



Losses at Gallipoli in 1915 (above) helped commit the British to a major postwar role in the Middle East.

By David Fromkin

How the modern Middle East map came to be drawn

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed in 1918, the British created new borders (and rulers) to keep the peace and protect their interests

The dictator of Iraq claimed—falsely—that until 1914 Kuwait had been administered from Iraq, that historically Kuwait was a part of Iraq, that the separation of Kuwait from Iraq was an arbitrary decision of Great Britain's after World War I. The year was 1961; the Iraqi dictator was Abdul-Karim Qasim; and the dispatch of British troops averted a threatened invasion.

Iraq, claiming that it had never recognized the British-drawn frontier with Kuwait, demanded full access to the Persian Gulf; and when Kuwait failed to agree, Iraqi tanks and infantry attacked Kuwait. The year was 1973; the Iraqi dictator was Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr; when other Arab states came to Kuwait's support, a deal was struck, Kuwait made a payment of money to Iraq, and the troops withdrew.

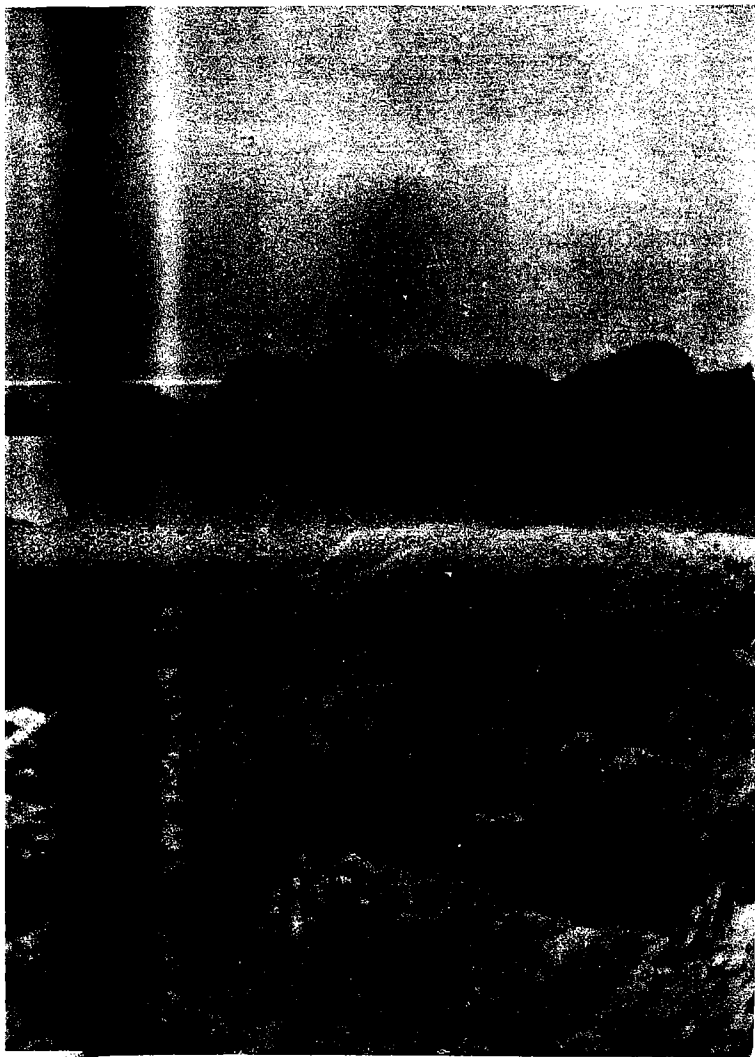
August 2, 1990. At 2 A.M. Iraqi forces swept across the Kuwaiti frontier. Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, declared that the frontier between Iraq and Kuwait was invalid, a creation of the British after World War I, and that Kuwait really belonged to Iraq.

It was, of course, true, as one Iraqi dictator after another claimed, that the exact Iraq-Kuwait frontier

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Ottoman Empire was drawn into war on German side through secret machinations of Enver Pasha (right).



As a Young Turk reformer, Enver helped overthrow the Ottoman government, at 31 became Minister of War.

