

U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA

V. LUTSKY

Modern History
of the
Arab Countries



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

148702

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INTRODUCTION

Modern History of the Arab Countries by the prominent Arabist Vladimir Borisovich Lutsky (1906-1962), one of the Soviet Union's leading specialists in modern Arab history, was published after the author's death.

His book is the first attempt in Russian or Soviet literature to write a systematic history of the Arabs in modern times. Lutsky set about studying the modern history of the Arab countries as an independent historical discipline in the thirties. An enthusiast wholly dedicated to his subject, he was never afraid to blaze new trails and is rightly regarded as the founder of the Soviet school of Arab historians.

The Russian classical Orientalists of pre-revolutionary days showed no great interest in modern Arab history. Journalists, diplomats and military men referred to Arab history only in connection with the Eastern Question or the European Powers' colonial policy. Despite their importance to Russian scholarship even such impressive works as K. M. Bazili's *Syria and Palestine Under Turkish Government* (in Russian) and A. Adamov's *Arab Iraq and the Basra Vilayet in Its Past and Present* (in Russian) are no more than essays on the history of individual Arab countries.

In Soviet times many interesting articles and monographs dealing with the history of the Arab countries and, in particular, Egypt, Syria, the Sudan and Arabia, have been published. None of these works, however, set out to provide a coherent and systematic account of Arab history at the turn of the 19th century. Nor do any of them give an over-all picture of the history and development of the Arab world and its place and role in modern times.

The absence of Russian historical traditions, the relatively limited amount of literature on the subject and the fact that many cardinal problems of Arab history have been little studied both in Russian and foreign literature were bound to have its effect on Lutsky's book. Some of its chapters and sections lack development. There is, for example, no section on the social and economic history of Morocco,

which remains a blank in world history to this day. At times Lutsky only gives outlines and reference-points where further research and concrete details are needed. But this does not detract from the significance of his work as the first attempt to systematise and generalise modern Arab history.

Lutsky writes from the Marxist-Leninist point of view. He sharply criticises the European Powers' colonial policy and regards their presence in the East as an evil.

His book is inspired by a warm and deeply felt affection for the Arab peoples, enthusiasm for their struggle to free themselves from the Turkish pashas and European colonialists, and belief in the Arab peoples' future and in their ability to choose their own way of life.

Lutsky's book is the result of much hard and painstaking work. In its present form it consists of a series of lectures that took several years to prepare. In 1936, he began lecturing at Moscow's Institute of Oriental Studies, at Moscow University and at many other higher schools of learning. Some of his lectures appear as independent chapters in the textbook *Modern History of the Colonial and Dependent Countries*, Moscow, 1940 (in Russian). Later Lutsky considerably expanded his university lecture course.

The present book is the fullest available version of the series of lectures delivered by Lutsky at Moscow University between 1949 and 1953. Unfortunately, no verbatim report of this series of lectures was made. The book was therefore compiled from the verbatim report of lectures delivered in previous years, which were revised and expanded by referring to synopses from Lutsky's own archives and to students' notes. Since there was no verbatim report of the lecture on the French conquest of Algeria, Chapter XIII is based on Chapter XI of *Modern History of the Colonial and Dependent Countries*, which was contributed by Lutsky. Certain other sections of this book, in particular, Chapters X and XXII, were also used in preparing the *Modern History of the Arab Countries*.

Chapter XIX (The Mahdist State in East Sudan), Chapter XX (Algeria in 1870-1914) and Chapter XXVII (The Arab Countries in the First World War 1914-18) were prepared for publication by R. G. Landa, Chapter IV (Palestine, Syria and Iraq at the Beginning of the 19th Century), Chapter IX (Lebanon, Syria and Palestine in the Period of the Tanzimat) and Chapter XXIV (Syria, Palestine and Iraq at the End of the 19th Century) by I. M. Smilyanskaya. Material prepared by M. S. Lazarev was used for Chapters XXV and XXVII.

N. Ivanov

CHAPTER I

THE ARAB COUNTRIES DURING THE 16th TO THE 18th CENTURY

TURKISH CONQUEST. At the beginning of the 16th century, almost all the Arab countries were subjugated by the Turks and incorporated in the Ottoman state. In 1514, Sultan Selim I (the Cruel) led the Turkish army to conquer northern Iraq. In 1516, he wrested Syria and Palestine from the Egyptian Mamelukes and one year later routed the Mameluke army, destroyed the Mameluke state and conquered Egypt and the Hejaz.

The Turkish conquest of the Arab countries was continued by Sultan Suleiman I (the Lawgiver), the successor of Selim I. In 1520, the Turkish pirate Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa declared himself the Turkish Sultan's vassal and conquered Algeria, and in 1533 the Sultan began sending officials from Constantinople to rule the country. In 1534, the Turks made their first attempt to conquer Tunisia. They were repulsed by the Spanish and did not gain complete possession of the country until 1574. In 1551, Turkey seized Tripoli.

The Turkish expansion spread to the Arabian Peninsula. In 1532, the Turks conquered the Yemen and then the Somali Red Sea coast. Mosul served as the starting point for their advance on southern Iraq. The age-old struggle between Turkey and Iran for the possession of Iraq ended in the victory of Turkey in 1638. After Iraq, the Turks conquered El-Hasa on the shore of the Persian Gulf.

Thus, within a period of about one hundred years almost all the Arab countries, except Morocco in the west and Inner Arabia and Oman on the Arabian Peninsula, were included in the Ottoman Empire and for some three or four centuries suffered Turkish oppression, which in the 19th and 20th centuries was replaced by the even harsher colonial yoke of the European capitalist Powers.

What was it that prompted the Ottoman feudalists to conquer the Arab countries? First, the desire to impose the feudal system of exploitation on the people. There was also the advantage to be gained from the Arab countries' position on the world trade routes. By controlling Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli, the Ottoman feudalists could carry on extensive trade with the European countries; they could even squeeze out the Europeans and practice piracy on the Mediterranean. (This was the era of the primary accumulation of capital, when piracy was part and parcel of sea trade.) Lastly, Egypt, Syria and Iraq were very important centres of transit trade between Europe and the East which, although it declined somewhat after the discovery of the direct sea route to India (round the Cape of Good Hope), still continued to yield large profits.

The degree of subordination to the Ottoman Empire varied from country to country. Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli were considered Ottoman provinces, but by the beginning of the 17th century they had already gained virtual independence from the Porte. In the middle of the 17th century, the Turks lost real power in the Yemen. Even in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iraq, where Turkish pashas were installed, the domination of the Porte was often only nominal. Either the pashas organised plots against the sultan, or the local Arab feudal lords rose against the Turkish pashas, and from time to time fierce uprisings shook the Ottoman Empire.

THE SOCIAL ORDER OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. OTTOMAN FEUDALISM. Anxious to gain support in the Arab countries, the Turks, as a rule, preserved the social system that had existed before their conquest. The land and power remained in the hands of the local feudalists.

The system of landownership in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire was very complicated. All land was divided into three basic groups: state land (*mamleket*) the supreme owner of which was the sultan; land belonging to religious establishments (*waqf*); and privately owned land (*mulk*). In addition, communal landownership continued to exist in some countries.

Land owned by individuals was relatively scarce. Its owners could dispose of it as they saw fit. The state collected only a land tax from the privately owned land: people had

to pay either the *ushr* (about a tenth) or the *kharaj*, which sometimes constituted half the harvest. The *kharaj* varied according to the size of the harvest or was fixed according to the unit of area. Non-Moslems also paid a poll-tax (*jizyah*). As a rule, private land belonged to big feudal lords and was tilled by the peasants on the basis of the metayage system.

Religious establishments owned large tracts of land. Ecclesiastical estates (*waqfs*) were formed by "endowments" and were exempt from taxation. The Moslem clergy was the mainstay of the feudal system and in order to consolidate it, big feudal lords presented large estates to Moslem religious establishments: mosques, *madrasahs* (collegiate mosques), Dervish monasteries. It was not uncommon for small peasants to sacrifice their plots to religious establishments in order to save them from feudal usurpation. (Usually these small holders had the use of the land until the family died out. They had only to pay taxes to the religious establishment.) The peasants on the ecclesiastical land (*waqf*) were no better off than under a feudal lord.

At the time of the Turkish conquest, in some Arab countries there still existed communal ownership of land. Among the nomad herdsmen of North Africa, Iraq and Arabia, the pastures were owned in common by the bedouin clans. In the settled farming areas, the fellaheen communities periodically redistributed land among large families and individual households. In such countries, the Turkish conquerors pursued a policy of forced expropriation of the peasants' land. The communally-owned land was declared state property and passed under the individual control of the clan nobility—the emirs and sheikhs.

While abolishing communal landownership, the Turkish conquerors often preserved the fellaheen community as an appendage to the system of feudal exploitation. The whole community was held collectively responsible for the prompt payment of taxes. The community also saw to it that the lord's land was tilled.

The most widespread category of land in the Ottoman Empire was the state land, which was divided into two groups: *khas* and military fiefs. The *khas* was a large estate with a revenue exceeding 100 thousand *akchas*,—it either belonged to the sultan personally or was conferred on a

prince or on a high dignitary as long as he held his post. Military fiefs were granted to the *sipahi* (knights) for life. The *sipahi* were exempt from state taxation. In return, they were obliged to provide first-class military service, regularly turn up at reviews and take part in campaigns with their cavalry. The number of horsemen depended on the amount of revenue received from the fief. Usually for every three thousand *akchas* one horseman had to be provided. The fiefs were divided into two groups according to their wealth. Military fiefs with a revenue of over 20 thousand *akchas* were called *ziamets* and their owners *zaims*. Fiefs with a revenue of up to 20 thousand *akchas* were called *timars* and their owners *timarji* or *timariots*.

If, during his lifetime, a *sipaha* conscientiously executed his military duties, his property passed to his sons after his death. They were given a new charter for which they paid redemption money to the treasury. The fief charter was on a strict class basis and was limited to the nobles. Each new *sipaha* was supposed to be supported by two *zaims* and ten *timariots*. City dwellers were not granted fiefs.

The land of the *timars*, *ziamets* and *chas* was tilled by the peasants, who constituted the overwhelming bulk of the tax-paying population—*raya* (herd). They received a plot of land (*chift*) from the landlord, which they could pass on only with his permission. Virtually, the peasants were bound to the land. They had to fulfil all sorts of obligations: pay the *ushr* or the *kharaj* and taxes for the use of winter and summer pastures, mills, for tobacco smoking, etc. The situation of the Christian *raya* was even worse. In addition, the Christians had to pay a *jizyah* (poll-tax) or a *kharaj ra'asi*.

The military fief system was widespread in Asia Minor and on the Balkan Peninsula. It was not highly developed in the Arab countries except for the northern parts of Syria and Iraq. In the Aleppo and partly in the Mosul *elayets* the Turks introduced a system of military-fief landownership. In the other countries, the land remained mostly in the hands of the local feudal lords, who paid tribute to the Sultan's deputies.

In Egypt, on the whole, the system of feudal landownership which had existed under the Mameluke sultans was

preserved. All the land belonged to the feudal lords: *multazims* (landowner-tax farmers), the Turkish pasha and the Moslem clergy. Formally the land was considered state property but could be acquired by the *multazims*. Many *multazims*, the Nubian sheikhs, for instance, owned dozens of villages while some estates were split up between different owners to such a degree that there were several landlords in one village.

Multazims were picked out from among the Turkish functionaries and officers as well as from the local Arab sheikhs. The Turkish rulers of Egypt inherited from the Mameluke sultans the custom of forming private guards from among the Mamelukes, who had originally been slaves and were specially trained for military service. The Turkish beys appointed the Mamelukes to important government posts and granted them large tracts of land. As a result, towards the end of the 18th century, two-thirds of Egypt's territory was concentrated in the hands of the Mamelukes. They became the dominating stratum of the Egyptian feudal class.

Multazims were exempt from military service but could be taxed. The taxes paid by the *multazims* were entered in a special register kept by a special clerk (*defterdar*). If the tax was not paid on time, the estate was confiscated and given to a new owner.

Landownership was usually hereditary. In the Mameluke circle, the land was not passed on from father to son, but from the master to his favourite "slave". After the death of the owner, his heir was supposed to pay a large redemption sum to the treasury (three-year rent plus one-fifth of the value of the land).

In each *iltizam* (the estate of a *multazim*), the land was divided into two parts: the lord's land, or *usia*, and allotted land, or *atar*. The lord's land was tilled by the corvée system or (on very rare occasions) by hired labour. Allotted land was given to the peasants for life. The latter paid a money rent to the landlord in Lower Egypt and rent in kind in Upper Egypt. The rent in kind comprised from 20 to 35 *ardebs* of wheat from a harvest of 50 *ardebs*. If a peasant inherited a plot of land he had to pay a large redemption sum to the *multazim*.

The money rent, which was known as *mal-el-hurr*, was collected from the peasants by the *multazims* and divided into three unequal parts. One part was paid as tribute to the Porte. This part was delivered to the pasha of Cairo and at the end of the 18th century amounted to 80,000,000 medinas a year. Another part was used for the upkeep of the provincial administration (the administration was named *kashifia* after the regional governors—*kashifs*). This amounted to 50 million medinas a year. These two amounts were fixed by law and subject to unconditional payment. The remaining part of the *mal-el-hurr* accrued to the *multazims*. In 1798, this amounted to 180,000,000 medinas in cash, not counting payment in kind. But the landlords were still not satisfied with this sum. Besides *mal-el-hurr*, they levied *bar-rani*—traditional janissary duties (at first as voluntary “gifts” in kind from the peasants; later, obligatory cash payments). In 1798, this tax yielded a sum of 100,000,000 medinas. In addition every village had to pay local taxes and duties.

Taxes were collected by the village administration headed by a *qa'im-ma'qam* (sub-governor), who was aided by the senior sheikh. Following the harvest every year a *sarrafi* (money-changer) would turn up in the village. He was a city dweller, usually a Copt, who served the *multazim* landlord. He evaluated the harvest, determined the size of the tax and set to gathering it. As a reward for his services, the *sarrafi* collected an additional tax from the fellaheen. Also included in the village administration were the *wakil*—the manager of the lord's land; the *khauli*—land surveyor, who also directed public works; the *mashhed*, who carried out the functions of a policeman and also took part in flogging the fellaheen; and the *gafiri*—watchmen who guarded the lord's granaries. As distinct from the officials of the Indian community listed by Marx, these were the landlord's servants, who maintained his economic and political authority over the direct producer—the fellah.

As in Egypt, in Syria and the Lebanon the conquerors preserved the feudal system. The land remained in the hands of the local Arab nobility (except for northern Syria).

Under the Turks, the Lebanon was a kind of autonomous principality under the rule of the Ma'am dynasty. At the

end of the 17th century it came under the rule of the emirs of the Shehab family, who considered themselves the vassals of the Turkish Sultan and paid tribute to the Porte, but no Turkish troops were quartered there. There were similar principalities in Syria, for example, Latakia.

The feudal society in the Lebanon, well described in K. M. Bazili's book, *Syria and the Lebanon Under Turkish Rule* (published in Russian), was hierarchical. This country was divided into three appanages—Kesruan, Metn and Shuf administered by the local feudal dynasties. These appanages were in turn divided into smaller domains, and so on. A similar process occurred in the Latakia principality and in southern Syria. At the head of the hierarchy stood the Turkish pashas, who had their seats at Aleppo, Damascus and Saida. They served as intermediaries between the Arab emirs and the sultan.

The feudal sovereign was the absolute ruler of his own land. The dependent emirs and sheikhs supplied horsemen for the ruler's army, collected taxes and paid tribute to him. All of them were incredibly rich. The Lebanese Emir Fakhr ed-Din II was reputed to be the richest man in the empire. His court was astonishingly sumptuous. His annual income was estimated at 900,000 livres, out of which he paid a tribute of 340,000 livres to the Turkish Sultan. Sheikh Zahir, who ruled in Safad in the 18th century, had an annual income of about £50,000.

In the outlying districts of Syria and Palestine, there were survivals of the primitive-communal system. These areas had been for long inhabited by numerous nomadic and settled tribes in which the slow process of feudalisation was taking place. The tribal sheikhs, however, were still more like clan and tribal chiefs than feudal rulers. In Volney's description (1784) of a tribal sheikh in southern Palestine many survivals of the past are cited. The sheikh was in command of 500 horsemen but at the same time he himself looked after the cattle, worked together with the members of his family, and so on.

An important role was played by the spiritual feudals, the priests. In Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine, there were about ten Christian and five Moslem denominations. Here feudal separatism was combined with spiritual separatism, and the political struggle often assumed a religious charac-

ter. The higher clergy, especially the upper circles of the Maronite Church, owned vast tracts of land and along with the feudal lords exploited the peasantry.

The formation of feudal relations in Iraq, where sharp differences existed between the north and the south, was peculiar. In the north of Iraq, the land was concentrated in the hands of the Kurdish beks, who headed the *ashirats* tribes. Actually, these were big landowners, typical feudal lords under the cover of the clan. Sometimes, their domains extended over an area of tens of thousands of hectares. They recruited soldiers and paid tribute to the Turkish Sultan's deputies.

In the south of Iraq, patriarchal relations prevailed. The land belonged to the Arab tribes and was considered their collective property. Many tribes settled down, combining land tillage with nomad cattle-breeding. The Turkish authorities tried to liquidate collective ownership of the land. Community land was declared state property and handed over to the clan's elite. Attempts were made to turn the obligations of the tribal sheikhs into a hereditary duty which called for the approval of the authorities. Thus arose large Arab feudal families who owned huge tracts of land. These measures of the Turkish Sultan met with resistance from the ordinary tribesmen. Nomads and semi-nomads refused to pay rent. A conflict arose between the new feudal lords and the armed people which resulted in numerous uprisings of the Arab tribes. Often the new feudal lords were merely nominal owners of the land allotted to them.

Almost the same process occurred in North Africa, where the Turks owned part of the land on the seaboard and carried on endless war against the Arab and Berberic tribes who upheld their land rights.

