



Foreign Policy Analysis Course

(Dr. Ahouei)

Session#2

Case study#1: 1919 Anglo-Persian agreement





WWI

Persia, now known as Iran, declared its neutrality in 1914 and remained neutral throughout the war

Ceasefire dated 11 Nov. 1918





October revolution 1917

Pull out the forces of northern Iran (Tsars' imperialistic policies)



BULGARIA

FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE

INTERNATIONAL
CONSTANTINOPOLITAN
STATE

GREECE

TURKEY

ARMENIA
(U.S. Mandate)

SMYRNA
(SEMI-AUTONOMOUS
IN TURKISH MANDATE)

(U.S. Mandate)

KURDISTAN
(U.S. Mandate or in Mesopotamia)

SYRIA
(U.S. or U.K.
Mandate)

LEBANON
(SEMI-AUTONOMOUS
IN SYRIAN MANDATE)

MESOPOTAMIA
(U.S. or U.K. Mandate)

PERSIA

BRITISH
EGYPT

ARABIA
(NO MANDATORY POWER)

KING-CRANE COMMISSION:
American Recommendations
for a Post-Ottoman
Middle East (1919)

10/14/2023



Jan 1. 1919



Positive balance policy Southern police (in Bushehr and Shiraz) Divide Iran



Bakhtiari – Samsam – Iran's Prime Minister, 1918

Damage determination commission

Bureaucratic weakness

Lack of operational background

Budget

Lack of Social basis



**Hassan Vosough, Prime minister,
1918-1920**



THE TEXT OF THE FOURTEEN POINTS

PRESIDENT WILSON'S Fourteen Points, as set forth in an address made before the joint session of Congress, on January 8, 1918.

- 1** Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- 2** Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action or the enforcement of international covenants.
- 3** The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
- 4** Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
- 5** 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.
- 6** The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.
- 7** Belgium, the whole world will agree must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.
- 8** All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.
- 9** A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
- 10** The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
- 11** Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered upon.
- 12** The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
- 13** An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.
- 14** A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

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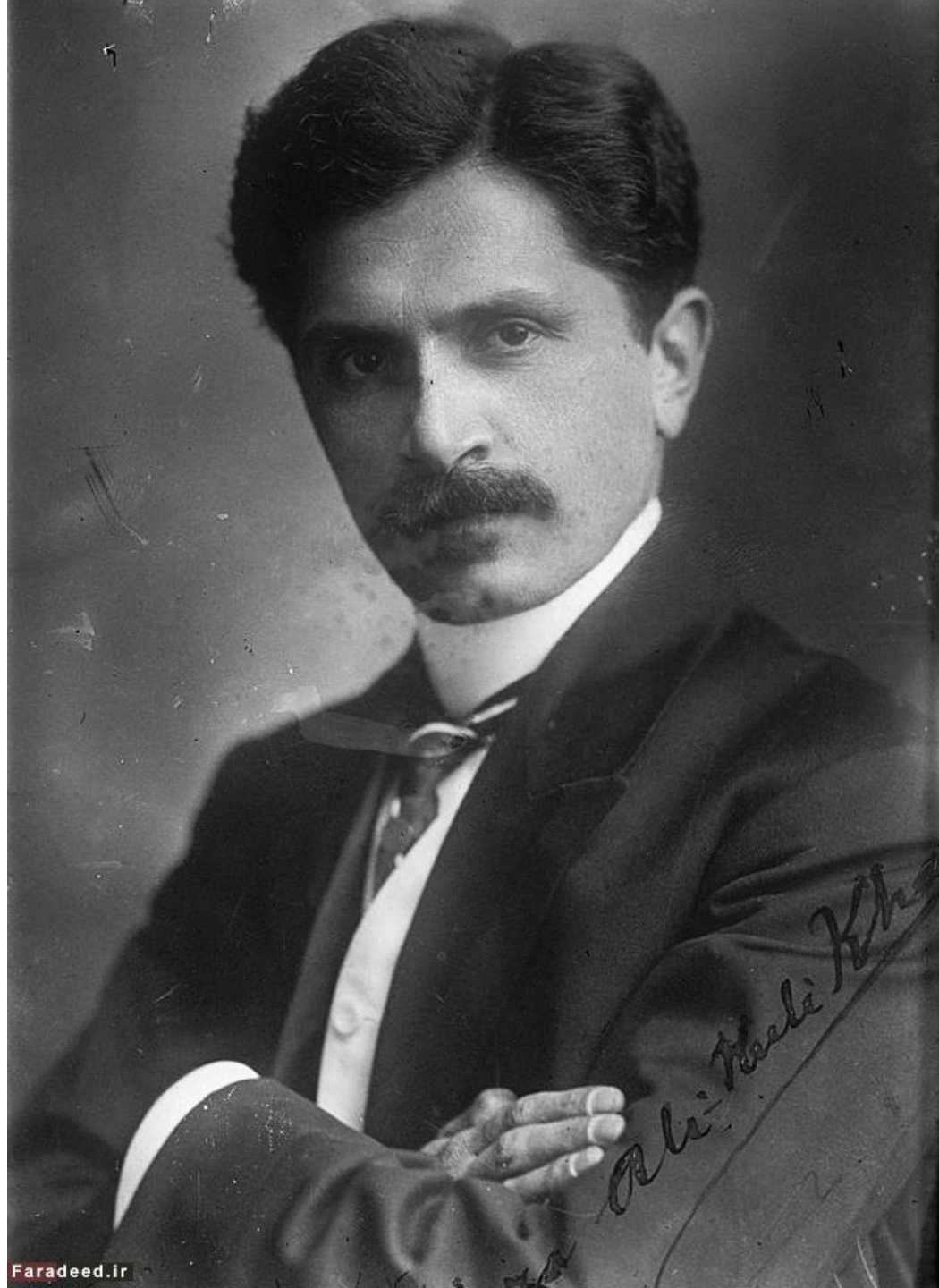
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10/14/2023

