

Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>List of Figures</i> | page viii |
| <i>List of Maps</i> | ix |
| <i>List of Tables</i> | x |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | xi |
| <i>Notes on Transliteration</i> | xiii |
| <i>List of Abbreviations</i> | xiv |
| <i>Maps</i> | xv |
| <i>Political and Military Figures of the Last Ottoman Generation</i> | xix |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Saladin's Pilgrims and the War to End Wars | 1 |
| Modernity, Militarism, and Colonialism in the Making of the Middle East | 5 |
| Legacies | 6 |
| 1 Ottoman Modernity in the Long Nineteenth Century: | |
| Training State Servants and Making Citizens | 9 |
| Modern Education and a Late Ottoman Childhood | 10 |
| Modernizing the State | 11 |
| Conscription | 15 |
| State Military Education and Elite Civil Education | 18 |
| Military Culture and Late Ottoman Society | 26 |
| The Military Academy and Staff College | 28 |
| Modern Infrastructure | 29 |
| Ottoman Sons Become Saviors of the Nation | 32 |
| Civilian Politicians and Civil-School Graduates | 46 |
| Conclusions | 48 |
| 2 The Theory and Practice of Colonialism in the Post-Ottoman Middle East | 56 |
| Wartime Arrangements and Proclamations | 60 |
| The Paris Peace Conference and Post-War Negotiations | 68 |
| | v |

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| vi | Contents | |
| | The San Remo Conference and the Treaty of Sèvres | 71 |
| | The League of Nations and Anglo-French Colonialism in the Middle East | 73 |
| | Mandate Governance in Practice | 84 |
| | The Mandate in Palestine | 87 |
| | The Mandate in Syria and Lebanon | 89 |
| | The Mandate in Iraq and Transjordan | 92 |
| | Conclusions | 95 |
| 3 | Losing the War and Fighting the Settlement: The Post-Ottoman Middle East Takes Shape, 1918–1922 | 101 |
| | The Battle of Nablus and the End of the Ottoman Empire | 102 |
| | Allenby and Faysal in Damascus | 104 |
| | Popular Struggle after the Armistice | 108 |
| | The Anatolian Model and Hope for Salvation, 1920 | 112 |
| | San Remo and the Nabi Musa Demonstrations in Jerusalem | 115 |
| | Iraq in Revolt | 117 |
| | Anatolia and Cilicia | 118 |
| | Syria and Maysalun | 120 |
| | Churchill Salvages the Settlement | 123 |
| | Palestine May Day Riots 1921 | 125 |
| | Ibrahim Hananu Puts the Settlement on Trial | 130 |
| | Events in Anatolia | 135 |
| | Yasin Paşa Returns to Iraq | 137 |
| | The Last Sultan | 140 |
| | Conclusions | 141 |
| 4 | League of Nations Hopes and Disappointments: the Return of Armed Struggle in the Post-Ottoman Era, 1923–1927 | 147 |
| | The Lausanne Conference | 149 |
| | The League of Nations Picks up the Pieces | 151 |
| | The End of the Caliphate | 154 |
| | Military Confrontation Eclipsed | 155 |
| | Civilian Politicians in Damascus and Jerusalem | 156 |
| | Shakib Arslan in Exile | 159 |
| | The Rise of Yasin al-Hashimi and the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty | 161 |
| | Armed Insurgency in the French Mandates | 163 |
| | France Salvages its Mandate | 168 |
| | William Rappard, the League of Nations, and France | 171 |
| | The End of the Syrian Revolt | 177 |
| | Damage Control at Geneva, 1926 | 178 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Contents | vii |
| Aftermath of the Syrian Revolt | 181 |
| Conclusions: Colonial Anxieties and Imperial Rivalries | 183 |
| 5 Colonial Constitutions and Treaties: Post-Ottoman Militarism, 1927–1936 | 190 |
| Constitutions and Colonial Treaties: Iraq | 191 |
| Syria and Lebanon | 193 |
| Transjordan | 195 |
| Palestine: 1928 and 1929 | 196 |
| Nuri al-Saʿid Delivers: The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 | 202 |
| Syrian Elections and Martial Law | 203 |
| Independent Iraq | 206 |
| Iraqi Independence and its Discontents | 207 |
| Ibrahim Hananu and a False Start for the Franco-Syrian Treaty | 211 |
| Desperation in Palestine and the Death of Musa Kazim al-Husayni | 212 |
| Yasin al-Hashimi Retires and then Returns | 214 |
| Fawzi al-Qawuqji in Baghdad | 218 |
| Ibrahim Hananu Exits the Scene | 219 |
| Conclusions | 222 |
| 6 The Final Days of the Last Ottoman Generation, 1936–1938 | 227 |
| General Strikes in Syria and Palestine | 228 |
| The Palestine Revolt | 231 |
| The Franco-Syrian Treaty and Syrian “Independence” | 239 |
| The Fall of Yasin Paşa al-Hashimi | 241 |
| Yasin Paşa in Exile among the Syrians | 247 |
| The Death and Funeral of Yasin al-Hashimi | 251 |
| Conclusions | 254 |
| 7 Epilogue and Conclusions | 261 |
| Saladin’s Companions and the Beginning of the End for Anglo-French Colonialism in the Middle East | 262 |
| The Alexandretta Crisis | 263 |
| The Peel Commission and the End of the Palestine Mandate | 265 |
| General Amnesty in Syria | 266 |
| The End of the League of Nations Mandates | 267 |
| The Mandate Inheritance in the Arab East | 270 |
| <i>Select Bibliography</i> | 275 |
| <i>Index</i> | 285 |