Everywhere in the Arab countries, big feudal landownership went hand in hand with small-scale farming. In the form of huge taxes and requisitions, the landowners appropriated not only the surplus product, but the essential product as well and did nothing to increase production. The economy was stagnant, and at its best was only able to ensure its own reproduction.

Simple reproduction did not create any reserves in event of social or natural calamities. Frequent wars, feudal discord and droughts ruined the peasantry and brought about the

decline of agriculture. Whole villages died out. Of the 3,200 villages that had existed around Aleppo in the 16th century, there were only about 400 left at the end of the 18th. The population either became extinct or fled to the cities. Conditions in Egypt were very bad. "The rich Faiyum Valley and the fertile plains of the Delta, so productive at the time of the reign of the Pharaohs, Ptolemies and even under the rule of the Romans, yield only one-fourth of what they used to," wrote Chabrulle in his *Transactions of the French Expedition*. "The cause of these deplorable changes is not far to seek. Nature is not to blame. The river is the same as before. Its periodic floods continue to fertilise the Nile valley each year. But hope no longer encourages the farmer. He knows that the covetous intruder will reap the fruits of his sweat and blood. Why should he produce new crops if neither he nor his children are able to profit by them? He sows the land with disgust, reaps with fear and tries to hide a meagre share of the grain from the grasping oppressors to meet the needs of his family. In this unhappy country, the peasant owns no property and can never own any. He is not even a tenant. He is simply a serf of the clique oppressing his country."

The process of the ruin of the peasantry, the dying out and depopulation of villages went on in all parts of the Ottoman Empire. The sultans endeavoured to stop it by tying the peasant to the land. As far back as the 16th century, under Suleiman the Lawgiver, laws were passed to prevent the flight of peasants. The code of laws worked out by the Turks for Egypt (*Kanun-name Misr*), ordered the *kashifs*, the *multazims* and sheikhs to see to it that not one plot of irrigated land remained uncultivated, to prevent the flight of the peasants and to populate the ruined and empty villages with fellaheen. If a peasant ran away from his plot, the sheikh was held materially responsible. The *usia* could be sold only together with the fellaheen who cultivated it.

Famine, hard work, the corvée system, numerous taxes and duties, attachment to the land, the lack of rights, humiliation by the landlords and his servants—this was the lot of the Arab peasant. Often the fellaheen, unable to endure the yoke any longer, rebelled. They were attacked by bands of janissaries and their Arab hirelings who meted out severe

reprisals. According to the codes of the Lawgiver, no mercy was to be shown in dealing with peasant uprisings.

THE ARAB CITY IN THE PERIOD OF OTTOMAN RULE. From the 16th to 18th centuries, Arab cities still bore the imprint of the Middle Ages. These seats of the Turkish beys and pashas were administrative rather than economic centres. But trade was already being carried on and craft production was developing.

Ottoman rule in the East coincided with the revival and rapid growth of international trade. European industry was in need of additional markets. It found them in the vast Ottoman Empire. Turkish and Arab feudal lords bought English and Dutch cloth, French silks and wines, Russian furs and Bohemian cut glass. They exported to Europe grains, raw silk, skins, crude wool, fruits, nuts, olive oil, home spun yarn and cloth. Actually, this was the exchange of the raw materials exacted by the feudal lords from their producers as rent in kind for foreign luxuries. "The inhabitants of trading cities," Adam Smith wrote, "by importing the improved manufactures and expensive luxuries of richer countries afforded some food to the vanity of the great proprietors, who largely purchased them with great quantities of the rude produce of their lands."¹

The fatal consequences of such trade are obvious. It intensified the feudal exploitation of the peasantry and ruined the rural population. Adam Smith and Volney observed that Turkish trade proceeded on an unequal basis and caused great harm to the Ottoman Empire.

One more peculiarity: as distinct from the caliphate, for instance, the main role in this trade was played by foreign merchants. "Who are the traders in Turkey?" Engels wrote. "Certainly not the Turks. Their way of promoting trade consisted in robbing caravans. Now that they are a little more civilised it consists in all sorts of arbitrary and oppressive exactions. The Greeks, Armenians, Slavonians and the Franks established in the large seaports, carry on the whole of the trade and have absolutely no reason to thank the Turkish beys and pashas for being able to do so. Remove all

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1962, p. 323.

the Turks out of Europe and trade will have no reason to suffer."¹

Overseas commerce was concentrated at first mainly in the hands of the Italians (Venice, Genoa, Pisa), who were gradually squeezed out by English and French traders. They had their own quarters in large trading cities. There were European hotels and offices in Cairo, in the cities along the Syrian coast and in North African ports. During the 18th century, the English East India Company established trading stations in Baghdad and Basra.

The Armenians, Greeks and, to some extent, the Arabs, acted as intermediaries and contractors for the European traders. They engaged in transit trade, the large centres of which were Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, Trabizond and Constantinople. Persian carpets, Indian muslins, pearls, etc., came pouring in. Yemenite coffee was sent from Jidda to Cairo, while from Sennar and Darfur came slaves, gold, ivory musk, ostrich feathers. Through these cities local products were exported to the seaports and purchased by the European traders.

Internal trade was rather poorly developed, although centres of local exchange between town and country gradually began to grow, the wares of the town craftsmen usually being sold in the city at daily bazaars or annual fairs.

There were two reasons for the predominance of Europeans in the trade of the Ottoman Empire. The first was that, by this time Europe had overtaken Turkey in both the cultural and economic fields. The European traders had large sums of capital behind them and much greater experience in commerce. Their organisation of trade and transport of products was much better. In a word, they had a better "trade culture". The second reason lay in the capitulation regime. "Capitulations" in the Ottoman Empire were certificates granting the European traders special rights and privileges.

Originally capitulations were privileges granted voluntarily and unilaterally by the Turkish Sultan to foreign traders and could be withdrawn at any minute. The first capitulations were granted to Italian traders in the 14th century, permitting them to settle in the cities of the Ottoman Empire,

¹ F. Engels, "The Turkish Question," *New York Daily Tribune*, April 19, 1853.

conduct trade and practice their religion. They contained deeds of property and determined the amount of duty the traders had to pay.

In the 16th century, capitulations assumed the character of bilateral agreements. The first agreement of this kind was concluded in 1535 between Suleiman the Lawgiver and Francis I, the King of France. The French not only obtained the right to trade, but many other privileges as well (the ships of other nations could enter Ottoman ports only under the protection of the French flag). French pilgrims were given free access to the holy places and were free to practise their religion. In 1604, similar agreements were concluded with the English and the Venetians, who began to trade with Turkey under their own flags. Gradually similar rights were extended to the subjects of other European Powers.

As the Ottoman Empire weakened, the European Powers began to regard the capitulations as their irrefutable rights and tried to get them extended to include their local contractors as well. Thanks to the capitulations, the traders were exempt from taxation and from the jurisdiction of the Turkish courts. Their property could not be confiscated.

The capitulation regime lasted till the 20th century (in Egypt, for example, until 1937) and was used by the European Powers as an instrument for the colonial enslavement of the Arab countries. It undermined the development of national capital and placed the local traders in an unequal position. European traders paid a custom rate comprising three per cent of the value of the product, the local traders paid from seven to ten per cent. Taxes were imposed on foreign articles of merchandise only once, when they were imported into the country. Those of the local traders were taxed each time they passed through the numerous customs offices and each time they were moved from one feudal estate to another. Naturally this hindered and undermined the development of capitalist relations in the Arab countries.

As regards industry, the Ottoman Empire also lagged behind the advanced European countries, where the transition to manufacture and then to machine production was making headway. In the Ottoman Empire, however, guilds of handicraftsmen (*asnaf*) still predominated. In each guild there existed the same hierarchy as in Europe. At the head of each shop was a chief—sheikh. Next came masters and ap-

prentices. Each shop had its own traditions and customs. The largest centres of the crafts industry were Damascus and Aleppo in Syria, Baghdad and Mosul in Iraq, Cairo in Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, Tlemcen, Fez and Marrakesh in North Africa. The Arab handicraftsmen were famous for the production of cloth, carpets, morocco, weapons, copper ware, etc. Up to the 18th century, many of their wares were exported to Europe. But from the time of the Industrial Revolution local merchants were forced out even from the home markets.

In the Arab countries, there was still no clear-cut division between the crafts and agriculture. In Egypt, for example, yarn was produced directly in the peasant household. The manufacture of woollen cloth remained the lot of the peasant womenfolk. The same conditions prevailed in the Lebanon. In Syria, in the province of Aleppo, not only woollen cloth but also cotton fabrics were produced in the villages. On the other hand, many city inhabitants engaged in farming, especially market-gardening. Damascus, for example, was buried in fruit and vegetable gardens.

The social structure of the Arab towns indicates that a large proportion of the population was non-productive. Cairo at the end of the 18th century had a population of 300,000, 100,000 being adult males. Of these 25,000 were artisans, 15,000 were workers and the remaining 60,000 were not productively occupied. These were soldiers, landlords, clergymen, traders and their servants. The servants alone numbered 30,000. Not all artisans were engaged in productive labour. The Cairo guilds included guilds for bath-house attendants, hairdressers, jugglers, street singers and public speakers, mule and camel drivers, dancers and drummers.

The Ottoman feudal system hampered the development of the Arab towns. The local traders could not compete with the Europeans who were protected by the capitulations regime. Even European trade had many obstacles to overcome. At sea the cargo vessels were subject to attacks from the corsairs, many of whom served the Turkish Sultan. Trade caravans were looted by derebeys and their bands of robbers. Lines of communications in the Ottoman Empire were very bad. Goods were transported by pack animals. Each town had its own customs and commercial legislation, its taxes, weights and measures, and so on. All this on top of feudal robbery held up the development of trade and

industry and made the transition to capitalist relations impossible. "In reality," Engels wrote, "the Turkish domination like any other eastern domination is incompatible with capitalist society. Surplus value is in no way insured against the rapacious grip of the satraps and pashas. The first and main condition for the bourgeois enterprise is lacking—the safety of the merchant's person and property."¹

STATE SYSTEM. The predominant nationality in the Ottoman Empire were the Turks. The Turkish feudal lords formed the ruling class. Their power was maintained through an apparatus of coercion with the sultan at its head. The sultan, or *padishah*, was the supreme head of the state. He wielded absolute military and civic power. In the 16th century he became the *caliph*, the spiritual head of the Moslems.

The second person of importance was the *sheikh el-Islam*, the head of the Moslem clergy. The legislation, the court, the *madrasahs* (collegiate mosques) and huge ecclesiastical estates were concentrated in his hands. The *cadis* (judges), the *cadi askari* (military judges) and the *muftis* (expounders of the religious law) were under his control. The *muftis* in each large centre of the empire headed the local clergy. It was they who decided whether legislative enactments were in conformity with the principles of Islam. The first *mufti* in the Ottoman Empire was the *sheikh el-Islam* himself. The theologians and scholars (*Ulema*) were also influential strata of the Moslem clergy.

The empire's central government was called *Bab-el-Ali*—the Sublime Porte. At its head stood the first minister, or the Great *Vizir*, who from the time of Suleiman the Lawgiver had held the title "*Sadr-Azam*". He directed the whole state administration. The Great *Vizir* was always accompanied by a *defterdar*, who was in charge of the land register and the distribution of the fiefs.

The most important issues were decided by the sultan himself. In urgent cases the *diwan* (council) was convened. The *diwan* was made up of senior generals, vizirs and other dignitaries.

The army occupied an exceedingly important place in the life of the military-feudal Ottoman Empire. It was based

¹ Marx and Engels, *Works*, Vol. 22, 2nd Russ. Ed., p. 33.

on the knights (*sipahi*), who had to live within the boundaries of those districts in which their *timars* were located. Each district was called *sanjaq* or *liwa* (banner), and the knights who lived there formed a combat unit of the Ottoman cavalry. In event of war, they assembled their cavalry under the banner of the *sanjaq-bey*, the commander of the district, who commanded them as well as the knights of his own *sanjaq*.

Each province (*pashalik* or *eyalet*) embraced several *sanjaqs*. A province and its levy of knights was commanded by a pasha, or bey of beys. Apart from the levy of knights, many pashas had their personal feudal militias of Mamelukes and mercenaries (usually Maghrebs).

The Ottoman infantry corps was made up of janissaries (from the Turkish *yeni-cheri*, new troops). This was a privileged corps of professional infantry formed in the 14th century. It was recruited mainly from young captured Slav boys, who were forcibly converted to Islam and given a military training. They had no families, were cut off from the local population and served the Turkish Sultan zealously. The janissary corps was divided into "nuclei" with *agas* at their head. They enjoyed a number of privileges. At some time during the 17th or the 18th century, the janissaries obtained the right to settle down outside the "nuclei", to marry and raise a family, to engage in the crafts and in trade, while continuing to offer military service on a hereditary basis. Thus a special janissary stratum was formed from which the Sultan's guard and the military-police formations were recruited for the purpose of exacting taxes and duties and for suppressing revolts. Many towns and provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Serbia, Algeria, Tunisia) suffered cruelly from the outrages of the janissaries and often came under their complete control. The janissary dominance was felt even in the empire's capital, Constantinople.

Apart from the knightly cavalry, the janissaries and the mercenaries, the Turkish sultans and their deputies resorted to the help of warlike tribes, whose role was especially important in the far-flung parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The Turks imposed their administrative system on the Arab countries. Syria and Palestine were divided into four *pashaliks* with centres in Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli and Saida (at the end of the 18th century, Akka was also made

a *pashalik*). The region of the city of Jerusalem was set aside as a special *sanjaq*. In Iraq, there were only two *pashaliks*—Mosul and Baghdad. In Arabia, there were also two—the Hejaz and the Yemen. Egypt, Tripoli, Tunisia and Algeria were independent *pashaliks*. The Somalian seaboard was an independent province of Habash from the middle of the 16th until the middle of the 18th century. The territory of the Lebanon preserved its autonomy under the government of the Arab emirs.

The Sultan's deputies enjoyed unrestricted power in their own domains. The central government did not bother its governors with petty instructions. According to their own judgement, they levied and collected taxes, distributed estates, administered justice and reprisals, commanded their troops and waged war on their neighbours or rebellious vassals.

There were no strong ties between the provinces. Outwardly the Ottoman Empire was a centralised state. In reality, it was decentralised. It lacked internal economic cohesion and national unity. Actually it was a conglomeration of countries and peoples united under the sword of the conqueror. Hence the existence of centrifugal forces which slowly but surely pulled the empire apart.

THE DECAY OF OTTOMAN FEUDALISM. At the end of the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of serious crisis, which affected all branches of social life: the economy was ruined; the machinery of the state had decayed; the provinces would not obey the centre; the demoralised army had lost its fighting efficiency; culture had declined. Marx and Engels compared Turkey with the decaying carcass of a dead horse which supplied the "neighbourhood with a due allowance of carburetted hydrogen and other well-scented gaseous matter".¹

This crisis was called forth by the decay of Ottoman feudalism. Feudal production relations made the further development of the productive forces impossible. Moreover, they led to the destruction of the existing productive forces.

Turkey and her Arab domains were agrarian countries

¹ Marx and Engels. "British Politics—Disraeli.—The Refugees—Mazzini in London—Turkey", *New York Daily Tribune*, April 7, 1853.

and their main producer was the peasant. He practised small-scale farming on his own plot by his own labour using primitive implements. The basic law of this economy was simple reproduction. Part of the harvest, which comprised the essential product, was used for the reproduction of the primitive means of production and manpower. The other part, which comprised the surplus product, was completely appropriated and used by the feudal exploiters. With the growth of money-commodity relations and foreign trade, the appetites of the feudal lords grew also. Sumptuous palaces were erected in Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo and other urban centres, which received luxuries from all over the world, imported by enterprising European and eastern traders and paid for in kind with the products of the local peasant households. But the needs of the feudal lords continued to grow, and more and more goods had to be supplied.

Feudal plunder assumed catastrophic proportions for the peasant household. Villages emptied, crops were abandoned. Fields which had until recently been tilled were infested with burr bushes and more than half of the land lost its fertility. Famines were frequent.

The principle of collective responsibility was strictly followed in the village. If a peasant family died out, its taxes had to be paid by the neighbouring peasant household. If a whole village died out, its taxes were paid by the neighbouring village. This system hastened the ruin of the Arab village.

The greater the damage done to the peasant household, the fiercer was the struggle of various groups of feudalists for the right to exploit it. The struggle for fiefs and estates became more intense. Big feudal lords (*ayani* or *kibari*) seized the land of the petty knights. Gömürji, the ideologist of the last Kochi-beys, who died about 1650, wrote indignantly about the growing power and prosperity of all sorts of scoundrels, about their seizure of the *timars* and *ziamets*: "The owners of large and small estates, who were the real warriors for religion and the state, have been deprived of the means of existence and not a trace of them is left." While seizing the military fiefs, the nobility declined military service. Their example was followed by the same petty knights whose fate was lamented by Kochi-bey Gömürji. Previously the Sultan had once been able to recruit from 100,000 to

120,000 vassals, whereas in the 17th century only 7,000 or 8,000 went on campaign. Most of them were mercenaries and servants. The vassals avoided military service but strove to retain their own lands. In this period we observe the tendency to turn military fiefs into hereditary privately-owned estates. This process, which was accompanied by the ruin of the peasant household, undermined the very basis of the Ottoman Empire's might, the army.

This struggle for the right to exploit the ruined peasantry spread throughout the Arab countries. In the 18th century, it became more acute due to the decline of piracy and to military defeats which deprived the feudal lords of their main source of enrichment. Insurrections of the Arab sheikhs and emirs against the pashas became more frequent, as did the revolts of the pashas against the Porte. Internecine wars flared up and feudal separatism increased. The majority of the Arab provinces became virtually independent of the Turkish Sultan and passed into the hands of the local feudal cliques, whose leaders strove to break away from the Porte altogether and to found independent dynasties.

