was not forthcoming, President Wilson appointed two notable Americans to seek out the sentiments of those residing in the Ottoman territories. Henry Churchill King was the President of Oberlin College, Charles Crane a valve manufacturer who had early decided to make an art and science of travelling and had made many trips to the Near East over a period of many years. Both had connections to Protestant missionary programs.

The problem could not be resolved because of the domestic political situation in the United State. Since the recent history of the United States had cast grave doubt in the public mind on the possibility that any good could come from American engagement in the reconstruction of foreign lands. Most visible to Americans in 1919 were the lessons learned from the 1898 war with Spain. As Colonel House recognized, they pointed the American people away from any new imperial ventures. (Carrington, 2008)

Therefore, it is thought the US couldn't directly involve with its army in the Middle East.

CONCLUSION

It was difficult to understand the American role in the Middle East without understanding the course of events. The big leaps in the course of history don't happen overnight. It requires planning that requires deep arrangement. European efforts to weaken the ill man, the Ottoman Empire, started in the early 19th century. The Ottoman expansion in Eastern Europe was looked at with great concern. For that reason the Armenian revolution and the Greek revolution was supported by the Britain, France and Russia.

Through the readings it's clear that many of the writers, other than Arabs, expressed the deep involvement of Zionism in the American policy. This does not explain the situation after the Second World War. It is the Zionism that emerged in the mid of the 19th century that led to the WWI at the first place. Kafru Demarice explains in his book that the Ottoman Empire was dismantled in 1919 primarily through the peace agreement in Versailles, which was basically based on President Wilson 14 points. Since empowering Zionism in Palestine required the implementation of military force all the freed Arab countries from the Ottoman occupation were put under mandate: hence occupation. This writer reveals the names of the leaders in Europe and the US. There were other writers but this paper is not able to quote them all. Amongst them: Shannon, and Anderson who explain the mutual role, or the coordination between Zionism and Protestantism. This again would pose the question in my opinion about the role of religion in our lives. Religion is no longer the love of God and the best interest of human beings; it is the power of Religion that seems to control politics, especially the American politics. President George W. Bush and his administration a zealous devoted Protestants who believed that the war on Iraq was a holy war.

This belief had led to the destruction and the killing of the Palestinians who paid and still paying the price. Though through the Palestinian struggle against the British occupation.

Today, American Christians across the conservative-liberal spectrum exemplify very diverse ideas of what justice should look like in Israel and Palestine. Many conservative evangelicals continue to follow on the heels of certain forms of dispensationalism and advocate unmitigated support of Israel. (Canon. 2011)

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