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was a line drawn on an empty map by a British civil servant in the early 1920s. But Kuwait began to emerge as an independent entity in the early 1700s—two centuries before Britain invented Iraq. Moreover, most other frontiers between states of the Middle East were also creations of the British (or the French). The map of the Arab Middle East was drawn by the victorious Allies when they took over these lands from the Ottoman Empire after World War I. By proposing to nullify that map, Saddam Hussein at a minimum was trying to turn the clock back by almost a century.

A hundred years ago, when Ottoman governors in Basra were futilely attempting to assert authority over the autonomous sheikdom of Kuwait, most of the Arabic-speaking Middle East was at least nominally part of the Ottoman Empire. It had been so for hundreds of years and would remain so until the end of World War I.

The Ottomans, a dynasty, not a nationality, were originally a band of Turkish warriors who first galloped onto the stage of history in the 13th century. By the early 20th century the Ottoman Empire, which

once had stretched to the gates of Vienna, was shrinking rapidly, though it still ruled perhaps 20 million to 25 million people in the Middle East and elsewhere, comprising perhaps a dozen or more different nationalities. It was a ramshackle Muslim empire, held together by the glue of Islam, and the lot of its non-Muslim population (perhaps 5 million) was often unhappy and sometimes tragic.

In the year 1900, if you traveled from the United States to the Middle East, you might have landed in Egypt, part of the Ottoman Empire in name but in fact governed by British "advisers." The Egyptian Army was commanded by an English general, and the real ruler of the country was the British Agent and Consul-General—a position to which the crusty Horatio Herbert Kitchener was appointed in 1911.

The center of your social life in all likelihood would have been the British enclave in Cairo, which possessed (wrote one of Lord Kitchener's aides) "all the narrowness and provincialism of an English garrison town." The social schedule of British officials and their families revolved around the balls given at each of the lead-

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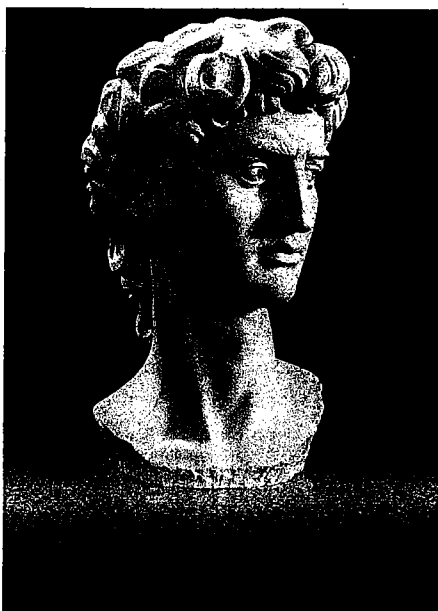


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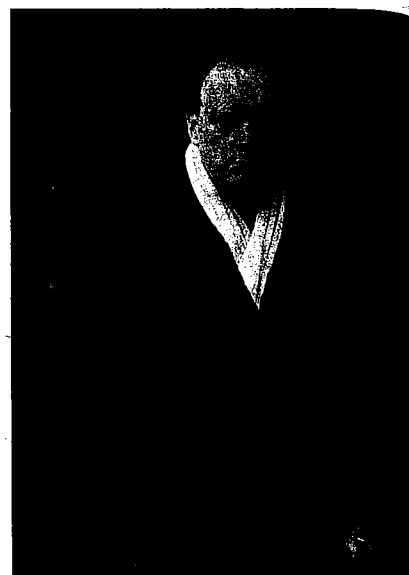
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ing hotels in turn, six nights out of seven, and before dark, around the Turf Club and the Sporting Club on the island of El Gezira. Throughout Egypt, Turkish officials, Turkish police and a Turkish army were conspicuous by their absence. Outside British confines you found yourself not in a Turkish-speaking country but in an Arabic-speaking one. Following the advice of the *Baedeker*, you'd likely engage a dragoman—a translator and guide—of whom there were about 90 in Cairo ("all more or less intelligent and able, but scarcely a half of the number are trustworthy").

On leaving Egypt, if you turned north through the Holy Land and the Levant toward Anatolia, you finally would have encountered the reality of Ottoman government, however corrupt and inefficient, though many cities—Jerusalem (mostly Jewish), Damascus (mostly Arab) and Smyrna, now Izmir (mostly Greek)—were not at



For years the real ruler of Egypt was Lord Kitchener, a general, whose main concern was for the Suez Canal.



