CONTENTS
FOREWORD ix
CHAPTER I - THE BACKGROUND 13
1. The background.
2. Geographical setting.
3. Arabisation and Islamisation.
4. The Arab world defined.
5. The Turkish conquest.
CHAPTER II - A FALSE START 21
2. His conquest of Syria.
3. His plan for an Arab empire.
4. Ibrahim Pasha in Syria.
5. Palmerston's opposition.
7. The plan fails.
CHAPTER III - THE START: 1847-68 35
1. First missionaries in Syria.
2. Educational beginnings.
3. Egyptian system.
4. American activities.
5. Catholic activities.
8. The first literary societies.
9. The earliest patriotic code.
CHAPTER IV - THE HAMIDIAN DESPOTISM: 1876-1908 61
1. Deposition of 'Abdul-'Aziz.
2. The Constitution of 1876
3. Sultan's Arab possessions.
4. Foundations of 'Abdul-Hamid's rule
5. His Islamic policy.
6. The Hejaz Railway.
7. The growth of German influence.
CHAPTER V - THE INFANT MOVEMENT: 1868-1908 79
1. The Bairut secret society.
2. Its proclamations.
3. Its effect on the movement of ideas.
4. Its programme.
5. Its place in the history of the movement.
6. Repercussions.
7. The influence of Western education.
8. Moslem leadership.
11. Egyptian nationalism.
CHAPTER VI - YOUNG ARABS AND YOUNG TURKS: 1908-14 101
1. The Turco-Arab honeymoon.
2. The Turco-Arab estrangement.
3. Four Arab societies.
4. The Committee of Reform.
5. The First Arab Congress.
7. The Sultan's Arab empire.

CHAPTER VII - THE WAR AND THE HOLY WAR: 1914
2. Importance of their meeting.
4. The threat of jihad.
5. The military outlook in the Arab world.
7. The call to jihad.
8. Husain withholds his endorsement.
9. Active preaching of jihad.
10. The Prophet's standard.

CHAPTER VIII - THE PLOT: 1915
1. Overtures from Damascus.
3. Faisal and the secret societies.
5. British policy and the Arab Rulers.

CHAPTER IX - GREAT BRITAIN'S PLEDGE: 1915
1. The Sharif Husain's first Note, July 14, 1915.
2. Sir Henry McMahon's first Note, August 30.
5. Husain's third Note, November 5.
9. Main provisions of the compact.
10. Territorial implications.
11. The case for publication.
12. A glimpse of Husain.

CHAPTER X - THE REVOLT: JUNE 1916
1. The rising timed for June 5, 1916.
2. Husain's final preparations.
4. The death-sentences.
5. Their effect on Faisal.
6. Husain driven to act.
7. The Revolt proclaimed in Madina.
8. The fall of Mecca.

CHAPTER XI - IMMEDIATE EFFECTS
1. Repercussions in Syria.
2. Wider repercussions.
3. The Sharif's Proclamation.
5. The von Stotzingen Mission.
6. Mecca in danger of re-capture; organisation of the Arab forces.
7. Husain proclaimed King.
8. Occupation of Wajh.
9. Distribution of the Arab forces.

CHAPTER XII - ARABS IN THE WAR: 1916-18
1. A campaign of raids.
2. Faisal wins over the tribes.
3. 'Auda Abu Tayeh and the capture of 'Aqaba.
4. The importance of 'Aqaba as the new base.
5. British and German political activities.
6. Scope of the British propaganda
7. Military significance of the Arab campaign.
8. The final offensive.
10. Occupation of Syria.
11. The sufferings endured by the population.

CHAPTER XIII - PLEDGES AND COUNTER-PLEDGES 243
1. Allied ambitions in the Ottoman Empire.
2. The Anglo-Franco-Russian (Sykes-Picot) Agreement.
3. Analysis of the Agreement.
5. The Turkish peace-offer.
6. Mr. Balfour's message to King Husain.
7. Mr. Lloyd George's negotiations with the Zionists.
8. The Balfour Declaration.
9. Arab apprehensions.
10. The Declaration to the Seven.
11. The Anglo-French Declaration.

CHAPTER XIV - THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT 276
1. Arab expectations,
2. Provisional administrative organisation.
3. Faisal's arrival in London; his negotiations with the Zionists.
4. Faisal at Versailles.
5. Proposal for an inquiry.
6. The General Syrian Congress.
7. The King-Crane Commission.
8. Faisal's second journey to Europe.
9. The San Remo Conference.
10. The French advance on Damascus.
12. The Iraq rebellion.
13. The Cairo Conference.