In Baghdad, the dynasty founded by Hasan Pasha was firmly established. This dynasty ruled throughout the 18th century. At times, when it exerted power over the Mosul governors, its authority extended over the whole of Iraq. The *mutasallims*, many of whom also held the title of pasha, were subordinate to the Baghdad pashas. All attempts of the Porte to depose this dynasty met with failure. The pashas appointed by the Porte could not hold out in Baghdad more than a couple of months. The *kulemens*¹ overthrew and killed them and proclaimed the next pretender of the Hasan Pasha dynasty the new pasha. In 1780, power in Baghdad was seized by Suleiman the Great (Buyuk), the *kulemen* leader. He founded a new dynasty, the dynasty of *kulemen* pashas, which ruled in Baghdad until 1831. The Baghdad pashas had their own court modelled after the Sultan's court in Istanbul, with the same large harems and covetous courtiers, numerous servants and fantastic oriental luxury.

The same went for Tripoli. The janissary dynasty of the

¹ *Kulemens*—white slaves converted to Islam, who underwent military training. They formed the army's crack troops, rulers' "guard", like the Mamelukes in Egypt.

Karamanli bey ruled from 1711. This dynasty was virtually independent of the Porte.

The Hussein dynasty in Tunisia began to reign in 1705. It was founded by Hussein bey ibn Ali. Under this dynasty, Tunisia became a fully independent state only nominally under the control of the Turkish sultans.

In Algeria, power became concentrated in the hands of the janissary freebooters, who turned the country into a virtually independent feudal state. With the help of the local feudal lords and sheikhs of the warring tribes, the janissary commanders laid the nomads and the peasants under tribute, gathered large taxes to their own advantage and seized land. A council of janissary army generals elected from among themselves the governor of Algeria—the dey, a life appointment, which could not be inherited. Under the dey there were four beys, who stood at the head of the provinces into which Algeria was divided.

In the middle of the 18th century, power in Egypt was seized by the Mameluke beys, who pushed the janissary nuclei into the background. According to Volney, the janissary nuclei turned into mobs of vagrants and ruffians. The administering of the country passed to the leader of the strongest Mameluke clique known as *sheikh-el-balad*, who made himself ruler of the whole country. The pasha became a virtual prisoner of the Mameluke beys and, as Volney writes, was deprived, banished and expelled. The first governor of Egypt in the 18th century was Ibrahim Bey (1746-57), who himself was not a Mameluke. But being a Turkish bey, a *kiyakhya*, he was able to form a Mameluke detachment and seized power with its support. His Mamelukes were generously rewarded with estates and posts and many of them were appointed beys. A fierce struggle for power ensued after the death of Ibrahim. It was won by Ali Bey, nicknamed El-Kabir (the Great), who, in 1763, became ruler of Egypt and six years later proclaimed Egyptian independence. In 1773, he was assassinated and power passed into the hands of the rival Mameluke clique headed by Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey.

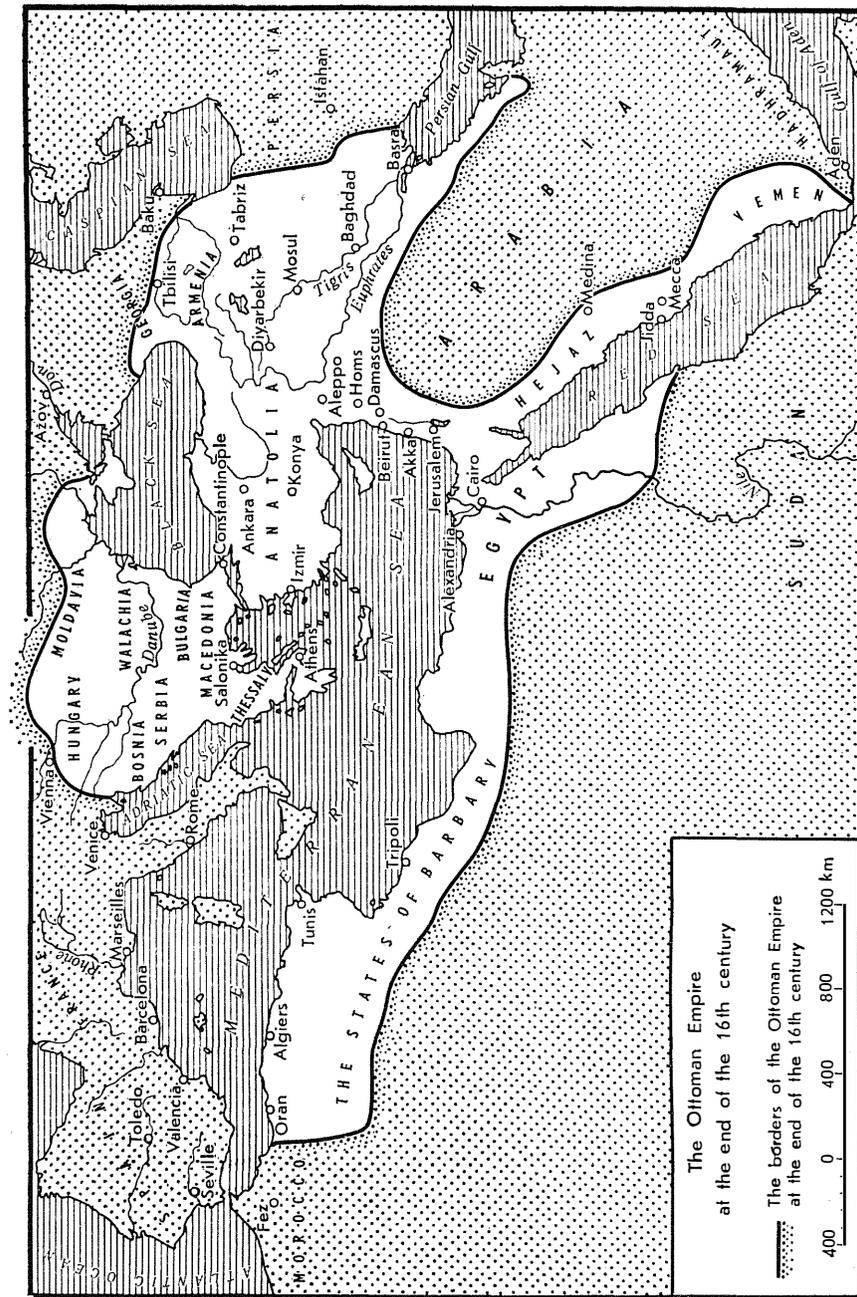
Feudal separatism and internecine wars thus led to the downfall of the vast Ottoman state, which had come into being not as a result of economic development, but as a result of the military requirements of Ottoman feudalism in the course of its predatory wars. This state, like many other

multinational states of Eastern Europe, arose within the framework of feudalism before the formation of nations and the liquidation of feudal disunity. The forced union of different peoples at different levels of development into a vast state was not durable and the contradictions between the feudal structure of the society with its inherent centrifugal tendencies and the centralised form of the Turkish state led to the inevitable weakening of the Ottoman Empire.

THE DECLINE OF THE OUTWARD MIGHT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Grave internal crisis signified the beginning of the ruin which was to envelop the whole Ottoman Empire. The former might of the Sublime Porte was shaken. In the 15th and 16th centuries, from the military point of view, the Ottoman Empire was the strongest state in Europe. It gained many victories and added many countries to its domains. Its army of janissary infantrymen and knights was considered invincible. But now the knights and janissaries would no longer fulfil their essential military obligations and went unwillingly to war. Industrial development in Europe had brought a marked improvement in military weapons and in the art of war. The Turkish army, however, remained at the level of the 14th and 15th centuries. Consequently the Ottoman Empire passed from victory to defeat, from the offensive to the defensive and from expansion to territorial losses.

At the end of the 17th century, Turkey suffered her first serious defeat. Her war against Austria, Russia, Poland and Venice ended in 1699 with the signing of the Treaty of Carlowitz, which gave Azov to Russia, Podolia to Poland, Central Hungary, Transylvania, Backa and Slavonia to Austria and the Morea and several of the Archipelago Islands to Venice.

Soon Turkey regained the Morea and temporary control of Azov. But according to the treaty of Passarowitz, signed in 1718, she had to yield the Banat and part of Serbia to Austria. The 1739 Treaty of Belgrade wrested Azov and Kabarda from her control and declared them neutral territories (the "barrier"). In 1774, the long Russo-Turkish war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji, which gave Russia Kerch, Yenikale, Kinburn and also the region of Kabarda. The Crimea and the Kuban were declared independent of Turkey. Soon (in 1783) they were also



joined to Russia. The Kuchuk-Kainarji Treaty also gave Russia the right to navigate the Black Sea and the Straits for commercial purposes.

By the Treaty of Jassy in 1792, Russia gained the whole northern seaboard of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Dniester which became her border. In 1812, by the Treaty of Bucharest, Russia received Bessarabia.

In her struggle with Turkey for the Black Sea and the Balkan Peninsula, Russia was driven by the economic requirements of her landowners and merchants. Russia's commodity economy was growing. The landowners and merchants needed an outlet to seaports that did not freeze up in winter in order to ship wheat, wood, hemp and furs to Europe. The importance of the Black Sea for Russian trade was increased by the fact that many of Russia's great rivers flowed into it. But the Black Sea was in the hands of the Turks and the outlet from it—the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus—was firmly closed to Russian ships. The question of capturing Constantinople was also connected with tsarism's desire for hegemony in Europe.

The Austrian landowners and merchants were also seeking an outlet to the warm water sea ports for their growing export trade. Hence Austria's desire to gain possession of the Adriatic Sea and the Danube Basin. Austrian expansion crossed and in many respects coincided with Russian expansion. This led to conflicts between the two countries which, however, did not keep them from reaching agreement on the division of Turkey.

England and France were also eager to gain control of Istanbul, the Straits, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Syria and Iraq. These claims were made in the 18th century, but actual fighting began in the 19th century. With the further development of capitalism, the solicitations of the European Powers in the Near East became more persistent and the struggle between them for the division of the Ottoman Empire more fierce. The fate of the empire's domains, known in history and literature as the Eastern Question, was central to European diplomacy in the 19th century.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES' STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. The yoke of the Turkish feudal lords—sultans, pashas, janissaries and

knights—evoked many insurrections by the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. These insurrections reflected the main class contradiction between feudal lords and peasants as well as the main national contradiction between the oppressors and the oppressed. The feudal yoke in the Ottoman Empire bore the stamp of foreign domination, so the peasants' struggle against the feudal lords went hand in hand with the national liberation movements. The bourgeoisie, which in the 18th century was taking shape as a class in Greece, Serbia and Egypt, also suffered from the Ottoman feudal yoke and joined in the struggle against feudalism.

Generally speaking, there were two kinds of movements. There were popular movements in Turkey herself, directed against the feudal yoke. These were supported by the oppressed nationalities and in the main assumed a class character. On the other hand, there were movements of the oppressed peoples. These were more like national liberation movements.

Among the popular anti-feudal movements in Turkey proper were the uprisings headed by Badr ed-Din Simawi in 1415-18 and the Kara Yazici uprising at the turn of the 16th century.

The uprising of Badr ed-Din Simawi spread over a huge area, from the Balkans to East Anatolia. In his fiery speeches Sheikh Badr ed-Din Simawi, the leader, inveighed against the exploiters, preached universal equality, the liquidation of class oppression and the communal use of property. He called for the unity of the working people of all religions and nationalities. In the ranks of the insurgents Moslems fought side by side with Christians and Jews, and Turks side by side with the Greeks and Slavs.

The geographical boundaries of the Kara-Yazici uprising were even greater. It included the Balkans, Asia Minor, northern Syria and Iraq. The insurgents seized Baghdad and held it for many years. The Arab fellaheen and bedouins took part in the uprising together with the Turkish peasants, the petty knights and several pashas. Like the Badr ed-Din movement, the level and the scale of this uprising placed it in the same ranks with the Wat Tyler, Thomas Münzer and John Huss uprisings, with the French jacquerie and with the liberation wars of the Russian peasants.

The uprisings of the oppressed peoples were no less persistent in character. The main centres of the anti-Turkish

liberation movements were the Balkans, Transcaucasia and the Arab countries. Although in some cases the leaders were feudal lords, in principle, the movement assumed a profoundly popular character.

One of the main centres of anti-Turkish resistance in the Arab countries was the Lebanon. In 1516, the troops of Selim the Cruel had seized the Lebanon and the mountainous regions of Syria and Palestine. The administration of the country had been entrusted to Fakhr ed-Din I, an emir from the Ma'anid dynasty who recognised vassal dependence on the Porte. His attempts to avoid paying tribute, however, irritated the Turks, who in the end decided to establish direct authority over the country, but were met with fierce resistance from both the Lebanese peasantry and the feudal lords. A long stubborn struggle ensued. In 1544, Fakhr ed-Din was poisoned at the court of the Damascene Pasha, and his son, Kirkmas, like many other representatives of the Lebanese nobility, was killed fighting the Turks who, in 1585, launched a punitive expedition against the Lebanon.

A new stage in the resistance began in 1590 with the advent to power of Kirkmas's son, Emir Fakhr ed-Din II. This loyal pupil of Machiavelli, a Druse, who made himself out to be a Christian when opportunity offered, was a clever diplomat and master of intrigue. He had spies in Constantinople, at the courts of the pashas and even in the homes of his vassals. He plotted and sowed discord among the enemy. Seeking the favour of the Sultan, at first he paid a high tribute into the Turkish treasury and shared the spoils of war with him. For this the Sultan appointed him ruler of the mountain and coastal districts of the Lebanon and considerable parts of Syria and Palestine.

The ultimate purpose of the Emir's plan was a crusade against the Sultan with the help of the West. Preparing for the struggle against the Porte, he started talks with the Italians, began the construction of fortresses and brought the strength of his army up to 40,000 men. In 1613, he provoked a rebellion in which the whole population of the Lebanon took part. However, the Turks emerged victorious. Fakhr ed-Din II was compelled to flee from the Lebanon and spent five years in Italy. His pompous Oriental suite and enormous wealth held Europe spellbound. As a diplomat he was less successful. His plans to knock together an anti-Turkish coa-

lition with the participation of France, Florence, the Vatican, the Maltese Order, and others failed.

Upon the accession to the throne of Osman II in 1618, Fakhr ed-Din II was granted an amnesty and returned to the Lebanon. Having regained his domains, he mapped out a plan to develop them economically. He encouraged foreign trade and to a great extent Europeanised the country. Beirut was split up into boulevards after the European manner and new buildings were erected. A group of young people was sent to Italy to study. This was the beginning of Maronite spiritual education. It promoted the European study of Arab philology. At the beginning of the thirties, Fakhr ed-Din II once again inflamed the people to rebel. He was taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople as a hostage. In 1635, disturbances flared up again. Fakhr ed-Din II was executed and his principality routed.

Arab opposition to Turkey, however, continued. Throughout the 17th century two hostile groups of the Lebanese nobility had been fighting each other. One group, the *Kaisites* (or "reds", as they called themselves), led by the Ma'anid family came out against local Turkish domination and gained a following among the Lebanese peasants. The other group, the *Yemenites* (or "whites"), led by the emirs of the Alamaddin family, was supported by the Turks. Varying fortunes attended the struggle. More often than not success favoured the *Kaisites*, who established authority in the Lebanon many times. In 1697, after the Ma'anid family had died out, the *Kaisites* were headed by emirs from the Shehab family.

In 1710, the Turks, together with the *Yemenites*, made one more attempt to settle accounts with the troops of the *Kaisite* emirs. Having overthrown Emir Haidar Shehab, they planned to turn the Lebanon into an ordinary Turkish province. In 1711, however, the *Kaisites* crushingly defeated the Turks and the *Yemenites* in a battle near Ain-Dar in which all the members of the Alamaddin family perished. The Turks were compelled to renounce their plans and for a long time did not interfere in the Lebanon's internal affairs.

One of the most serious attempts of the Arab rulers to free themselves from the hated Ottoman feudal yoke and win independence is connected with the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. The diplomacy of the European Powers, espe-

cially tsarist Russia, in its desire to weaken Turkey, supported the national liberation movements on the Balkans and in the Arab countries. The leaders of the insurgent forces, in turn, sought an alliance with Russia, hoping to gain their ends with her help.

In 1769, taking advantage of the war with Russia, the ruler of Egypt, Ali-bey el-Kabir, declared his independence of the Turks. A Mameluke of Abkhazian origin, Ali-bey had for long sympathised with Russia and concealed his hatred for the Porte. In 1770, he declared himself sovereign and assumed the title of "Sultan of Egypt and the Two Seas". His name was mentioned in the *khutbahs* (sermons) of the Egyptian and Hejaz mosques. In 1770, the province of Hejaz was added to his domains.

To get help in his struggle against Turkey, Ali-bey entered into an alliance with Sheikh Zahir, the ruler of Safad (a region in Palestine). For many years this *Kaisite* had been engaged in extending the domains presented to his father by the Lebanese emir. Around 1750, having obtained the small coastal settlement of Akka and turned it into a large centre of sea trade and handicraft production, he moved his capital there. He then restored an ancient fortress of the Crusaders in Akka and converted it into an impregnable stronghold, which was later to withstand even the forces of Bonaparte. Zahir used the huge revenues gained by extortionate tax-farming and the granting of monopoly mainly to equip his army (its combat strength reached 60 to 70 thousand men) and fleet.

Having broken away from the Porte, Ali-bey decided to secure the aid of Russia. At this time a Russian squadron under the command of Count Alexei Orlov was stationed on the Archipelago. Having destroyed the Turkish fleet in the famous Battle of Cheshme on June 25-26, 1770, the Russians established their supremacy at sea and seized several of the Archipelago islands, having actively supported the rebellious Greeks. At the beginning of 1771, special emissaries of Ali-bey arrived at the headquarters of Count Orlov on the Island of Paros, where it was agreed to start a joint struggle against the Turks.