AliNaghi Nabil – Iran’s Ambassador in Washington





10/14/2023

Iran's insisting to dispatch delegation

- To have seat in the League of Nations
- Termination of treaties and independence-contradictory points and guarantee of the status of Iran
- Compensation of wartime damage
- Economic liberation
- Elimination of capitulation for all powers (Turkmenchay deal, 1828)
- Tariff issue reconsidering
- Reconsidering the concessions to foreign citizens
- Re-organizing Iran's borders

Change in the mandate

12th Feb. 1919

Attempt to get in the assembly

FM Meeting Wilson

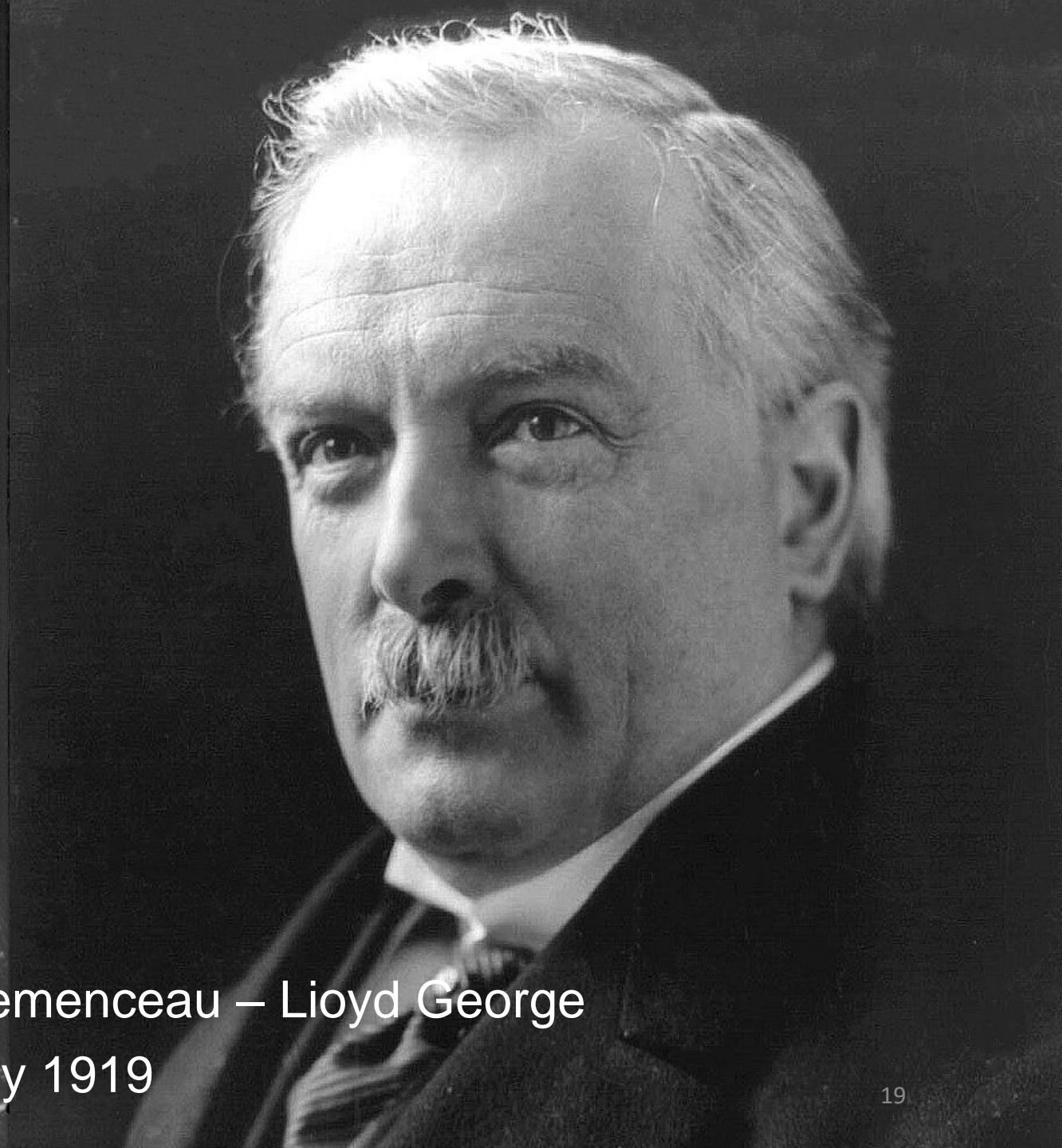
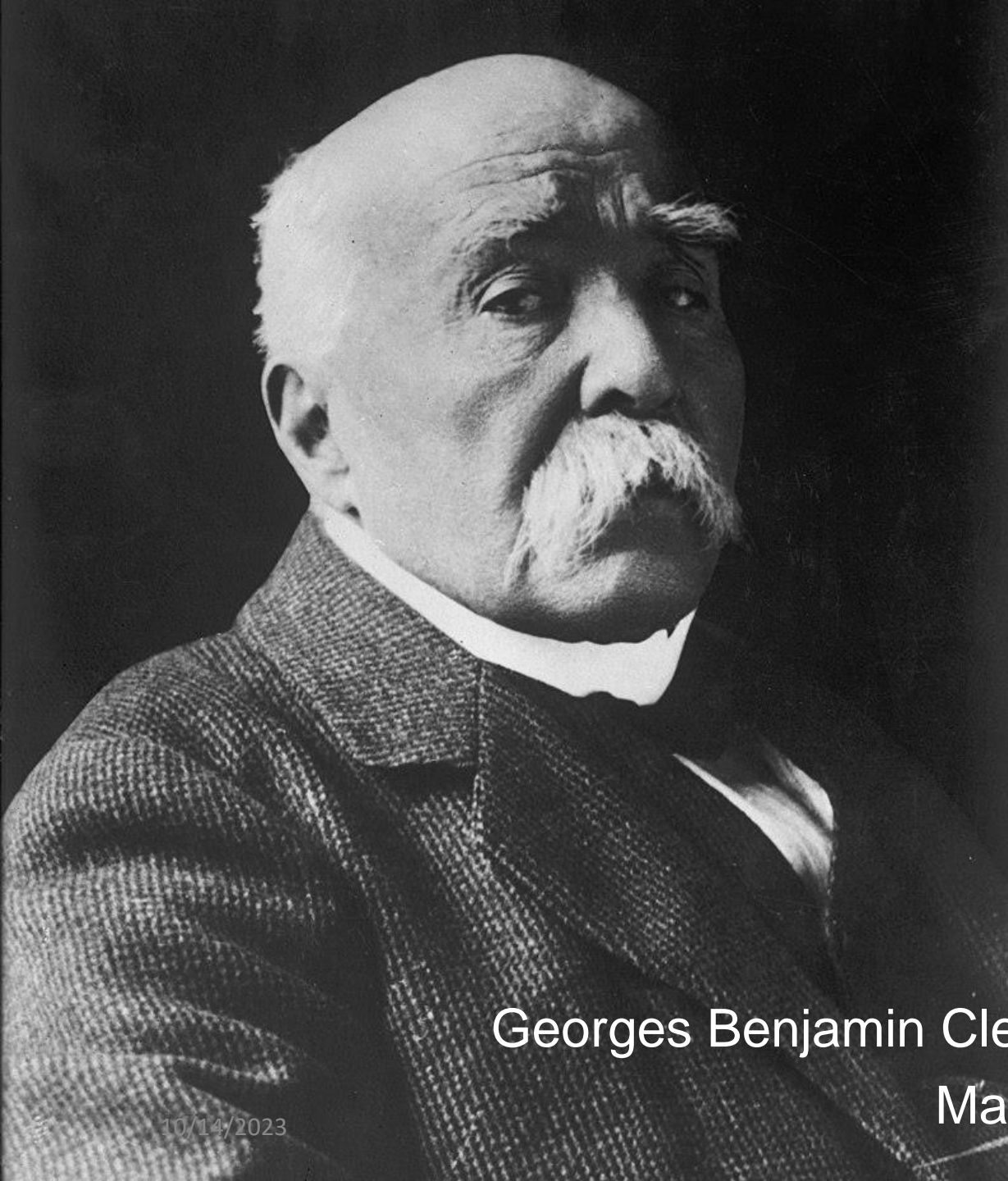
Mandate March 1919