Though he was blamed for Gallipoli, Winston Churchill was put in charge of reorganizing the entire Middle East.

all Turkish in character or population.

Heading south by steamer down the Red Sea and around the enormous Arabian Peninsula was a very different matter. Nominally Ottoman Arabia was in large part a vast, ungoverned desert wilderness through which roamed bedouin tribes knowing no law but their own. In those days Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, the youthful scion of deposed lords of most of the peninsula, was living in exile, dreaming of a return to reclaim his rights and establish his dominion. In the port towns on the Persian Gulf, ruling sheiks paid lip service to Ottoman rule but in fact their sheikdoms were protectorates of Great Britain. Not long after you passed Kuwait (see the map on page 147) you reached Basra, in what is now Iraq, up a river formed by the union of the great Tigris and Euphrates.

A muddy, unhealthy port of heterogeneous population, Basra was then the capital of a province, largely Shiite Arab, ruled by an Ottoman governor. Well north of it, celebrated for archaeological sites like Babylon and Nippur, which drew tourists, lay Baghdad, then a heavily Jewish city.

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Seldane®

(terfenadine) 60 mg Tablets

BRIEF SUMMARY

CAUTION: Federal law prohibits dispensing without prescription.

DESCRIPTION

Seldane (terfenadine) is available as tablets for oral administration. Each tablet contains 60 mg terfenadine. Tablets also contain, as inactive ingredients, corn starch, gelatin, lactose, magnesium stearate, and sodium bicarbonate.

INDICATIONS AND USAGE

Seldane is indicated for the relief of symptoms associated with seasonal allergic rhinitis such as sneezing, rhinorrhea, pruritus, and lacrimation.

CONTRAINDICATIONS

Seldane is contraindicated in patients with a known hypersensitivity to terfenadine or any of its ingredients.

PRECAUTIONS

General: Terfenadine undergoes extensive metabolism in the liver. Patients with impaired hepatic function (alcoholic cirrhosis, hepatitis), or on ketoconazole or itraconazole therapy, or having conditions leading to QT prolongation (e.g., hypokalemia, congenital QT syndrome) may experience QT prolongation and/or ventricular tachycardia at the recommended dose. The effect of terfenadine in patients who are receiving agents which alter the QT interval is not known. These events have also occurred in patients on macrolide antibiotics, including erythromycin, but causality is unclear. The events may be related to altered metabolism of the drug, to electrolyte imbalance, or both.

Information for patients: Patients taking Seldane should receive the following information and instructions. Antihistamines are prescribed to reduce allergic symptoms. Patients should be questioned about pregnancy or lactation before starting Seldane therapy, since the drug should be used in pregnancy or lactation only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to fetus or baby. Patients should be instructed to take Seldane only as needed and not to exceed the prescribed dose. Patients should also be instructed to store this medication in a tightly closed container in a cool, dry place, away from heat or direct sunlight, and away from children.

Drug Interactions: Preliminary evidence exists that concurrent ketoconazole or macrolide administration significantly alters the metabolism of terfenadine. Concurrent use of Seldane with ketoconazole or itraconazole is not recommended. Concurrent use of other macrolides should be approached with caution. **Carcinogenesis, mutagenesis, impairment of fertility:** Oral doses of terfenadine, corresponding to 63 times the recommended human daily dose, in mice for 18 months or in rats for 24 months, revealed no evidence of tumorigenicity. Microbial and micronucleus test assays with terfenadine have revealed no evidence of mutagenesis.

Reproduction and fertility studies in rats showed no effects on male or female fertility at oral doses of up to 21 times the human daily dose. At 63 times the human daily dose there was a small but significant reduction in implants and at 125 times the human daily dose reduced implants and increased postimplantation losses were observed, which were judged to be secondary to maternal toxicity.

Pregnancy Category C: There was no evidence of animal teratogenicity. Reproduction studies have been performed in rats at doses 63 times and 125 times the human daily dose and have revealed decreased pup weight gain and survival when terfenadine was administered throughout pregnancy and lactation. There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. Seldane should be used during pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus.