At first Ali-bey was successful. In 1771, the Egyptians with the support of Zahir's troops began a formidable campaign in Syria. They took Damascus, Saida and besieged

Jaffa. However, the treason of the Mameluke generals completely changed matters. Abu'l-Dhahab, who commanded the Egyptian troops, suddenly withdrew his Mamelukes from Damascus, fortified his position in Upper Egypt and started a struggle against Ali-bey. The majority of the Mameluke beys defected to Abu'l-Dhahab. Ali-bey was defeated and fled to his ally in Akka. After the loss of Damascus and the departure of the Mamelukes, Zahir's situation became more precarious. The Lebanese emir, Yusef Shehab, joined the Turks and with them besieged Saida. At the request of the allies, a Russian squadron, under the command of Rizo, arrived in Syria. It helped break the blockade of Saida and seized Beirut (May 1772). In the autumn of 1772, having concluded a truce with the Turks, the Russian squadron left Syria. Once again Beirut passed into the hands of the Turks.

In the meanwhile, Count Orlov sent to Ali-bey a mission headed by Lieutenant Pleshcheyev, which handed over to the insurgents a large consignment of weapons and ammunition. In 1773, having reorganised his forces, Ali-bey with his 6,000-strong army came out against the rebellious Mameluke beys. In the battle near Salihia, however (in the eastern part of the Delta) his troops were defeated. Ali-bey was mortally wounded, taken prisoner and soon, on May 8, 1773, died in Cairo. Sheikh Zahir's situation was now critical. True, in June 1773, the truce between Turkey and Russia ended and once again a Russian squadron, under the command of Kozhukhov, arrived in Syria. The Lebanese emir Yusef Shehab broke with the Turks and entered into an alliance with the Russians and Sheikh Zahir. After a three-month siege, the Russians captured Beirut. In October 1773, Yusef Shehab requested Catherine II to make him a Russian citizen and establish a protectorate over the Lebanon. After the signing of the Kuchuk-Kainarji Treaty in 1774, this petition was rejected and the Russian squadron left Syria.

When the Russians departed, the Turks threw all their forces against Sheikh Zahir. In 1775, he was besieged in Akka and soon killed. The revolt was suppressed and the capital of Zahir, Akka, became the residence of the Turkish *satrap* Jazzar, whose name is associated with the darkest days in Syrian history.

Jazzar (the Butcher), his real name was Ahmed, was of Bosnian origin. He had embarked on his Mameluke career

in Egypt, where he had earned the nickname of Butcher by ordering several massacres. During the Russo-Turkish war he organised his own Mameluke detachment to fight the Russians. For his outstanding services in suppressing the Zahir rebellion, he was appointed the pasha in Saida. Soon the *pashaliks* of Tripoli and Damascus were also handed over to him and he became the virtual ruler of Syria with Akka as the centre of his domains.

The reign of Jazzar was remarkable for the unprecedented brutality with which one rebellion after another was suppressed. In 1780, a spontaneous peasant movement, supported by some of the local nobility, started in the Lebanon. At its head stood certain relatives of Yusef Shehab, who had once again gone over to the Turks. The insurgents rebelled against the heavily increased tribute that Jazzar had imposed on the Lebanon. The revolt was brutally put down. Yusef Shehab cut off his brother's tongue, plucked out the eyes of his other brother, and with his own hands killed one of the Shehabs who had gone over to the insurgents. The janissaries fed their prisoners with human flesh.

This was followed by the brutal suppression of the rebellions of the Palestine bedouins and fellaheen of Saida. A continuous struggle was waged in the Lebanon, where rival feudal cliques roused the peasants to revolt with promises of an easier life. The most serious rebellion against Jazzar began in 1789. The insurgents seized Beirut, Saida, Sur and approached Akka, but treason, committed on the part of some of the feudal leaders, bribed by Jazzar, led to the defeat of the revolt. In 1790, in the Lebanon, yet another rebellion was sparked off by discontent among the peasants and internecine strife among the nobles. The rebellion began to die down only in 1797, when Yusef Shehab's nephew, Emir Beshir II, who had fought against his uncle, gained a foothold in the Lebanon.

In 1798, a big rebellion took place in Damascus, the inhabitants of which refused to pay tribute to Jazzar. Somehow, the Porte managed to settle the conflict by appointing a new pasha in Damascus. However, the disturbances in Syria continued.

In Iraq, uprisings took place throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. These were movements of bedouins and semi-settled farmers, whose life was still based on the trib-

al system. The insurgents upheld their rights to the land and rose against the feudal system imposed by the Ottoman Turks, refusing to pay taxes to the Turkish authorities. The pashas replied by sending military expeditions to collect taxes from their rebellious subjects, with the result that wars between the pashas and the tribes continued almost without a break from year to year. The local feudal lords—Kurds and Arabs—played an ambivalent role. At times they would help the pasha to pacify one tribe or another (usually for a generous bribe), but often they headed the tribal anti-Turkish uprisings.

To this picture of internecine wars and rebellions were added the Persian raids. Fighting against Turkey as against their permanent enemy, the shahs of Persia supported any anti-Turkish action in Iraq whether tribal rebellions or the campaigns of the pashas. There were times in the forties of the 18th century when the Pasha of Baghdad fought against his own sovereign together with the tribes and the Iranian Shah.

The three centuries of Ottoman rule in Iraq witnessed scores of large-scale rebellions. One of the most significant was the uprising of the tribes in southern Iraq under the leadership of the Siab family. It started in 1651 in the district of Basra. The insurgents captured Basra and held it for many years together with the adjoining regions. Only in 1669 did the Turks succeed in putting down the rebellion and installing their own deputy in Basra. In 1690, an Arab rebellion of the Muntafiq tribes flared up, embracing the valley of the lower and middle Euphrates. The Arabs occupied Basra and conducted a successful campaign against the Turkish troops until 1701. Even then the Turks failed to suppress the rebellion completely. With the support of the Iranian shahs the Muntafiqs offered stubborn resistance to the Turks in the 18th century. At the end of the century a fresh wave of popular uprisings swept southern Iraq. They were put down by the Baghdad Pasha, Buyuk Suleiman.

These numerous uprisings and internecine strife weakened the Ottoman Empire. Feudal anarchy reigned in the domains of the Sublime Porte. The popular movements and uprisings of the Arabs, Greeks, Kurds, Armenians and Slavs shook the decaying foundations of the feudal empire and hastened the collapse of a reactionary feudal system which had outlived itself.

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT

(1798-1801)

THE AIMS OF THE EXPEDITION. When the French revolution at the end of the 18th century destroyed the feudal system in France, it might have seemed that the Arab countries were totally unprepared to accept its liberative ideas. However, its influence soon began to be felt in the Arab world, particularly in Egypt, the most advanced of the Arab countries. Here feudal disintegration had made great headway and the country was socially and economically ripe for an anti-feudal war. This influence was brought to Egypt by the army of the French Republic under the command of Bonaparte.

Having conquered Italy in 1797 and advanced into the Balkan Peninsula, Bonaparte reached the borders of the Ottoman Empire, which was in a state of a grave crisis. Recently, in the war against Austria and Russia, it had suffered a number of serious defeats. Weak and incapable of offering any resistance, the empire was a fertile ground for any attempt at annexation by the French bourgeoisie. "The Ottoman Empire is doomed," Bonaparte wrote to the Directory, "and there is no reason for us to support it."

The Ottoman Empire's strategic position encouraged Napoleon's expansionist plans. The eastern end of the Mediterranean and its southern coast were incorporated in the empire. By gaining possession of the empire, France, having already subjugated the Appenine Peninsula, would be able to turn the Mediterranean into an inner lake of its own, thereby delivering a crushing blow to her bitterest enemy, Great Britain, which was the initiator of all counter-revolutionary coalitions against the French Republic. Moreover, Napoleon hoped that the conquest of the Arab countries in North Africa and Asia Minor would permit France to create

a mighty colonial empire to make up for her lost American colonies.

The growing strength of France caused serious alarm in bourgeois England. France's economic development threatened England's supremacy on the world markets and in the colonies. An economically ascendant France would menace the industrial monopoly set up by English capital. The English bourgeoisie was therefore eager to overwhelm its rival, to seize its markets and colonies and make them its own. The struggle between France and Britain for world supremacy was the underlying reason for the long series of wars which in the end led to the elevation of England and the break-up of Napoleon's empire.

In this struggle for world supremacy, the Ottoman Empire was the trump card. Napoleon decided to take it from England. He shrewdly made plans for the conquest of Egypt, one of the Sultan's richest domains. The short cut from England to India lay through Egypt. True, the Suez Canal had not yet been built. There was no sea route between Alexandria and Suez, but transshipping stations had been established and passengers, goods and mail were unloaded at Alexandria and delivered by caravan to Suez, considerably reducing the journey to India. By seizing Egypt, Napoleon would immediately gain a number of advantages. First, he would acquire a rich colony. Secondly, he would consolidate his position at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, whence he could attack the Ottoman Empire. Thirdly, he would deal a blow to England by disorganising her connections with India and, fourthly, he would obtain a base for his long-desired campaign against India.

THE BEGINNING OF THE EXPEDITION. In 1798, Bonaparte persuaded the Directory to undertake a campaign of conquest against Egypt. Taking personal command of the 30,000-strong expeditionary corps he set sail with a French squadron from Toulon in May 1798. Another force was despatched to Egypt from Italy. Though Nelson's reconnaissance ships were scouring the Mediterranean, the French managed to reach Alexandria without loss, capturing Malta on the way. Several Maltese Arabs were included in the expedition as interpreters and scouts.

On July 1, 1798, the French army landed at Alexandria.

The inhabitants of this city put up some resistance, but were soon suppressed and the French army moved southwards in the direction of Cairo.

On the same day, Napoleon addressed the Egyptian people with a proclamation in which French revolutionary ideals were mixed strangely with colonialist threats and a cynical, demagogic play on the religious sentiments of the more backward sections of the population. Napoleon presented himself almost as a devout Moslem and friend and patron of Islam. Having seized Egypt, the richest province of the Ottoman Empire, he declared himself a "friend of the Turkish Sultan". His purpose in coming to Egypt was to "punish the Mamelukes", the enemies of the Sultan, the Egyptian people and France. He also argued the need to defend French residents in Egypt, an argument later to be used by all colonialists as an excuse to interfere in the affairs of other countries.

The proclamation began with the usual Moslem address: "In the name of Allah, the Gracious and the Merciful. There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet."

It continued: "In the name of the French nation founded on equality and liberty, the great general and leader of the French army appeals to the citizens of Egypt. From time immemorial the Mameluke beys ruling your country have insulted the French nation and subjected her merchants to torture. The hour for revenge has arrived!

"For many centuries this rabble of slaves has oppressed the most beautiful country in the world. But Allah, the ruler of the heavens, has willed that their reign shall end.

"Oh people of Egypt! They will tell you that I come to destroy your religion; believe them not: answer that I come to restore your right, to punish the usurpers, and that I respect, more than the Mamelukes ever did, God, his Prophet and the Koran. Tell them also that all men are equal before God except for their wisdom, talents and virtues excellencies. But by what wisdom, by what talents and virtues are the Mamelukes distinguished if they have arrogated all the joys and blessings of life. If there is good land, it belongs to the Mamelukes. If there is a pretty slave girl, a handsome steed or a good house, they belong to the Mamelukes. But Allah is gracious, merciful and just to the people, and with his help the Egyptians are called upon to take their places.

The most intelligent, educated and virtuous will rule and the people will be happy.

"In Egypt, there were once great cities, long canals and lively trade. All this has been ruined by the tyranny and covetousness of the Mamelukes.

"Sheikhs, Cadis and Imams, assure the people that we are true Moslems. Was it not we who marched on Rome and crushed the Pope who urged the Christians to fight against the Moslems? Was it not we who destroyed the knights of Malta because these ignoramuses claimed that God had ordered them to fight against the Moslems? Were we not always friends of the Ottoman Sultan (may Allah grant his wishes) and enemies of his enemies? On the contrary, the Mamelukes do not obey the Sultan. They acknowledge no rule but their own.

"Thrice happy are they who shall be with us. They shall prosper! Happy are they who remain neutral, for they still have time to join us. But woe, triple woe unto them who take up arms for the Mamelukes. They shall perish!"

This emotional preamble was followed by concrete orders:

"1. Each village situated at a distance of not more than three hours' march from the route of the French army must send a delegation to the general in order to inform him that the population has capitulated and hoisted the tri-coloured French banner.

"2. All rebellious villages will be burnt.

"3. Every village that capitulates must also raise the banner of our friend, the Ottoman Sultan. (May Allah grant him a long life.)

"4. The village sheikhs must guard the Mamelukes' property.

"5. The sheikhs, *Ulema*, Cadis and Imams retain their functions. In the mosques, prayers will be offered to Allah as usual. The Egyptians will offer a thanksgiving for their deliverance from the Mamelukes, exclaiming: 'Glory to the Ottoman Sultan! Glory to the French army! Cursed be the Mamelukes; happiness to the Egyptian people!'"

News of the French invasion threw the Mamelukes into a panic. The military council met in Cairo the same day. It decided to request immediate help from the Sultan. The Mameluke governor, Murad-bey, was charged with the defence of Egypt. Five days later, he set out with his army to meet

Bonaparte. The cavalry moved along the banks of the Nile and the infantry in boats. Murad-bey resorted to the traditional medieval method of defence to check the advance of the French vessels along the Nile. He partitioned off the river at Mugaza with a metal chain, along which he lined up ships armed with cannon. The Mameluke cavalry and infantry stood guard on shore.

The first clash between the French and the Egyptian forces took place here on July 13. One Egyptian ship was destroyed in the first hour of the battle. "Allah willed that the sails catch fire and a spark fell on the ammunition," wrote the Egyptian chronicler Jabarti. "There was a dreadful explosion and the captain and sailors were thrown high into the air. The boat was reduced to ashes. Murad was filled with terror and fled, abandoning his guns and other heavy objects. He was followed by his cavalry. The infantrymen got into their wooden barges and sailed away to Cairo. This news made a very sorrowful impression on the capital." The way to Cairo was open and the invaders pressed on to that historic city.

THE DEFENCE OF CAIRO. The Mameluke beys considered their army "invincible", but its shortcomings came to the fore in the very first battle. A poorly organised feudal levy, it was, of course, quite unfitted to withstand the most modern army of the time, an army trained in the wars of the French revolution. Napoleon gave credit to the individual combat qualities of the Mamelukes, who fought like lions, but he stressed their incompetency in organised mass operations. "Two Mamelukes were undoubtedly more than a match for three Frenchmen; 100 Mamelukes were equal to 100 Frenchmen; 300 Frenchmen could generally beat 300 Mamelukes, and 1,000 Frenchmen invariably defeated 1,500 Mamelukes," he remarked. In this connection Engels wrote: "With Napoleon a detachment of cavalry had to be of a definite minimum number in order to make it possible for the force of discipline, embodied in closed order and planned utilisation, to manifest itself and rise superior even to greater numbers of irregular cavalry, in spite of the latter being better mounted, more dexterous horsemen and fighters, and at least as brave as the former."¹

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, p. 177.

This first defeat showed the Mamelukes they were dealing with a formidable opponent. With feverish haste they set about fortifying Cairo. They built new ships and dug fortifications. The inhabitants of the city, who had no desire to submit to foreign oppression, willingly took part in the defence. Craftsmen's guilds collected money to purchase weapons. Workers and artisans formed volunteer detachments. There were not enough weapons to go round. Patriotic demonstrations took place in the city. In the mosques, the *Ulema* implored God to grant them victory.

Yet the defence was poorly organised. On July 21, Bonaparte's army approached Giza, situated on the western bank of the Nile opposite Cairo. Here, at the foot of the ancient pyramids, a fierce battle took place. The Mamelukes and the city dwellers were crushingly defeated by the French. Out of six thousand Mamelukes only three thousand survived. Some of them fled with Murad-bey to Upper Egypt and some with Ibrahim-bey to Syria where they were pursued by the French. Thousands of city-dwellers, who fought on the approaches to Cairo, were drowned in the river while retreating. The victors broke into the city, plundered it and took brutal reprisals against those who had participated in the defence.

THE UPRISING AGAINST THE INVADERS. The French, however, soon found themselves in difficulties. On August 1, 1798, Admiral Nelson's squadron entered Aboukir Bay and destroyed the French fleet anchored there. Out of fifteen French vessels, only four escaped by fleeing to Malta. The others were either burnt, sunk or captured. The defeat was complete. The French expedition was cut off from France and its position was precarious. Now there could be no question of a campaign against India.

The Aboukir Battle put an end to the Porte's doubts. In September 1798, Sultan Selim III declared war on France with the aim of regaining Egypt. The entry of the Porte into the war gave new strength to the Egyptians, who continued to struggle against the French invaders.

Gambling on the religious prejudices of the people, Napoleon acted the role of the "Moslem" ruler, Ali Bonabarda Pasha. He went about in Oriental clothes, in a turban and robe. He regularly visited the mosque on Fridays, took part

in traditional ceremonies and even converted to Islam one of his generals, Jacques Menou, who was renamed Abdullah. He formed a consultative body, a *diwan*, made up of local sheikhs and *Ulema*. He exploited the people's hatred of the Mamelukes. But none of these measures could conceal the fact that the French administration had laid the towns and villages under a heavy tribute (in cash and in kind), the like of which they had never had to pay even under the Mamelukes. This tax robbery, together with extreme extortions and indemnities, the confiscation of food reserves and fodder supplies, exceeded all limits. It was quite obvious that the country was ruled by a foreign military clique.

For this reason, after Turkey's entry into the war, the guerilla war gained fresh momentum (mainly in the Delta region). The guerillas attacked military couriers, small patrols and detachments and wrecked communication lines. They killed French officers, quartermasters and tax gatherers. Napoleon sent punitive expeditions to the Delta. His generals burnt the rebellious villages, but this only served to strengthen discontent. Soon the uprising spread to Cairo.

One October day, the citizens of Cairo were alerted by a signal. A general attack on the French, mainly officers and generals, ensued. They were killed one by one on the streets and in their homes. Caught unawares, the French troops hastily withdrew from Cairo. Bonaparte himself fled to an island on the Nile not far from the city. From here he directed punitive operations. Fifteen thousand insurgents gathered at the El-Azhar Mosque, barricaded all the roads leading to the mosque and made preparations to repulse the French advance. Five thousand fellaheen from the neighbouring villages and several thousand Bedouins from the Libyan Desert hastened to their aid. Bonaparte sent one punitive detachment against the fellaheen, another against the Bedouins and concentrated his main forces near the rebellious capital. The insurgents in the mosque were subject to artillery fire. Thousands were killed. Those who did not perish under artillery fire were killed by the bayonets of the French grenadiers. No prisoners were taken. The insurgents begged for mercy, but Napoleon turned a deaf ear to their pleas. The cold-blooded massacre ended in the barbarous execution of the six leaders of the uprising. They were beheaded and

their heads were mounted on pikes, which the French carried around the streets of Cairo.