1. 6 conditions

- Termination of the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement
- Autonomy for hiring foreign consultants w/o permission of Russia or UK
- Termination of all Capitulation rights
- To step back all the foreign soldiers on the soil of Iran
- Re-considering all the concessions to foreign citizens
- To review the customs tariffs

2. Following Iran's soil claims (Kurdistan and other consequences of Iran - Ottoman wars)

3. Damage determination commission



Georges Benjamin Clemenceau – Lloyd George
May 1919

Secret negotiations in Tehran

Track II?

Back Channel?

Plan B

- To guarantee Iran's independence
- To support Iran's attempts to claim compensations against Turks and Russians
- To agree the review of customs tariffs
- To support Iran to reclaiming the soils (from Turks)

August 1919

Complementary note:

- To guarantee Iran's independence,
- Review all the in-force treaties and contracts
- Review the tariffs with respect to Iran's requirements
- To review on Iran's borders, at least in some points
- To support Iran's claims against Russia and Ottoman.

9 months of secret negotiations, close to Tehran

- ✓ Ahmad Shah Qajar
- ✓ Prime minister Hassan Vosough
- ✓ Minister of economy
- ✓ Minister of justice
- ✓ Chief of the British office at Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- ✓ A journalist, Seyyed Zia Tabtabaei

Sir Percy Cox



Impactful elements on the 1919 agreement

- Iran as a buffer zone to India
- October revolution 1917
- Collapse of Ottoman empire
- France-UK disagreement (Sykes–Picot Agreement)
- Negative position of France about Iran's presence at the assembly
- Negative position of the Soviet Union
- Stop US funds
- Negative position of British government of India
- Interim administration in Kermanshah
- Flu epidemic
- Famine (hunger)
- Constitutional revolution
- Social resistance
- Personal affairs and corruptions



دانشکده مطالعات جهان

Thanks for your attention

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