Nonteratogenic effects: Seldane is not recommended for nursing women. The drug has caused decreased milk production and survival in rats given doses 63 times and 125 times the human daily dose throughout pregnancy and lactation. Effects on pups exposed to Seldane only during lactation are not known, and there are no adequate and well-controlled studies in women during lactation.

Pediatric use: Safety and effectiveness of Seldane in children below the age of 12 years have not been established.

ADVERSE REACTIONS

Experience from clinical studies, including both controlled and uncontrolled studies involving more than 2,400 patients who received Seldane, provides information on adverse experience incidence for periods of a few days up to six months. The usual dose in these studies was 60 mg twice daily, but in a small number of patients, the dose was as low as 20 mg twice a day, or as high as 600 mg daily.

In controlled clinical studies using the recommended dose of 60 mg b.i.d., the incidence of reported adverse effects in patients receiving Seldane was similar to that reported in patients receiving placebo. (See Table below.)

ADVERSE EVENTS REPORTED IN CLINICAL TRIALS

Adverse Event	Percent of Patients Reporting			
	Seldane N=781	Placebo N=565	Control N=526***	All Clinical Studies** Seldane N=2462 Placebo N=1478
Central Nervous System				
Drowsiness	9.0	8.1	18.1	8.5
Headache	6.3	7.4	3.8	15.8
Fatigue	2.9	0.9	5.8	4.5
Dizziness	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.5
Nervousness	0.9	0.2	0.6	1.7
Weakness	0.9	0.2	0.2	0.8
Appetite Increase	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.5
Gastrointestinal System				
Gastrointestinal Distress (Abdominal distress, Nausea, Vomiting, Change in Bowel habits)	4.6	3.0	2.7	7.6
Eye, Ear, Nose, and Throat				
Dry Mouth/Nose/Throat	2.3	1.8	3.5	4.8
Cough	2.0	0.2	0.5	2.5
Sore Throat	0.5	0.3	0.5	3.2
Epistaxis	0.0	0.8	0.2	0.7
Skin				
Eruption (including rash and urticarial) or itching	1.0	1.7	1.4	1.6

*Duration of treatment in "CONTROLLED STUDIES" was usually 7-14 DAYS.

**Duration of treatment in "ALL CLINICAL STUDIES" was up to 6 months.

***CONTROL DRUGS: Chlorpheniramine (291 patients), d-Chlorpheniramine (189 patients), Clemastine (146 patients).

Rare reports of severe cardiovascular adverse effects have been received which include arrhythmias (ventricular tachycardia, torsades de pointes, ventricular fibrillation), hypotension, palpitations, and syncope. In controlled clinical trials in otherwise normal patients with rhinitis, at doses of 60 mg b.i.d., small increases in QTc interval were observed. Changes of this magnitude in a normal population are of doubtful clinical significance. However, in another study (N=20 patients) at 300 mg b.i.d., a mean increase in QTc of 10% (range -4% to +30%) (mean increase of 46 msec) was observed without clinical signs or symptoms.

In addition to the more frequent side effects reported in clinical trials (See Table), adverse effects have been reported at a lower incidence in clinical trials and/or spontaneously during marketing of Seldane that warrant listing as possibly associated with drug administration. These include: alopecia (hair loss or thinning), anaphylaxis, angioedema, bronchospasm, confusion, depression, galactorrhea, insomnia, menstrual disorders (including dysmenorrhea), musculoskeletal symptoms, nightmares, paresthesia, photosensitivity, seizures, sinus tachycardia, sweating, tremor, urinary frequency, and visual disturbance.

In clinical trials, several instances of mild, or in one case, moderate transaminase elevations were seen in patients receiving Seldane. Mild elevations were also seen in placebo treated patients. Marketing experiences include isolated reports of jaundice, cholestatic hepatitis, and hepatitis. In most cases available information is incomplete.

OVERDOSAGE

Information concerning possible overdosage and its treatment appears in Full Prescribing Information.

DOSE AND ADMINISTRATION

One tablet (60 mg) twice daily for adults and children 12 years and older.

Product Information as of July 1990

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(along with Jerusalem, one of the two great Jewish cities of Asia). Baghdad was the administrative center of an Ottoman province that was in large part Sunni Arab. Farther north still was a third Ottoman province, with a large population of Kurds. Taken together, the three roughly equaled the present area of Iraq.