At the same time, in Upper Egypt, Murad-bey's guerilla detachments continuously harrassed the French garrisons.

THE SYRIAN EXPEDITION. Cut off from France, Napoleon decided to march northwards with his army into Asia Minor. With this end in view, he tried to establish relations with the Syrian governors, but met with resistance.

The campaign against Syria began in February 1799. Without much trouble, Bonaparte's 13,000-strong corps occupied El-Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, Haifa and in the middle of March, approached the walls of Akka. The population, which hated the Turkish Pasha, Ahmed Jazzar, offered no resistance. The neighbouring tribes looked on curiously or even supported the French, if not out of sympathy, at least out of hate for Jazzar. On April 16, at the foot of Mount Tabor in Gallilee, Bonaparte defeated the 20,000-strong Mameluke army sent by the Damascene Pasha. The campaign seemed to be turning out favourably, but the walls of Akka still barred Napoleon's advance to the north. The French were short of siege artillery. They tried to ship it by sea, but it was captured en route by the British Commodore, Sydney Smith. Smith's squadron then entered the Bay of Akka and defended the fortress with its cannons. French emigrants in the service of Jazzar and the first regular units of Selim III's army, trained before the war by French instructors, also took an active part in the defence of Akka. Bonaparte's numerous attempts to storm the besieged fortress were repulsed. To make matters worse, plague broke out in the French camp. After a seventy-day siege, Bonaparte retreated to Egypt. The Syrian campaign had ended in the utter defeat of the French.

The Egyptian expedition was also doomed to failure. Bonaparte's victory over the Anglo-Turkish landing party at Aboukir on July 25, 1799, soon after his return to Egypt, could not save the situation. Shortly after, on August 22, 1799, Bonaparte left Egypt for France to dissolve the Directory and make himself the First Consul. He left secretly without the knowledge of his troops, or even of General Kléber, who was appointed to command in his absence.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EXPEDITION. After Napoleon's departure, the situation of the French army in Egypt became even more critical. The diminishing group of Frenchmen was surrounded by a hostile people, by the hostile Turkish army and British fleet. Kléber realised the only recourse left was to withdraw from the country and on January 28, 1800, he signed an armistice at El-Arish with the British and the Turks, who promised to provide him with transports to ship his troops to France. But when the order by the British to disarm the French army was communicated to Kléber, he decided to fight.

On March 20, 1800, in the Battle of Heliopolis (near Cairo), he routed the Turkish forces despatched from Syria.

While the battle raged, the citizens of Cairo once more rose up in rebellion. They crushed the small French garrison which had remained in the city, and throughout the month-long siege repulsed constant attacks by the French troops. The insurgents were aided by Ibrahim-bey's Mameluke detachment just back from Syria. Only on April 15, having turned the suburb of Cairo, Bulak, into a heap of ashes, destroyed four hundred homes and exterminated several thousand insurgents, did the French manage to turn the tide. Ibrahim-bey surrendered Cairo and returned to Syria. Kléber hastened to impose a heavy indemnity on the city.

On June 14, 1800, Kléber was murdered by a fanatic named Suleiman of Aleppo, said to have been incited to the deed by the Turks. He penetrated into Kléber's residence and stabbed him several times with a dagger. The French military court decreed that Suleiman of Aleppo should have his hand burnt off and then be impaled on a stake. Four Moslem sheikhs, accused of complicity, were beheaded. Suleiman met his death courageously. He placed one hand on the fire and did not utter a sound as it burnt. Nor did he utter a sound during the four and a half hours which it took him to die impaled upon a stake. The French avenged Kléber's death by organising pogroms in the city. Crowds of soldiers overflowed the streets of Cairo, burning homes and killing the people.

In March 1801, the British landed a 20,000-strong force in Egypt. They occupied Aboukir, smashed the main French forces near Rahmania and besieged the remaining French forces at Alexandria and Cairo. At the same time at Qoseir

(on the Red Sea), they landed a 6,000-strong force of sepoy, who were to advance on Cairo. Instead of concentrating all the French forces in one place, the French commander, Menou, did the opposite. A terrible plague began to rage in the besieged garrisons. In June, Cairo surrendered to the British and in August, after a four-months siege, Alexandria capitulated. Menou was there at the time. At the end of September, the remnants of the French expedition were shipped home and Napoleon's bid for conquest reached an ignominious end.

Several days later (on October 9, 1801), France signed a truce with Turkey. As a result of the war, France lost Egypt, Malta and the strategically important Ionian Islands, which she had captured in 1797.

THE RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION. For France the only result of the expedition were the brilliant monographs produced by the savants who accompanied the French army to Egypt. Among them were geologists, technicians, mathematicians, astronomers, hydrologists, medical men, typographers, historians, archaeologists, experts in geography, law and art, economists and linguists. They not only solved practical military problems (e.g., the manufacture of ammunition by using Egypt's natural resources, the problems of water supply, combating epidemics in the army, tax gathering, etc.); they also compiled military maps and made a thorough study of a country that was as yet little explored. The result was a twenty-volume *Description de l'Egypte*, in which is collected the most diverse information on the regime of the Nile, on irrigation, farming, crafts, way of life and customs, cultural monuments, social relations, folk music, state finances, etc. These valuable monographs remain to this day a valuable source of information, which no student can ignore. The political results of the expedition, however, were nil.

During the three years of French occupation, the Egyptians experienced the harsh, yet useful school of the national liberation movement. They rose in arms to uphold their country's independence. The results of their struggle were tangible. Their military experience stood them in good stead in their struggle both against the British colonialists, who succeeded the French, and against the Mameluke feudal lords.

EGYPT UNDER THE RULE OF MOHAMMED ALI

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION (1801-03). After the expulsion of the French from Egypt, three armies remained in the country: the British, the Turks and the Mamelukes. The occupation forces were made up of over 20,000 British and sepoys, 40,000 Turks and 4,000 Mamelukes. According to the chronicler Jabarti, they "looted the merchants' shops, made the artisans pay a fourfold tax and raped the women. Upon entering a village, they imposed an indemnity on the people, arrested the sheikhs, and words cannot be found to describe their behaviour to the women." On the roads they robbed and murdered lonely wayfarers and looted caravans. They seized barges loaded with goods on the Nile and threw the sailors and merchants overboard. "They killed a mule driver and sold his mules at the bazaar." Villages were depopulated and agriculture was abandoned. This fanned the flames of discontent against the occupying forces.

At the same time discord was growing in the camp of the enemy. Turkey strove to retain her hold on Egypt. England wanted Egypt for herself and in her struggle against the Turks was backed by the Mamelukes. The British general in command ordered the Egyptian Pasha, a Turkish Government appointee, to give the Mamelukes back their estates and government posts. But the Turkish Pasha had instructions from Sultan Selim III to exterminate the Mamelukes. The Sultan was determined to strengthen his rule over the country.

The Turks managed to lure the Mamelukes into a trap, destroy some of them and take the others prisoner.

The British then induced the Pasha to free all 2,500 Mamelukes by threatening to bombard Cairo. They were handed over to the British command, which met them with military honours and formed them into new feudal detachments. In

the war of words that followed, the British commander ordered the Turkish fleet to withdraw from all Egyptian ports and threatened to put the Turkish admiral in irons and ship him to London if he did not comply.

However, the British domination soon came to an end. According to the Treaty of Amiens, concluded on March 27, 1802, between England and France, the British were obliged to leave Egypt. They tried to prolong the evacuation, but their main forces were withdrawn by the beginning of 1802 and the last units left Alexandria in March 1803.

The British, however, did not relinquish their aggressive plans. They took the pro-English Mameluke leader, Mohammed el-Alfy, to London with them to let him loose again on Egyptian soil at a propitious moment. Napoleon had not relinquished his aggressive plans either. In October 1802, he sent Colonel Sebastiani (in 1803 he became a general) to Egypt to prepare the way for a new expedition. Sebastiani, an expert on the East, was also a brilliant intelligence agent and diplomat. He established contact with the Mameluke leaders Ibrahim-bey and Osman Bardisi.

THE TURKO-MAMELUKE WAR (1802-04). Upon the departure of the British, the Turkish Pasha decided to resume the war against the Mamelukes, and in 1802 he sent his forces into Upper Egypt, where the Mamelukes had established themselves. But the Mamelukes had concluded an alliance with the bedouin sheikhs and thus had a large bedouin army at their disposal. They had also formed several detachments from among the Nubians. The Turks were crushed. The Mamelukes swept along the river in irrepressible waves, plundering and burning villages on their way. In the Battle of Damanhur, the Mamelukes destroyed 5,000 Turks (out of 7,000) with a loss of sixty men. They then joined forces with the British who were still quartered in Alexandria.

After the evacuation of the British forces from Alexandria (in March 1803) the Mamelukes withdrew to Upper Egypt. But the disputes among the Turks over the distribution of war booty brought them back.

Military rebellions continued to break out in Cairo. In the space of one month three pashas succeeded one another. A large detachment of the Turkish army (Albanian mercenaries) defected to the Mamelukes. In May 1803, Cairo was

seized by the united Mameluke and Albanian forces. Power passed into the hands of a triumvirate, composed of the Albanian commander Mohammed Ali and two Mameluke beys. Mohammed Ali, who played an important role in the history of Egypt, was still young at the time. He was born in 1769 in the Macedonian city of Kavalla. There are many stories about his childhood. He appears to have been the son of a small landlord, but lost his parents early in life and was brought up in a strange family. When he came of age he started a tobacco business, but at thirty a great change came about in his life. The Porte ordered that Kavalla send a small Albanian detachment of about three hundred men to Egypt and Mohammed Ali was made its second in command. Having distinguished himself in the very first battle, he was put in command of all the Albanian troops who were part of the Turkish expeditionary army in Egypt. The first victories fanned his ambitions and he decided to gain possession of the whole country. For this purpose he entered into an alliance with the Mamelukes, then launched a joint war against the Pasha, which ended in January 1804 with the utter defeat of the Turks.

CAIRO UPRISING (1804-05). THE ADVENT TO POWER OF MOHAMMED ALI. It seemed as though the Mamelukes had once again established themselves in Egypt. They had regained power and their estates, driven out the Turks and were once again robbing the people.

The British, who by this time had resumed their war against France, decided to take advantage of the Mamelukes' victory. Their agent, the Mameluke bey, Mohammed el-Alfy, was hastily embarked on a British frigate and sent to Alexandria (February 1804).

But Sebastiani's work had not been in vain. The Mameluke clique, led by Osman Bardisi, rebelled against the British agent. Mohammed el-Alfy's detachment was destroyed and el-Alfy fled to the desert.

The jubilant victors returned to the capital, but here they found themselves confronted by a popular uprising.

The working population of Cairo had decided to take advantage of the rift in the Mameluke camp and overthrow the hated Mameluke feudal lords. The uprising was led by the clergy, particularly El-Azhar sheikhs. On the appointed

day, the people refused to pay taxes and began killing the tax gatherers. Fierce street fighting ensued. The court of the Mameluke bey, Osman Bardisi, was besieged and destroyed (March 12, 1804) and Bardisi fled from Cairo.

The people's wrath was also directed against the Albanians, who were the Mamelukes' accomplices. Mohammed Ali, however, was a shrewd politician. Recognising the power of the growing popular movement, he went over to its side and promised a gathering of sheikhs at El-Azhar to abolish taxes. Declaring himself the defender of the Egyptian people's rights, he led his Albanian troops against the Mameluke feudal lords. This clever manoeuvre, dictated by a sober awareness of the balance of forces, secured for Mohammed Ali power over Egypt. The gathering of sheikhs elected him *qa'im ma'qam*, in other words, the Egyptian Pasha's deputy. The Turkish governor of Alexandria, Khorshid, was elected pasha.

The banished Mamelukes laid siege to the city. Cairo withstood the four-month siege and forced the Mamelukes to retreat to Upper Egypt.

Mohammed Ali's popularity grew. The people regarded the talented colonel as their leader but the Porte eyed his elevation with fear and annoyance. The Sultan ordered Mohammed Ali to return home. This caused discontent in Cairo. As a sign of protest the city shops and stalls were closed, popular processions began and the Porte was compelled to annul its decree.

Throughout the winter of 1804-05, Mohammed Ali and his troops pursued the Mamelukes through Upper Egypt. In the meantime, Khorshid Pasha with his janissaries revived all the horrors of the Mameluke regime. Khorshid imposed heavy indemnities on the city-dwellers and took hostages. He collected taxes from the war-ravaged villages a year in advance. But the people of Egypt, who had driven out the French and the Mamelukes, had no intention of being humiliated by the janissaries. In May 1805, the citizens of Cairo once more rose in rebellion. They drove out the janissaries and dethroned Khorshid, and a meeting of sheikhs declared Mohammed Ali ruler of Egypt.

Sultan Selim III was forced to recognise Mohammed Ali as the Egyptian Pasha. He was too occupied with other events to do otherwise. In 1804, on the Balkan Peninsula,

in Serbia, a big national liberation uprising had flared up. The situation in Bulgaria and Greece was also uneasy and the old Ottoman army was suffering one defeat after another. Realising that the Turkish medieval army had lost its punch, this reforming Sultan made determined efforts to reorganise it in new regiments, *Nizam El-Galid* (regiments of the new order). His own people protested against the introduction of taxes for the up-keep of the regular units and the reforms were also opposed by the janissaries, *Ulema* and Dervishes. A new movement, directed against the reforms, the new army and taxes, arose under the slogan "Religion and Old Laws".

In March 1805, Selim III issued a decree on recruitment into the regulars. The decision evoked janissary mutinies in many provinces. The punitive expedition sent by Selim III was defeated and Selim was compelled to annul the decree.

Naturally, in such circumstances he could not actively intervene in Egypt's affairs. The Sultan made one more unsuccessful attempt to remove Mohammed Ali from Egypt but, on meeting the resistance of the citizens of Cairo, beat a hasty retreat. In 1807, Selim III was overthrown by the rebellious janissaries and killed.

THE ANGLO-TURKISH WAR OF 1807. THE BRITISH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT. In August 1805, the war between England and France was resumed and soon spread to the East. Both Powers accordingly stepped up their intrigues in Egypt. In 1806, the Mameluke bey and British protégé Mohammed el-Alfy turned up in Egypt. He was opposed by Osman Bardisi, who was pro-French. Mohammed Ali used the struggle between the Mamelukes to his own ends. Supported by Osman Bardisi and the citizens of Cairo, he defeated el-Alfy, who in 1806 died of mysterious causes. Apparently he had been poisoned. The same fate soon befell Osman Bardisi. Mohammed Ali had rid the Egyptians of the Mameluke leaders, but the war against the Mamelukes went on. Mohammed Ali relentlessly pursued them to Upper Egypt.

The Ottoman Empire was drawn into the war between England and France on the latter's side. In 1806, the French Ambassador to Istanbul, General Sebastiani, provoked a conflict between the Porte and Russia, who was England's ally. In January 1807, when the main forces of the Turkish

army were deployed on the Danube against the Russians, England demanded that the Porte banish Sebastiani at once and surrender its fleet, the Dardanelles and their batteries to the English. Moldavia and Walachia were to go to the Russians. The Turkish Government rejected this ultimatum. The English fleet then entered the Sea of Marmara and threatened to bombard Istanbul.

The approach of the squadron caused a patriotic upsurge in the capital. While the English fleet waited for a fair wind in order to enter the Bosphorus, the Turks fortified the capital and the shores of the Dardanelles under the direction of Sebastiani and French engineers, whereupon the British admiral decided that any attempt to storm Istanbul would be hopeless and withdrew his fleet to the Mediterranean.

The British now decided to launch an attack against Egypt. On March 17, 1807, they landed a 5,000-strong force at Alexandria. Mohammed Ali led the Egyptians against the invaders. At the end of March, the 2,000-strong British force which had penetrated Rosetta was crushed by the Egyptians in the streets of the city. The British general sent another detachment to Rosetta twice the size of the first, but it was also defeated. In the Battle of Rosetta, the fellaheen and bedouins fought side by side with professional soldiers. While the English tried to gain possession of Rosetta, the citizens of Cairo proceeded to fortify the city.

The British never did advance on Cairo. After their second defeat near Rosetta and the unsuccessful attempt to instigate a new revolt of the Mamelukes, they withdrew to Alexandria. When Mohammed Ali advanced on Alexandria, the commander of the British forces asked Mohammed Ali to sign peace. In September 1807, the remaining British troops were shipped home and Mohammed Ali entered Alexandria. His popularity had grown immensely and he was hailed as the heroic defender of Egypt.

AGRARIAN REFORM OF 1805-15. EXTERMINATION OF THE MAMELUKES. Mohammed Ali came to power in the struggle against the Mameluke feudal lords. He continued the fight against the Mamelukes for four years from 1804 to 1807. During the British expedition of 1807, he agreed to a truce with the Mamelukes in order to repulse the British. The truce was not a stable one. Having recog-

nised Mohammed Ali as their suzerain, the Mamelukes maintained their control over Upper Egypt, which became the nucleus of continuous plots and mutinies.

After his victory over the British, Mohammed Ali devoted himself to land reforms which dealt a blow at the holdings of the *multazims* and the Mamelukes. In 1808, he confiscated the estates of the *multazims*, who were trying to avoid paying taxes, and in 1809 deprived them of half the *faiz*. In 1812, he took away all the land owned by the Mamelukes. In 1814, he completely abolished the *iltizam* system. Now the fellaheen paid taxes not to the *multazims*, but directly to the state. The personal dependence of the fellaheen on the *multazims* was also abolished. All that remained in the *multazims'* hands were the *usia* lands. Alloted lands (*atar*) were made state property. True, by way of compensation, Mohammed Ali ordered that the *multazims* be paid a *faiz* at the treasury's expense in the form of an annual pension. But the economic basis of their power was undermined.