CHAPTER XV - THE PENINSULA AFTER THE WAR 325
1. Limits of foreign penetration.
2. The independent states in the Peninsula.
3. Anglo-Hejazi negotiations.
5. Problems created by Wahhabi rule in the Hejaz.
6. Ibn Sa'ud and his neighbours.
7. Foreign relations.
8. Internal administration.

CHAPTER XVI IRAQ, SYRIA AND PALESTINE AFTER THE WAR 350
1. The Arab mandates.
2. Motives which governed their assignment.
3. The British mandate in Iraq.
4. The emancipation of Iraq.
5. Franco-Arab hostility.
7. The emancipation of Syria and the Lebanon.
8. Difficulties surrounding the study of the Palestine problem.
9. Arab and Jewish claims.
10. How the problem is obscured.
11. The Royal Commission.
12. Misconceptions.
APPENDICES - 413
APPENDIX A - The McMahon Correspondence.
APPENDIX B - The Anglo-Franco-Russian (Sykes-Picot) Agreement.
APPENDIX C - Communication from the British Government to the King of the Hejaz (February 8, 1918).
APPENDIX D - The Declaration to the Seven.
APPENDIX E - Anglo-French Declaration (November 7, 1918).
APPENDIX F - The Faisal-Weizmann Agreement.
APPENDIX G - Resolutions of the General Syrian Congress.
APPENDIX H - Report of the King-Crane Commission.

INDEX 461

LIST OF MAPS
THE ARAB WORLD IN THE MIDDLE AGES - 16
THE EASTERN ARAB WORLD - 160
SYRIA, WITH OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS - 178
THE PARTITION OF SYRIA AND IRAQ - 248
THE BRITISH AND FRENCH MANDATES - 304
The maps have been drawn by Mr. Tom Wrigley.

FOREWORD
The object of this book is primarily to tell a story and mark its significance. It aims at giving, not the final or even a detailed history of the Arab Movement, but an account in outline of its origins, its development and the main problems it has had to face, in the form of a continuous narrative interspersed with such analysis as seemed necessary to elucidate the problems. The story has never been told in full before. Accounts have appeared of this or that phase of the Movement; but there appears to be no work, in any of the languages with which I am acquainted, in which the story is told from the beginning, that is to say from the earliest stirrings of the Arab awakening one hundred years ago, down to the present day. Nor is there in existence, to the best of my knowledge, an account that derives its authority from an equal reference to the Arab and the foreign sources. Just as the Arabic histories rely almost exclusively on Arab sources, so the works published in the European languages will be found to have been mainly based on Western sources. It has seemed to me that there was room for a work to be drawn from both founts of knowledge, in which the texture of the story and of the problems of the Movement might be more solidly woven by crossing the woof of Arab sources and interpretation with the warp of European documentation.

The task of examining all the relevant sources has taken me several years of research in European and American libraries, and a great deal of travelling and personal inquiry in the Arab world. I have made a particular point of obtaining the testimony of persons who have had a hand in the actual shaping of the Movement or in one or other of its significant activities - a task which has not been easy but which was greatly facilitated by the willingness and the helpful kindness of a large number of people, both Arab and non-Arab, whose name is legion and to whom I am deeply indebted.

I have tried to discharge my task in a spirit of fairness and objectivity, and, while approaching the subject from an Arab angle, to arrive at my conclusions without bias and partisanship. If I have failed, it is not for want of trying or for any uncertainty as to the seriousness of my responsibilities towards my readers.

It would have been impossible for me to have carried out that research had it not been for my connexion with the Institute of Current World Affairs of New York. The Institute has not participated in any form or degree in the drawing up of my conclusions, or in any sense influenced them. For these, I am wholly and solely responsible. My gratitude goes to the Trustees and the Director of the Institute, not only for the exceptional and generous facilities without which this work could not have been written, but also for the complete absence of any restriction as to time or method or freedom of expression.

I ask all those who have helped me with information and guidance, or who have otherwise facilitated my research, to accept this acknowledgement of my gratitude. It was only after I had actually begun the task of composition that I realised its difficulties. On re-reading the book in proof, it seemed to me that its only asset was that it contained certain information which was not generally known and which might be of use in the elucidation of the problems confronting the Arab world in its relations with the Powers of the West. For that, the credit goes to those who have helped me to trace it and understand its meaning.

I am also indebted to Adeline (Pixie) Newns for typing the greater part of the final manuscript and for valuable help in the correction of the proofs.

October 1938   G. A.