Ottoman rule in some parts of the Middle East clearly was more imaginary than real. And even in those portions of the empire that Turkish governors did govern, the population was often too diverse to be governed effectively by a single regime. Yet the hold of the Turkish sultan on the empire's peoples lingered on. Indeed, had World War I not intervened, the Ottoman Empire might well have lasted many decades more.

In its origins, the war that would change the map of the Middle East had nothing to do with that region. How the Ottoman Empire came to be involved in the war at all—and lost it—and how the triumphant Allies found themselves in a position to redesign the Middle Eastern lands the Turks had ruled, is one of the most

fascinating stories of the 20th century rich in consequences that we are still struggling with today.

The story begins with one man, tiny, vain, strutting man addicted to dramatic gestures and uniforms. His name was Enver Pasha, and he mistook himself for a sort of Napoleon. From modest origins, Enver, as a junior officer in the Ottoman Army, joined the Young Turks, a secret society that was plotting against the Ottoman regime. In 1913, Enver led a Young Turk revolution that overthrew the government and killed the Minister of War. In 1914, at the age of 31, he became the Ottoman Minister of War himself, married the niece of the sultan, and moved into a palace.

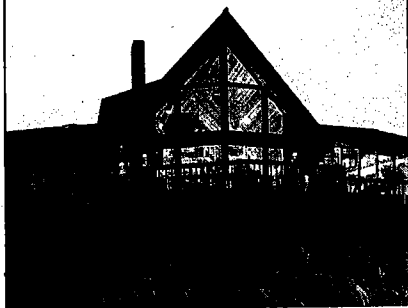
As a new political figure Enver scored a major, instant success. The Young Turks for years had urgently sought a European ally that would promise to protect the Ottoman Empire against other European powers. Britain, France and Russia had each been approached and had refused. On August 1, 1914, just as Germany was about to invade Belgium to begin World War I, Enver wangled a secret



British camel unit jogs down the Jordan Valley; Prince Faisal and T. E. Lawrence often used camels in guerrilla raids on Turks.

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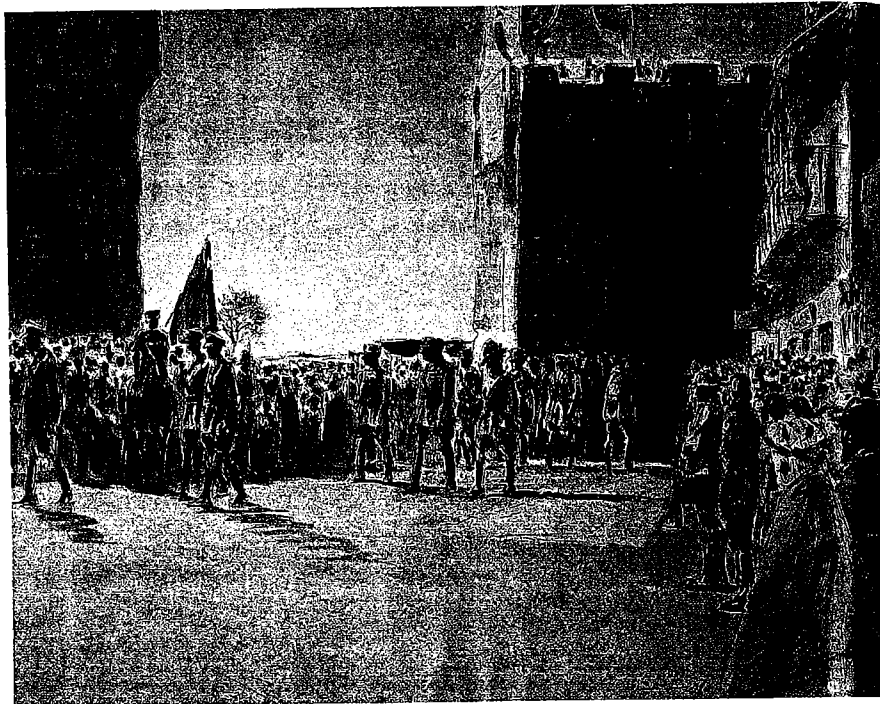


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Sir Edmund Allenby's troops entered Jerusalem in December 1917. By then, Britain had expressed support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Now, with Russia, once the Ottoman Empire would be the entire Middle East. Those magic when fresh stars become realities. "What is to Palestine and re- asked H. G. Wells, essayist and future for mankind. French and th claims to Middle naturally, in Can- sides soon bega- future plan for e ruled by Eg- could continue themselves. At the time, th their hands full v many on the We- solved not to b

treaty with the kaiser pledging to protect the Ottoman domains.