Mohammed Ali, however, did not abolish the feudal mode of production. The liquidation of the *iltizams* and the sharing out of the common land, begun in 1813, undoubtedly altered the conditions of the fellaheen. But the fellah was still exploited by the feudal lords, although he now worked for the feudal state as a whole, not for an individual lord.

Moreover, it was not long before most of the land which had passed under the control of the state was once again in private hands. In the thirties (the first grant is usually dated from December 1, 1829), Mohammed Ali distributed large tracts of land to his kin and members of his suite, to higher dignitaries and officers of the Albanian, Kurdish, Circassian and Turkish detachments. Within a short time, he had given away hundreds of thousands of feddans of land together with the peasants who worked them. Subsequently, after 1854, their owners had to pay the *ushr* tax (or tithe), from which they came to be known as *ushria* (by the tithe payers). Thus, having deprived the ancient feudal nobility of its estates and power and having liquidated the *multazim* class, Mohammed Ali created in its place a new feudal nobility which became the mainstay of the new dynasty.

Between 1809 and 1815, Mohammed Ali appropriated the *waqf* land (*rizq*) to the state, and the government took upon itself the up-keep of the mosques and clergy. This measure

did not please the clergy and several sheikhs threatened to "overthrow him whom we have elevated". But Mohammed Ali drove these sheikhs out of Cairo and brutally suppressed their opposition.

The confiscation of the *iltizams*, the curtailment of the *faiz* and other measures caused discontent among the Mamelukes, who both in 1809 and 1810 instigated unsuccessful revolts against Mohammed Ali. Some of the Mamelukes fled to the Sudan and some recognised the authority of Mohammed Ali and remained in Egypt. Many of them settled in Cairo. But they could not forget their former estates and power and prepared new revolts aimed at restoring Mameluke feudalism.

Mohammed Ali decided to put an end to the Mameluke menace once and for all. In 1811, he was commissioned by the Porte to send his troops to Arabia to destroy the newly established Wahhabi government. On the day of his departure, on March 1, 1811, Mohammed Ali organised a military parade in Cairo, in which five hundred Mamelukes also took part. The troops gathered in the citadel, where they started their march through the city. When most of the troops had left the fortress, the Albanians closed the citadel gates, surrounded the Mamelukes and massacred them. Searches were made in the Mameluke homes. In Cairo, in the provinces and in Upper Egypt, everywhere Mohammed Ali's soldiers and the people hunted down the Mamelukes. Almost all the Mamelukes were seized and executed. Only a handful escaped by fleeing to the Sudan.

THE MILITARY REFORMS OF MOHAMMED ALI. Mohammed Ali's agrarian reforms paved the way for military reforms and were put into practice during the fight against the Mamelukes who fiercely opposed his reforming activities. The sad fate of the Turkish reformers, Selim III and Mustafa Pasha Bairaktar, who had been killed in 1808 by reactionaries, served as a warning to Mohammed Ali. A shrewd politician, he realised that in order to create a strong regular army, he had to get rid of internal reaction. Hence the reprisals against the Mamelukes (the Egyptian janissaries). Mohammed Ali thus succeeded in avoiding Selim III's mistakes. The result was a new and modern Egyptian army.

Mohammed Ali set about the task of creating a regular

army the moment he came to power. Due to the lack of men and weapons, progress was at first slow. The nucleus of the new army was formed by Albanians. Egyptians were not recruited, because Turkish-Mameluke traditions were still strong among them. After the Arabian campaign (1811-19), however, and especially after the campaign against the Morea (1824-28), during which the African soldiers, who comprised the greater part of the Egyptian army, perished from the cold, Mohammed Ali finally decided to conscript the native Egyptians (fellaheen). This army was destined to gain brilliant victories for Mohammed Ali in Syria.

At first, the troops were trained by foreign military experts. After the campaign against Arabia, Mohammed Ali set up a large training camp at Aswan, where thousands of young Egyptians and Sudanese were trained by French and Italian instructors. These were mainly officers of the empire, who had left their homeland after the return of the Bourbons. An outstanding role was played by the talented French officer Seve, nicknamed Suleiman Pasha. Mohammed Ali also set up military schools for Egyptian commanders: an infantry school in Damietta, a cavalry school in Giza and an artillery school in Tura (near Cairo). The Academy of the General Staff was opened in 1826. French military regulations were translated into Arabic. The Egyptian army was patterned on Napoleon's army. Its armament included artillery. "This outstanding artillery may be compared to that of the European armies," wrote one of Napoleon's marshals. "You look at it and marvel at the power of the government that has been able to turn the fellaheen into such first-rate soldiers." Weapons were purchased in Europe but often they were also manufactured in Egypt.

By the thirties of the 19th century, the regular Egyptian army had grown to considerable proportions. In 1883, it had 36 infantry regiments (3,000 soldiers in each regiment), 14 Guard regiments with an over-all strength of 50,000 men, 15 cavalry regiments with 500 men in each regiment and five artillery regiments comprising 2,000 soldiers—a total of almost 180,000 soldiers. Moreover, irregular units with an over-all strength of approximately 40,000 men also served in the Egyptian army.

Mohammed Ali did not limit himself to the creation of a land force. He studied the reforms of Peter I and would

often compare himself with the great Russian reformer. Like Peter I, Mohammed Ali decided to create a national Egyptian fleet.

He not only purchased ships abroad—in Marseilles, Livorno and Trieste. In 1829, after almost the whole Egyptian fleet had been destroyed in the Battle of Navarino, Mohammed Ali built a dockyard at Alexandria ("the Alexandrian Arsenal"). It was completed within a very short time. In January 1831, the first one-hundred-cannon ship was launched. At first most of the workers engaged in the ship-building industry were Europeans, but soon highly skilled native workers were trained. The Arabs quickly mastered the technical professions. Almost all the 8,000 workers at the dockyard were Egyptians. "The Alexandrian dockyard, where all the work is done by the Arabs and which can easily compete with all the dockyards in the world, clearly shows what can be done with these people. The Europeans would never have obtained such amazing results within such a short period," wrote a European observer.

Crews to man the ships were also trained. Within a short space of time, 15,000 Egyptian seamen were ready for service. Commanders received their training at the newly established naval college. "The Arabs are versatile and have excellent abilities. They appear to be born sailors," wrote the same observer. In addition, Mohammed Ali erected several new fortresses in Egypt and strengthened the old ones.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE. MONOPOLIES. The reorganisation of the army called for the creation of many workshops and manufactories. Smelting shops, smitheries, metal workshops, sail-canvas manufactories and other subsidiary enterprises were built at the Alexandria shipyard. New factories sprung up in Cairo and Rosetta. An iron foundry with an annual capacity of 2,000 tons of pig iron, three arsenals along French lines, saltpetre works and a gun-powder factory were also built. Cotton, linen, fez and cloth mills as well as rope yards were erected. Sugar factories and creameries appeared. All these enterprises belonged to the state or to members of the royal family.

Under Mohammed Ali, the development of agriculture

was accelerated, especially the growth of export cotton, rice, indigo and other crops. The development of agriculture was furthered by Jumel's (a Frenchman) introduction of a new cotton plant and by the implementation of an extensive programme for building irrigational projects. Old watering canals were restored and new ones built. In the Delta, the transition from basin to perennial irrigation was begun. Mohammed Ali lay the foundation of the great barrage across the Nile at the beginning of the Delta. As a result, the area of irrigated land increased by approximately 100,000 feddans and the area under cultivation rose from 2 million feddans in 1821 to 3.1 million feddans in 1883.

All Egypt's industrial, craft and agricultural production during Mohammed Ali's reign was controlled by the government. This control was effected by a system of monopolies, a peculiar type of centralised regulation of the country's economy. The system of monopolies took shape in the period from 1816 to 1820. The peasant and artisan households were put under the supervision of officials, and the government was given the exclusive right to purchase and sell the goods they produced. Each year, the peasants were told how many feddans to sow and with what crops. The amount of obligatory deliveries and purchase prices were determined. Along with agricultural products, the government monopolised the production and purchase of yarn, cloth, kerchiefs, saltpetre, soap, soda, sugar and other goods.

The agricultural and craft monopolies were supplemented by trade monopolies, the state being the only supplier of Egyptian goods on the home market and the only exporter. The retail dealers in the towns turned into virtual government agents for the sale of state-monopoly goods.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE FELLAHEEN AND THE WORKERS. Mohammed Ali's military reforms and economic reconstruction were realised at the expense of the masses.

The setting up of a series of large and quite advanced industrial establishments brought into being an industrial proletariat.

The conditions of the Egyptian workers were very bad, worse than those of their European brothers. The factory's internal organisation resembled a Russian feudal manufactory or even a military settlement in the times of Arakche-

yev¹. The factory workers were organised in platoons, companies and battalions. They had to obey officers and do military drills. They lived in barracks and were forcibly recruited to the factory, where they received only meagre wages. According to the data presented in the 1883 budget, 28 million francs were spent on maintenance of the army, 3.5 million francs for the private expenses of Mohammed Ali and only 2.75 million francs for the up-keep of factories and workers' wages.

The peasants were no better off than the workers. Although the fellah had rid himself of the hated Mamelukes and the *multazims*, matters had not improved. As under the Mamelukes, he was bound to the land. He had to do sixty days of corvée a year on the estates of Mohammed Ali and his attendants. The taxes he had used to pay to the *multazims* were now collected by state tax gatherers at higher rates. Under the Mamelukes he had been exempt from military service. Now he was liable to be conscripted for long periods into the feudal army with its harsh system of corporal punishment. He could not dispose of his products as he liked and was obliged to sell most of them to state buyers at low prices.

The peasants and artisans died of hunger while the monopolies continued to derive large profits, enabling the government to build up a new army and enriching the merchants who bought the right to buy up monopolised goods and gather taxes.

Many of the fellaheen and artisans were unable to bear the yoke any longer. They rebelled and fled to Syria. The Egyptian Government demanded their return and brutally suppressed the popular uprisings. (In 1822, an uprising took place in Cairo, in 1823, in the province of Minufiya, in 1824, in Upper Egypt and in 1826, in the region of Bilbeis.)

REORGANISATION OF THE STATE MACHINERY. Formally Egypt continued to be regarded as a *pashalik* of the Ottoman Empire and Mohammed Ali as its governor and pasha, who was subordinate to the Sultan and the Porte.

¹ Arakcheyev—the brutal favourite of Russian tsars Paul I and Alexander I; a period of reactionary police despotism and gross domination of the military is connected with his activities.—*Ed.*

He preserved the mask of a vassal, but in reality he executed only those of the Porte's orders which were to his advantage and sabotaged those that were not. Egypt had, in fact, become an independent state with its own government, army, laws and tax system. Mohammed Ali paid an annual tribute to the Sultan, comprising approximately three per cent of all budget expenditure, he received investiture from the Sultan, the latter's name was mentioned in the *khutbahs* and with this ended Egypt's dependence on the Porte. Foreigners called Mohammed Ali the viceroy.

In order to strengthen Egypt's defence potential, Mohammed Ali carried out an administrative reform. He abolished the old Mameluke administrative system, which had the provincial governors' (*kashifs*) arbitrary power, and created a centralised machinery of state. He established a number of ministries on the European pattern with strictly defined functions. The War Ministry was in charge of the army and fleet. The Ministry of Finance gathered taxes. The Trade Ministry was in charge of monopolies; it also had the monopoly of foreign trade. The Ministry of Public Education founded a number of schools and sent students abroad to study European sciences. Finally, the Ministries of Foreign and Home Affairs were formed. Under the ministries a series of councils and committees were established to deal with such questions as naval affairs, farming, public health, etc.

Mohammed Ali divided Egypt into seven new provinces or *mudiriyas*, at the head of which stood a governor (*mudir*) who was subordinate to the central government, carried out administrative duties and collected taxes. He was also responsible for managing government workshops and manufacturing, and for seeing that the canals, bridges and roads were in a good condition. He ensured the timely sowing and gathering of the crops. The *mudiriya* was divided into districts (*narakazes*) with a *ma'mur* at their head. The local administrative unit was the *nahiya* with a *nazir* at its head. Finally, the governor of the village was its sheikh. This harmonious strictly subordinated administrative system ensured the government complete control over all the sections of the state machinery.

Mohammed Ali invited French doctors, engineers, teachers and lawyers to help Europeanise the administration

of the country and, by so doing, formed the basis of a bourgeois intelligentsia among the Egyptians.

CULTURAL REFORMS. The creation of an army and a new machinery of state called for educated people. Mohammed Ali, therefore, sent many young Egyptians to Europe to study military and technical sciences, agronomy, medicine, languages and law. Specialised literature and textbooks were translated into Arabic. Upon the completion of their studies, they returned home to take up their posts as officers and officials or directors and engineers at government enterprises. Some of them became ministers.

For the first time in Egypt secular schools appeared. Over 6,000 pupils from eight to twelve years old studied the Arabic language and arithmetic at elementary schools. Pupils from twelve to sixteen also studied the Turkish language, mathematics, history and geography at secondary schools. After graduating, they could go to a special school to take a four-year course. Apart from military schools, other schools were founded: a medical school, a school for veterinarians, polytechnical, engineering and agricultural schools, a school for linguists and a music school. The students received a stipend and did not have to pay for their board.

Military and civilian hospitals were also founded in Egypt. They were no worse than the majority of European hospitals at the time.

In 1822, Mohammed Ali opened Egypt's first printing-house, which published books in the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages. Under Mohammed Ali, the first Egyptian newspaper *El-Uakia El-Misria* was founded. Mohammed Ali himself learned how to read very late in life, at the age of forty-five. For almost ten years he had ruled Egypt as an illiterate, mastering the fundamentals of warfare, engineering and history by sheer innate intelligence. With his new knowledge he studied the details of administering the army and government enterprises and followed reports in the foreign press.

GENERAL CHARACTERISATION OF MOHAMMED ALI'S REFORMS. Like the reforms of Peter I, Mohammed Ali's reforms were of a progressive nature, although they

were a burden to the people, who were mercilessly exploited by the feudal state. Like Peter I, Mohammed Ali did not break the feudal mode of production, but only abolished the most reactionary survivals of the Middle Ages. At the same time he built up a state of landowners and merchants, created a strong army and fleet and state machinery and carried out a series of reforms which turned Egypt into a strong and viable state.

Karl Marx thought highly of Mohammed Ali's reforms. Marx characterised him as "the only man" to replace a "dressed up 'turban' by a real head".¹ He described Egypt at the time as the "only vital element"² in the Ottoman Empire.

There was also much that was reactionary in Mohammed Ali's reforms. He brutally oppressed not only the Egyptian workers, artisans and the fellaheen but other peoples as well. He suppressed the Greek liberative uprising, subjugated Arabia, Syria, the Sudan, Cilicia and Crete. He dreamed of creating a vast multinational empire for Egypt's landowners and merchants. Apart from the Arabs, he ruled the Turks, the Greeks and the Sudanese. Even in the neighbouring Arab countries his troops behaved like conquerors in conquered lands.

This merciless feudal yoke, continuous aggressive wars, the opposition of the vanquished peoples and the Powers, especially Britain, undermined Mohammed Ali's might and in the end led to his downfall.

¹ "The Russo-Turkish Difficulty—Ducking and Dodging of the British Cabinet. Nesselrode's Last Note—The East India Question." *New York Daily Tribune*, July 25, 1853.

² "War in Burma—The Russian Question—Curious Diplomatic Correspondence", *New York Daily Tribune*, July 30, 1853.

PALESTINE, SYRIA AND IRAQ
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY

THE FAILURE OF FRENCH PLANS IN SYRIA. Palestine, Syria and Iraq—remote provinces of the Ottoman Empire, brutally oppressed by local despots, who only formally acknowledged the authority of the Sublime Porte—were suddenly drawn into the whirl of events that shook Europe at the dawn of the 19th century. During Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and the bitter Anglo-French struggle in India, they found themselves at the hub of international politics. Napoleon, who throughout his career never gave up the idea of a campaign against India, had far-reaching plans in which Syria and Iraq occupied an important place. The French expedition to Egypt was to have been followed up by an advance on India via Syria and Iraq along the Euphrates Valley.

The Directory, continuing the traditions of the Bourbons in this respect, had endeavoured to spread French influence eastwards, with the defence of French trade and Eastern Christianity as its watchwords. Even then, the necessity of defending the "rights of Eastern Christians" had been used extensively by the French bourgeoisie as an excuse for penetrating into Syria and Palestine and to cover up its expansionist plans in the East. As in Egypt, the French bourgeoisie's aims were purely predatory. France's concrete plans in this region closely followed the strategies of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, and were also designed to realise his dreams of conquest in India.

When Bonaparte launched a campaign against Syria, in 1799, during the expedition to Egypt, he did so with the intention of forming an Arabian army with a French nucleus to be deployed against the Turks and the British. For this he

counted on the help of the Arab feudal lords and the local Turkish governors. The talks with the Syrian Pasha, Jazzar, however, were a failure, since the latter already had considerable power, as well as money from the British. For over twenty years he had exercised absolute control over Syria and was not now willing to share his power with an interloper.

As for Emir Beshir II of the Lebanon (to whom Colonel Sebastiani was sent to open negotiations), he cunningly bided his time, waiting to see which side would win. To Jazzar's orders to despatch his troops to Akka he answered that complete anarchy reigned in the mountains, and that the people would not pay taxes and would not hear of a campaign. But this did not stop him from supplying both the Turks and French with provisions. Beshir had to take into account the fact that in the northern Lebanon, especially in Beirut, the Catholic priests and monks who had fled from Europe were stirring up hatred of the French Republic and Bonaparte among the backward elements of the Maronite population.

Only the Sheikh of Safad, Salih, the grandson of the famous Zahir ibn Omar, went over to Bonaparte's side and helped him rout the Mameluke troops at the foot of Mount Tabor (on April 16, 1799). Here in Bonaparte's camp, a meeting took place between the victors and envoys of Beshir II and the Maronites, who pledged their support in event of the capture of Akka.

Yet, in spite of a seventy-day siege and repeated assaults the French were unable to capture Akka, which was defended by the guns of the British squadron under Sidney Smith. On June 14, 1799, Bonaparte returned to Cairo.

Bonaparte's reckless schemes had failed. The French conquerors had not been actively supported by the people of Syria. But the feeling of hatred towards Jazzar was so great that the Syrian Arabs had not offered any support to the Turks either.

The French army did not have such a deep effect in Syria as it did in Egypt. The French got no further than Akka. They occupied only the Palestine seacoast and the Esdraelon Plain. They remained in the country for only three months. But the military operations in Syria complicated the internal situation and led to fresh outbursts of fighting between the feudal lords.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR IRAQ. The failure of the Egyptian expedition foiled Bonaparte's plans, but did not deter him. Soon after the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, the French once again became very active in the Middle East. In the autumn of 1802, Colonel Sebastiani made another tour of the countries of the Middle East, establishing contacts with the local rulers and preparing the way for a new French expedition.

In 1805, Napoleon invigorated his Eastern policy by drawing up a plan for a campaign against India. This time he intended to effect a landing at the estuary of the Orontes and from there to advance towards the valley of the Euphrates.

The next step was to ensure the passage of the French troops through Iraq. Bonaparte's agents came to an agreement with the Baghdad Pasha, Hafiz Ali, who had seized power in Iraq after the death of Buyuk Suleiman in 1802 and now, with the help of French instructors, formed a regular military force along European lines. In August 1807, he was killed by conspirators, but his nephew, Kuchuk Suleiman, who was also connected with France, routed the conspirators with the help of the force of regulars his uncle had built up. On the insistence of General Sebastiani the Porte made Kuchuk Suleiman the Pasha of Baghdad. At the same time, France concluded a treaty of alliance with Iran and a military mission under General Gardane was despatched to Iran to reorganise the Shah's army and make preparations for the passage of French troops through the country.

But the position of Iraq on the route to India was increasing Iraq's importance to Britain and the activities of French agents there evoked British opposition. The East India Company had established mail routes through Iraq at the end of the 18th century, the mail being delivered from Bombay to Basra by sea and from there by camel to Istanbul via Baghdad and Aleppo. Accordingly, the representatives of the East India Company in Basra and Baghdad, who controlled this route (like the British representatives in Iran), received instructions to neutralise the activities of Napoleon's agents. The plot against the Baghdad Pasha, Hafiz Ali, in 1807 was, in fact, organised with the aid of the British.

In 1809, when the events in Spain diverted Bonaparte from his Indian plans, the British achieved the expulsion of the French mission from Iraq, but a conflict arose in the same year between the East India Company and Kuchuk Suleiman, and the representative of the Company was forced to leave Baghdad.

Under British influence, in 1810, the Porte deposed Kuchuk Suleiman and sentenced him to death. The new Baghdad Pasha promised the East India Company to restore its privileges and not to interfere in its affairs, but in spite of his promises he was driven out of Baghdad and killed by Turkish troops. The trading stations of the East India Company in Baghdad and Basra were re-established.

Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century France was defeated in the fierce struggle for supremacy over the Near East. Everywhere, except for Egypt, which was ruled by Mohammed Ali, Britain held sway. She had considerably fortified her positions in Iraq and in the region of the Persian Gulf.

THE WAHHABI RAIDS. In the first decade of the 19th century, the towns and villages of Syria, eastern Palestine and Iraq (right bank of the Euphrates) became the object of constant Wahhabi raids.¹ The advocates of wahhabism did not recognise the Sultan's authority over the Arab countries and strove to unite the latter on the basis of their religious doctrine. Lacking the necessary strength to realise this task, they restricted themselves to systematic raids on Syria and Iraq, during which they committed outrages, pillaged towns and gathered tribute.

In April 1801, the Wahhabis stormed Karbala, the holy city of the *Shi'a*. For two days they plundered the city, set fire to homes and made short work of the apostates. They killed over 4,000 persons and looted countless treasures from the *Shi'a* mosque, and then withdrew to the desert. The Baghdad Pasha sent a force to Arabia in their pursuit, but it was routed.

In 1803, the Wahhabis turned up in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. In 1804, they raided Zubair and Basra, but were repulsed by the troops of the Baghdad Pasha, Hafiz Ali. On

¹ For a detailed account of the Wahhabi state see Chapter V.

the orders of the Porte, Hafiz Ali recruited an army for a campaign against Arabia, but his expedition (1804-05) was unsuccessful. The Wahhabis renewed their raids and made another attempt to seize Basra, Zubair, Karbala and Nejef.

In 1808, a Wahhabi force of some 45,000 men launched an attack on Baghdad, which was repulsed by Kuchuk Suleiman. In the same year, they appeared in the vast area between Ma'an and Aleppo. In 1810, they turned up in Hauran.

The Wahhabi raids on Syria and Iraq ceased only on the arrival of Egyptian troops in Arabia (in 1811) which threatened to liquidate the Wahhabi state.

THE GROWTH OF FEUDAL ANARCHY. The external political complications of the Sublime Porte and the interference of the Powers, the failure of the 1807-08 reforms, the death of Selim III and Mustafa Pasha Bairaktar strengthened the centrifugal tendencies of the Ottoman Empire. The separatism of the pashas ruling the Arab provinces of the Sublime Porte reached unheard-of proportions and grew into a completely unprincipled struggle for power and the *pashaliks*. The central government, which had neither the strength nor the means for a fight with the rebellious vassals, tried to find a way out of the complicated situation by setting one group of pashas against another, but, in doing so, only increased the general chaos. The European Powers, followed by Iran and Egypt, actively intervened in the internecine strife, in which they saw an opportunity of gaining their own ends.

Meanwhile, the French withdrawal from Palestine had considerably increased the authority and might of Jazzar, who credited himself with the victory over Napoleon. His little Akka had withstood the invincible hordes of the invaders and repulsed the invasion of an advanced European army that had never known defeat.

Intoxicated with success, Jazzar renewed his efforts to gain control over the whole of Syria and started waging continuous wars against the pashas of Damascus and Tripoli, whose domains he dreamed of annexing. This naturally brought him into conflict with the Porte, which eyed the growing might of the Akka Pasha with displeasure. Sultan Selim III, who was waging an obstinate struggle against the

separatist tendencies of his deputies, tried to restrict Jazzar's power and influence, and at the same time Jazzar found a new rival in the person of his protégé and vassal, the Lebanese Emir, Beshir II.

The heavy hand of Beshir II made short work of the revolts of his feudal lords, and it was not long before he had put an end to the old strife between the feudal lords in his domains and united the whole of the Lebanon under his rule. Jazzar decided to get rid of his rival, but in its struggle against Jazzar the Porte decided to support Beshir II.

Soon after the withdrawal of the French troops in 1799, Jazzar dismissed Beshir II. The Porte immediately reinstated him. Selim III confirmed Beshir II's feudal rights not only in the area under his control, but also in the provinces of Biqa's, Anti Lebanon, Jubeil and Saida. From that time onwards, Beshir II became directly subordinate to the Porte, by-passing Jazzar Pasha. That was a severe blow to Jazzar, who was thus deprived of the control of the Lebanon.

But the Porte's orders were executed only while the Turkish army was passing through Syria on its way to Egypt. No sooner had it passed than Jazzar skilfully using the discontent among the Lebanese peasants as an excuse, banished Beshir II and appointed two of his own agents to govern in his place. In 1800, the outrages of the new emirs led the Lebanese mountaineers to revolt and gave Beshir II an opportunity to regain his former power. He continued the struggle against Jazzar for several years until finally, in 1803, he concluded a peace, by which he agreed to pay Jazzar four hundred thousand piastres "for past arrears" and an annual tribute of 500,000 piastres.¹

In 1804, the death of Ahmed Jazzar intensified feudal anarchy, and bloody internecine strife broke out in every *pashalik*. In Akka, after several months of fighting, Suleiman, the commander of Jazzar's army, became pasha and ruled southern Syria for fifteen years (from 1804 to 1819). In Damascus, the pashas succeeded to power one after the other. At the same time, they had to fight against the Wahhabis. Genj-Yusef, a platoon commander, distinguished himself in

¹ Piastre (in Arabic—*qirish*)—a money unit in the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the 19th century, a piastre was worth about a quarter of a franc.

the fighting and eventually gained possession of the *pashalik* of Damascus. He then fought not only against the Wahhabis, but also against the neighbouring pashas from Akka, Tripoli and Aleppo. These wars led to his downfall and he fled to Egypt somewhere around 1812. A member of Jazzar's retinue, Mustafa Berber, installed himself in Tripoli. Accidentally appointed the commander of the citadel of Tripoli, he made himself master of the entire region, collected taxes and refused to recognise any authority except his own. In Jaffa, power was seized by a certain Mahmud Bey, nicknamed Abu Nabbut ("father of the hickory stick").

The picture was the same in Iraq. The Persian ruler of Kermanshah, and the Kurdish beks actively intervened in support of the side they favoured. After the death of Kuchuk Suleiman in 1810, Abdullah gained possession of Baghdad, where he was destined to rule for two years. He was replaced in 1812 by Said Pasha, the son of the famous Buyuk Suleiman. The years of his rule (1812-17) were marked by feudal disorder and the fruitless attempts of the Porte to put an end to separatism and the stubbornness of the Iraqi Kulemenis.

THE REFORMS OF BESHIR II IN THE LEBANON.
During the period of complete feudal disintegration, Beshir II launched a campaign for the centralisation and reorganisation of the Lebanon. Although he created neither a regular army nor new factories or schools, his activities were of a progressive character and promoted the Lebanon's economic development.

Beshir II was often called "the terrible". The mere mention of his name filled his subjects with awe. Greedy and arrogant, he possessed indomitable ambition and determination in pursuing it. Cunning, executions, torture, bribery and plundering were the feudal methods by which, like other oriental reformers, Beshir II hoped to end feudal arbitrariness and develop the Lebanon's economy.

He dedicated himself to the creation of a strong centralised state and the liquidation of feudal anarchy. When Beshir II succeeded to power in 1795, he exterminated several influential feudal families in the Lebanon and appropriated their property. In the 19th century, he continued the struggle against influential families. He wrested fiefs from rebellious vassals and gave them to his sons. Soon after Jazzar's death

he annexed the feudal principality of Jubeil in the northern Lebanon and then the Biqu'a Valley, which supplied the Lebanon with wheat.

Beshir II took over estates from the big Druse feudal lords of the southern Lebanon and settled them with Maronite peasants from the northern district, who paid him a relatively small rent, cultivated mulberry trees and spun silk. Some of these leaseholders grew rich and eventually bought the land.

Beshir II also restricted the arbitrary rule of the Maronite feudal lords of Kesruan.

Beshir II's fierce struggle against feudal banditry resulted in the complete elimination of lawlessness on the highroads and traders were at last able to take their goods through the Lebanese mountains, knowing that not a single highway robber would dare touch them for fear of being punished by Beshir II. The peasants could also breathe more freely because feudal taxes were less than in the time of Jazzar.

Beshir II restricted feudal arbitrariness, but permitted himself the liberty of exploiting the Lebanese peasants. He surrounded himself with regal luxury. The palace that was built for him at Beit-Ed-Din is considered one of the greatest monuments of Lebanese architecture.

Officially, Beshir II was a Moslam, but he and his relatives "secretly" embraced Christianity and performed Christian rites at his secret court church. This "conversion" was dictated by political motives—the desire to use the influence of the Maronite clergy to unite the Lebanon under the Shehab rule—and Beshir II himself did much to spread this "secret" among the Lebanese Christians. The Catholic press pictured him as a devout Christian. Actually he was indifferent to religion. As the famous French poet Lamartine wrote, Beshir II was a Druse with the Druses, a Christian with the Christians, and a Moslem with the Moslems.

ABDULLAH PASHA AND HIS "REFORMS". THE 1820 UPRISING IN THE LEBANON. When the governor of Akka, Suleiman Pasha, died in 1819, a tax-farmer, once in his service, bought the *pashalik* of Akka from the Porte for one of his favourite Mamelukes—Abdullah Pasha, a young man of about 26 with a flare for poetry, in which he glorified his imaginary feats of valour. He was also famous for his excellent handwriting and presented the Turkish Sultan, Mah-

mud II, a lover of calligraphy, with a handwritten copy of the Koran, thereby winning the Sultan's favour. Thinking he was imitating such reformers as Mahmud II and Mohammed Ali, Abdullah Pasha recruited a regular infantry battalion from among his Mamelukes, but from these whims and several unsuccessful, yet unpunished revolts against Mahmud II, Abdullah did not distinguish himself in any way. He was completely in the hands of the tax-farmer, who had bought the *pashalik* for him and, until he eventually strangled him, was obliged to execute his orders. To meet the tax-farmer's demands Abdullah was forced to levy an extraordinary tax throughout the Lebanon.

Beshir II, his vassal, set about gathering the tax. In 1820, the Lebanese fellaheen, foreseeing a return to the times of Jazzar, rose up in rebellion. Six thousand peasants held a meeting in the village of Antilyas (the northern Lebanon) where they announced their decision not to pay taxes. Beshir II fled from the Lebanon, but the two emirs appointed in his stead by Abdullah were unable to raise the necessary sum. Abdullah then returned the Lebanon to Beshir II, who set off at the head of a small force for Jubeil, where thousands of insurgents surrounded his camp. Another force, led by the big Druse Sheikh Junbalat, arrived just in time to help Beshir II repulse the insurgents and put down the uprising.

THE EXTERMINATION OF THE DRUSE NOBILITY.

In 1822, the fear of incurring the Sultan's wrath for his part in the unsuccessful revolts of Abdullah Pasha once again forced Beshir II to flee, this time to Egypt. In the Lebanon, power was seized by the Druse feudal lords headed by Sheikh Junbalat. They elected one of the Shehabs to the post of the Emir of the Lebanon. He was a weak-willed man, who dutifully executed their orders. Ancient customs, the autocracy and arbitrary rule were revived in the Lebanon, but Mohammed Ali secured Beshir II's pardon from the Porte and the Emir returned to his domains. The feudal lords revolted against the restoration of his authority. Beshir II brutally dealt with them and the Junbalat's castle was destroyed. Sheikh Junbalat was taken prisoner and strangled. His children were banished and their estates divided among Beshir II's sons. The same lot befell the Arslan emirs. Only a few members of the Arslan family managed to escape.

In his struggle against feudal autocracy Beshir II reached a point when he actually began to wipe out his own relatives and, having thus strengthened his rule, he reigned until 1840, when the international situation compelled him to leave the Lebanon for ever.

THE REFORMS OF MAHMUD II AND DISTURBANCES IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE. By the twenties of the 19th century signs of growing discontent with the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II began to emerge in Syria and Palestine. Indignation at the Sultan's innovations was widespread among the religious, who branded him as an "infidel", a traitor to Islam. In an attempt to Europeanise the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan had ordered his officials to wear European suits, adopted the *fez* to replace the turban and reorganised civil administration. In 1826, he officially abolished the military-fief system of land tenure and the janissary corps.

In reply to the decree on the formation of regular military units the janissaries of Constantinople revolted. On June 15, 1826, they gathered on the square before their barracks and turned over their messtins as a sign of insubordination to the Sultan. The Sultan, however, suppressed the mutiny. He surrounded the square with artillery and ordered the barracks to be set on fire. Thousands of janissaries were burned to death and those who tried to escape were shot down by the Sultan's guns.

The next step was to slaughter the janissaries in the provinces. Their protectors, the Dervish *Bektashi*, who greatly influenced the city-dwellers, were also severely punished. The Dervish order of the *Bektashi* was disbanded, and the guilds connected with the janissaries were completely reorganised.

All this increased the feeling of discontent in the towns. Moreover, a great deal of money was needed to carry out the reforms and most of it had to be contributed by the artisans and the small merchants. Wages fell, while taxes rose. Discontent grew into hatred for the Sultan, the "*kafir*",¹ who, as rumour had it, went on drinking bouts with the nobles,

¹ *Kafir*—unbeliever, an apostate of Islam.

while the artisans' children died of hunger. The Dervish priests would compare the luxurious life of the Sultan with the meagre existence of the artisans. Ideologists from among the artisans, especially the *Bektashi*, attacked the opulence and debauchery of the Sultan's court in their sermons and called for a return to the strict ascetic simplicity of morals, and the preservation of ancient virtues and ancient, manual tools. These appeals were usually combined with the preaching of mysticism and civil disobedience.

The steady decline of the economy, the inability to understand the true nature of the reforms, and the Dervish propaganda, all this gave rise to a broad insurgent movement embracing various towns of the Ottoman Empire. In Syria the movement reached its peak in Aleppo and especially in Damascus.

In 1825, big disturbances broke out in Damascus in connection with the publication of a *firman* on money circulation. "Threatening to kill the governor and slaughter all the functionaries," wrote a contemporary, "the people secured the publication of an order to keep all the money in circulation until the arrival of a treasurer from Constantinople."

In the same year, an uprising took place in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nablus, where the people refused to pay taxes. Fresh uprisings flared up in Nablus in 1830 and in Damascus in 1831.

In Damascus the Turkish Pasha, on orders from the government, began making an inventory of all the artisan shops and stores with a view to raising taxes. This served as a signal for an uprising. The insurgents burnt the Pasha's palace and laid siege to the citadel in which he had taken refuge together with the garrison. The siege lasted for six weeks. When the supply of provisions ran out, the Pasha made an attempt to break through the encirclement, and was killed. But though they were victorious on the battlefield the citizens of Damascus were unable to reap the fruits of their victory.

These spontaneous uprisings and rebellions, and the general discontent in Syria played into the hands of Mohammed Ali, who had his eye on the Asian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. When in 1831, the Egyptian troops invaded Syria and Palestine, the people welcomed them as deliverers from the tyranny of the infidel Sultan.