Unaware of Enver's coup, and with war added to the equation, Britain and France began wooing Turkey too, while the Turks played off one side against the other. By autumn the German Army's plan to knock France out of the war in six weeks had failed. Needing help, Germany urged the Ottoman Empire to join the war by attacking Russia.

Though Enver's colleagues in the Turkish government were opposed to war, Enver had a different idea. To him the time seemed ripe: in the first month of the war German armies overwhelmingly turned back a Russian attack on East Prussia, and a collapse of the czar's armies appeared imminent. Seeing a chance to share in the spoils of a likely German victory over Russia, Enver entered into a private conspiracy with the German

Lawyer-historian David Fromkin is the author of a prizewinning book entitled *A Peace to End All Peace*.

admiral commanding the powerful warship *Goeben* and its companion vessel, the *Breslau*, which had taken refuge in Turkish waters at the outset of hostilities.

During the last week of October, Enver secretly arranged for the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to escape into the Black Sea and steam toward Russia. Flying the Ottoman flag, the Germans then opened fire on the Russian coast. Thinking themselves attacked by Turks, the Russians declared war. Russia's allies, Britain and France, thus found themselves at war with the Ottoman Empire too. By need- lessly plunging the empire into war, Enver had put everything in the Middle East up for grabs. In that sense, he was the father of the modern Middle East. Had Enver never existed, the Turkish flag might even yet be flying—if only in some confederal way—over Beirut and Damascus, Baghdad and Jerusalem.

Great Britain had propped up the Ottoman Empire for generations as a buffer against Russian expansionism.

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Now, with Russia as Britain's shaky ally, once the war had been won and the Ottomans overthrown, the Allies would be able to reshape the entire Middle East. It would be one of those magic moments in history when fresh starts beckon and dreams become realities.

"What is to prevent the Jews having Palestine and restoring a real Judaea?" asked H. G. Wells, the British novelist, essayist and prophet of a rational future for mankind. The Greeks, the French and the Italians also had claims to Middle East territory. And naturally, in Cairo, Lord Kitchener's aides soon began to contemplate a future plan for an Arab world to be ruled by Egypt, which in turn would continue to be controlled by themselves.

At the time, the Allies already had their hands full with war against Germany on the Western Front. They resolved not to be distracted by the

Middle East until later. The issues and ambitions there were too divisive. Hardly had the Ottoman Empire entered the war, however, when Enver stirred the pot again. He took personal command of the Ottoman Third Army on the Caucasus frontier and, in the dead of winter, launched a foolhardy attack against fortified positions on high ground. His offensive was hopeless, since it was both amateurishly planned and executed, but the czar's generals panicked anyway. The Russian government begged Lord Kitchener (now serving in London as Secretary of State for War) to stage a more or less instant diversionary action. The result was the Allied attack on the Dardanelles, the strait that eventually leads to Constantinople (now Istanbul).

Enver soon lost about 86,000 of his 100,000 men; the few, bloodied survivors straggled back through icy mountain passes. A German observer noted

that Enver's army had "suffered a disaster which for rapidity and completeness is without parallel in military history." But nobody in the Russian government or high command bothered to tell the British that mounting a Dardanelles naval attack was no longer necessary. So on the morning of February 19, 1915, British ships fired the opening shots in what became a tragic campaign.

Initially, the British Navy seemed poised to take Constantinople, and Russia panicked again. What if the British, having occupied Constantinople, were to hold onto it? The 50 percent of Russia's export trade flowing through the strait would then do so only with British permission. Czar Nicholas II demanded immediate assurance that Constantinople would be Russia's in the postwar world. Fearing Russia might withdraw from the war, Britain and France agreed. In return, Russia offered to



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