THE REFORMS OF DAUD PASHA IN IRAQ (1817-31). The Sultan's prestige in Mesopotamia had also fallen to a low ebb. Cut off by the mountains, Iraq was actually an autonomous province, where the Porte's authority was readily recognised but not respected. Iraq was ruled by the Kulemenis. Having beheaded his predecessor and brother-in-law in 1817, Daud Pasha succeeded to power. A Georgian by birth, he had as a child been sold into slavery to Buyuk Suleiman. Daud stood out among the Kulemenis for his literary and diplomatic gifts, and for his excellent knowledge of Oriental languages and Moslem theology. He became Buyuk Suleiman's secretary and married the Sultan's daughter. After Suleiman's death Daud fell into disgrace and became a mullah in a Baghdad mosque. He established ties with the clergy and at the same time succeeded in winning the Kulemenis to his side, and with their support he became pasha.

Daud Pasha ruled Iraq despotically for fourteen years. He imitated the Egyptian Pasha, Mohammed Ali, in many ways.

First, he abolished the capitulations, which had weighed heavily on the local traders and placed the East India Company and its compradore agents (chiefly Persians) in a privileged position. On his instructions in 1821, the latter were deprived of their privileges and placed on the same footing as the local traders.

The East India Company retaliated by starting a war. Its fleet sailed up the Iraqi rivers and cut off connections between Basra and Baghdad. Daud then started confiscating the Company's goods, and besieged its Baghdad residence. The conflict ended temporarily in the closing down of the Company's establishments and the expulsion of its employees. Soon, however, the all-powerful East India Company induced Daud Pasha to restore its privileges as well as those of its agents and even compelled him to pay for the confiscated goods. Daud's attempt to secure the interests of the local traders was a failure.

In his struggle for the centralisation of Iraq, Daud Pasha had to reckon with feudal and tribal separatism. He suppressed tribal revolts, dismissed the sheikhs who were of no use to him, and placed his own people at the head of the tribes. The struggle for the subordination of feudal Kurdistan was more difficult.

The Kurdish beks had a powerful ally in the person of the Iranian Shah. During the second half of the 18th century feudal Iran had been in a state of decline, but in 1797, the country was united under the rule of Fatih Ali Shah, who also strove to annex Iraq. The first thing he did was to contact the beks of Iraqi Kurdistan. The beks acknowledged themselves to be his vassals and started to pay him tribute, and some of them were appointed regional governors by the Shah. All attempts by the Baghdad pashas to restore their power in Iraqi Kurdistan met with the resistance of the Persian troops. Daud Pasha decided to put an end to this. In 1821, he undertook a campaign against the new bek, governor of Kurdistan, a Persian appointee, but was defeated by the united Kurdish and Persian forces. Daud then launched reprisals against the Persians in Iraq. He confiscated their property and arrested them. He ordered his men to confiscate the treasures of the *Shi'a* clergy of Karbala and Nejef. Many Persians, who had sought refuge in the *Shi'a* mosques, were exterminated. These measures sharpened the Turco-Iranian conflict over Kurdistan and resulted in the war of 1821-23.

The odds were in Iran's favour. The Iranian army had been partially reorganised along European lines. The Turks suffered a series of defeats in both Iraq and East Anatolia. The Persians occupied Suleimaniya, Kirkuk and Mosul, and were stopped only by an epidemic of cholera, whereupon they concluded the Erzurum Peace Treaty (March 1823), according to which Iraqi Kurdistan was to remain in the hands of the Turkish pashas.

The war with Iran convinced Daud Pasha of the superiority of European warfare and he set to work to create a regular army. Unlike his predecessors, Daud employed not French but British instructors. With the help of Colonel Taylor, the East India Company's new resident at Baghdad, Daud Pasha formed regular units fitted out and trained in the manner of the Anglo-Indian sepoys. Moreover, Daud bought up-to-date artillery and built an arsenal at Baghdad that fully answered the technical standards of his day.

To raise money for the reorganisation of the army, Daud, like Mohammed Ali, exercised the exclusive right to buy up and export Iraq's main products: wheat, barley, dates and salt. He bought sea-going and river vessels for shipping these

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goods. Following Egypt's example, he also tried to grow cotton and sugar cane.

Daud, like Mohammed Ali, decided to use Turkey's defeat in the war against Russia in 1828-29 to secure the independence of Iraq, which was under his control. According to the Treaty of Adrianople, Turkey was burdened with huge indemnities. Sultan Mahmud II had demanded money from his pashas. A special functionary of the Porte was sent to Iraq to collect the tribute. On Daud Pasha's orders he was killed immediately after the lunch reception.

The Porte declared Daud Pasha a mutineer and in 1820, sent the troops of Ali Riza, the Pasha of Aleppo, to fight against him. But Daud Pasha had long since begun to prepare for the fight against the Porte. He had a well-trained and well-equipped army and all that was needed for a war. Having at his disposal regular units, a 25,000-strong irregular infantry and cavalry corps and also a 50,000-strong tribal levy, he had every reason to expect success. But the outcome of the war was determined by other circumstances. A catastrophic flood, crop failure and a fever epidemic undermined Iraq's might. The plague of 1831 almost completely destroyed Daud's army. When the epidemic was over, Ali Riza's troops entered Iraq and occupied the emptied and exhausted land, having encountered almost no resistance. In September 1831, Daud Pasha was deposed and sent to Istanbul. At the same time, an end was put to the separatism of the Baghdad pashas and Kulemenis. From then on the Baghdad pashas were appointed by the Porte and they saw to it that its orders and policy were put into practice.

ARABIA IN THE 18th CENTURY. Arabia had always been the most backward country of the Arab world. Feudal relations here still bore traces of a patriarchal way of life reminiscent of the times of the prophet Mohammed. In the 18th century, as of old, nomadic cattle-breeding and oasis irrigatory farming remained the basis of the country's economy. Vast though they were, the Arabian steppes with their meagre vegetation, had never been able to satisfy the needs of the growing cattle-breeding population. From time immemorial, Arabia had suffered periodical "pasture crises", which played havoc with the primitive economy and drove the surplus population from the peninsula. Besides causing waves of emigration, the lack of pastures also compelled the Bedouins to settle on the land, till the fields and cultivate date palms and other fruit trees. Thus in Arabia arose "a general relationship . . . between the settlement of one part of the tribes and the continued nomadic life of the other",¹ which, according to Marx, was characteristic of all Oriental tribes. Settlements originated in this way in the mountains of Asir, Yemen, Hadhramaut, Oman, Nejd and in the oases at the foot of the mountains.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Arabian Peninsula did not have a single state organisation. Its population, steppe Bedouins and settled farmers of the oases alike, was divided into a number of tribes. Disunited and at loggerheads with each other, they waged continuous internecine wars over pastures, flocks, booty and the possession of wells. And since the tribes were armed to a man the struggles were extremely fierce and protracted.

¹ Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 80.

The feudal and tribal anarchy of the nomadic regions was supplemented by the feudal disunity of the settled regions. Almost every village and town had a hereditary ruler. All of settled Arabia was a mass of small feudal principalities and, like the tribes, they waged endless internecine wars.

The structure of the Arabian feudal society was rather complicated. The sheikhs held sway over the nomadic tribes. In some tribes the sheikhs were elected to their posts, but most of them had already become hereditary rulers. Apart from the desert feudal aristocracy and the so-called free, noble tribes which it ruled, there also existed vassal tribes, and also the dependent settled and semi-nomadic population. In the towns and farming regions the feudal nobility (e.g., the sherifs and *seyyids*) and the rich merchants were counterposed to the petty traders, artisans and the dependent peasantry.

In feudal Arabia, class relations were further complicated by patriarchal and clan relations and the existence of slavery, which was comparatively widespread among both the nomads and the settled population. The slave markets of Mecca, Hufuf, Muscat and other cities provided the Arabian nobility with a large number of slaves, who were used both as household servants and as labourers.

The towns and villages of Arabia were constantly raided and plundered by the Bedouins. Raids and internecine wars led to the destruction of wells, canals and palm groves, and it was a matter of urgent economic necessity to the settled population that they should cease; hence the tendency to fuse the small principalities into one political whole.

Moreover, the social division of labour between the settled and nomadic population of Arabia led to the growing exchange of the agricultural produce of the oases for the animal produce of the steppes. Apart from this, both the steppe Bedouins and the oasis farmers were in need of such imported products as cereals, salt and cloth. Consequently, caravan trade between Arabia and the neighbouring countries, Syria and Iraq, began to grow. On the other hand, however, feudal anarchy and Bedouin robbery hampered the development of trade. Thus, the demands of the growing market, and also the need to develop irrigatory farming, were an incentive to the political unification of the Arabs.

Arabia's feudal and tribal disunity made it easier for foreign invaders to seize the peninsula. This, too, was an important incentive to unification. In the 16th century, the Turks occupied without encountering much resistance the Red Sea coast of Arabia: the Hejaz, Asir and the Yemen. In the 16th century, too, the British, Dutch and Portuguese began setting up bases on the eastern seaboard of Arabia. In the 18th century, the Persians seized El-Hasa, Oman and Bahrein. And it was only Inner Arabia, surrounded as it was by deserts, that remained impregnable to the invaders.

Thus it came about that the movement for unification in the coastal towns of Arabia grew into a struggle against foreign invasion. The movement in the Yemen, led by the Zaydit Imams ended in the 17th century with the expulsion of the Turks. The Imams controlled the whole populated (mountainous) part of the country. In the Hejaz, the Turks retained only nominal power. The real rulers were the Arab "descendants of the Prophet", the sherifs. The Persians were expelled from Oman in the middle of the 18th century and in 1783, from Bahrein, where the Arab feudal dynasty had firmly entrenched itself. But it was in Inner Arabia, in Nejd, where the movement for unity did not have to fight against the invaders, that it was most clearly defined and consistent. This was a struggle for the unification of the Arab tribes, for the centralisation of the principalities of Nejd, for the fusion of the "Arabian lands" into a single whole. This struggle was based on a new religious ideology called wahhabism.

THE DOCTRINES OF WAHHABISM. The founder of wahhabism was a theologian from Nejd by the name of Mohammed ibn Abd el-Wahhab, who hailed from the settled tribe of *Banu temim*. He was born in 1703 at Uyaina in Nejd. His father and grandfather were *Ulema*. Like them, Abd el-Wahhab had travelled widely in the Moslem world (Mecca, Medina and also Baghdad and Damascus, according to some reports), studying theology. Everywhere he took an active part in religious disputes, returning to Nejd in the forties to preach his new religious doctrines. He sharply criticised such superstitious survivals as fetishism and totemism, which, to him, were indistinguishable from idolatry. Formally all the Arabs were Moslems. But, in reality, there existed many local tribal religions in Arabia. Each Arab

tribe, each village had its fetish, its beliefs and rites. The variety of religious forms that stemmed from the primitive level of social development and the lack of cohesion between the countries of Arabia were serious obstacles to political unity. Abd el-Wahhab set up against this religious polymorphism a single doctrine called *tauhid* (unity). Formally, he did not desire a change in the doctrines of Islam, but merely preached a return to Islam's former purity as proclaimed in the Koran. "Mohammed's religious revolution, like every religious movement, was *formally a reaction*, an alleged return to the old, the simple," Engels wrote of the origin of Islam.¹ Abd el-Wahhab's "religious revolution" was also "an alleged return to the old, the simple". But the meaning of the "revolution" lay not so much in a new interpretation of the tenets of Islam as in an appeal for Arab unity.

The teachings of the Wahhabis were devoted mainly to questions of morals. Its followers, who had grown up in the rigorous conditions of desert life, had to observe a strict moral austerity bordering on asceticism. They were forbidden to drink wine or coffee or to smoke tobacco. They rejected all luxury and forbade singing or the playing of musical instruments. They spoke out against all overindulgence and sexual dissoluteness. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Wahhabis were called "the Puritans of the desert".

The Wahhabis fought against the survivals of local tribal cults. They destroyed the tombs of the saints, and forbade magic fortune-telling. But at the same time their teachings were directed against official Islam. They denounced mysticism and dervishism, the forms of religious worship practised by the Turks and formed over the ages. They urged the people to fight mercilessly against the apostates, in other words, against the Persian Shi'as, the Ottoman pseudo-Caliph and the Turkish pashas. The Wahhabis intended to drive out the Turks and unite the liberated Arab countries under the banner of "pure Islam".

THE UNIFICATION OF NEJD. The feudal rulers from the small Nejd principality of Deroiyeh headed the movement for unity. These were Emir Mohammed ibn Saud (died in 1765) and his son—Abd el-Aziz (1765-1803). They had

¹ Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 79.

embraced Wahhabism and had entered into an alliance with Abd el-Wahhab in 1774. For the next forty years or so, their followers waged a stubborn struggle for the unification of Nejd under the banner of Wahhabism. They conquered one principality after the other. They forced the Bedouin tribes into submission. Some villages willingly submitted to the Wahhabis, others were driven on to the "path of truth" by force of arms.

By 1786, Wahhabism had spread all over Nejd. Small and once hostile principalities formed a comparatively large feudal theocratic state headed by the Saudi dynasty. In 1791, after the death of the founder of Wahhabism, Abd el-Wahhab, the Saudi emirs gained both temporal and spiritual power.

The victory of Wahhabism in Nejd and the emergence of the Saudi state did not lead to the formation of a new social system or bring a new class to power. The progressive character of these events lay in the fact that they weakened feudal anarchy and Arabian disunity.

However, the Wahhabis were as yet unable to create a centralised state with efficient administrative machinery. The former feudal rulers were permitted to retain their posts as the heads of towns on the condition that they embraced the Wahhabi faith and recognised the Wahhabi emir as their suzerain and spiritual leader. In the 18th century, therefore, the Wahhabi regime was unstable and was shaken by continuous feudal and tribal revolts. No sooner had the Wahhabi emirs added one district to their domains, than a revolt broke out in another, and the Wahhabi rulers had to rush their troops from one place to another to suppress it.

THE WAHHABIS' STRUGGLE FOR THE PERSIAN GULF. At the end of the 18th century, the Wahhabi state, which embraced all the provinces of Nejd, had shifted from the defensive to the offensive. In 1786, the Wahhabis made their first raids on the shores of the Persian Gulf and penetrated the region of El-Hasa, which in 1793 they conquered. This marked the beginning of the Wahhabi conquests beyond the confines of Nejd. After the death of Abd el-Aziz, they were led by Emir Saud (1803-14), who created a large Arab state incorporating almost the entire Arabian Peninsula.

After the conquest of El-Hasa, the Wahhabis spread their influence over the entire Persian Gulf. In 1803, they occupied

Bahrein and Kuwait, and to these were added the towns of the so-called Pirate Coast with their formidable fleet. The majority of the population of the inner areas of Oman also adopted Wahhabism.

In 1804, when the Muscat ruler, *seyyid* Sultan, England's vassal, led his fleet into a battle against the Wahhabis, he was soon sunk. But his son, Said, acting on the advice of the East India Company, continued the struggle.

In 1806, the East India Company sent its fleet to the Persian Gulf and together with the ships of its Muscat vassal, blockaded the Wahhabi coast. The fight ended in the temporary defeat of the Wahhabis, who were compelled to return the British ships they had captured, and to pledge respect for the flag and property of the East India Company. From that time onwards a British fleet was permanently stationed in the Persian Gulf and regularly sank any Wahhabi warships it sighted. But England's command of the sea could not weaken the Wahhabis' command of the land. The entire Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf was still under their control.

THE WAHHABIS' STRUGGLE FOR THE HEJAZ.

While fighting for possession of the Persian Gulf seaboard, the Wahhabis also sought to annex the Hejaz and the Red Sea coast.

Starting from 1794, the Wahhabis continuously raided the steppe districts of the Hejaz and the Yemen, seizing the oases near the borders and converting the border tribes to the Wahhabi faith. In 1796, Ghalib, Sherif of Mecca (1788-1813), sent his troops against the Wahhabis. During the ensuing three-year war, the Wahhabis won one victory after another. They were morally superior, their troops were well organised and disciplined, and they had a firm belief in the justice of their cause. Moreover, the Wahhabis had many followers in the Hejaz. Many of the feudal lords in this region were convinced of the necessity of Arabian unity. The rulers of Taif and Asir, many tribal sheikhs and even the sherif's brother accepted Wahhabism. By 1796, all the Hejaz tribes except one had gone over to the Wahhabis' side and the defeated Sherif Ghalib was obliged to acknowledge Wahhabism as an orthodox trend of Islam and officially surrender to the Wahhabis the land which they had

conquered (1799). But the Wahhabis, who dreamt of a united Arabia, were not going to stop at this. After two-years' respite, they renewed the fight against the sherif of Mecca and in April 1803, they seized Mecca itself. All ceremonies which seemed in the eyes of the Wahhabis to suggest the taint of idolatry were forbidden. They destroyed the tombs of "saints" and stripped the Ka'aba of its relics. The mullahs who persisted in the old belief were executed. These acts gave rise to an uprising in the Hejaz, forcing the Wahhabis to retreat, but their retreat was only temporary. In 1804, they seized Medina, and in 1806, recaptured and plundered Mecca. The Hejaz was annexed to the Wahhabi state, which now stretched from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, incorporating almost all the countries of the peninsula, Nejd, Shammar, Jauf, the Hejaz, El-Hasa, Kuwait, Bahrein, part of Oman and Yemenese and Asirian Tihama. Even in the parts of the peninsula they had not occupied, in inner Yemen and Hadhramaut, the Wahhabis had many followers. Their influence was decisive.

Having united almost all Arabia, the Wahhabis proceeded to incorporate other Arab countries in the state. Their primary objectives were Syria and Iraq.

THE WAHHABIS' FIGHT FOR SYRIA AND IRAQ.

Abd el-Wahhab, founder of Wahhabism, had in his day dreamt of liberating Syria and Iraq from the Turkish yoke. He had disputed and denounced the Caliph's (the Turkish Sultan) authority, regarding all Arabs as brothers and urging them to unite. In those days, when Arabia was an amorphous mass of tribes and principalities engaged in internecine strife, the idea of Arab unity had seemed remote, but by the beginning of the 19th century, Arabia was united and it looked as though the time had come to put Wahhab's dream into practice.

While raiding the Hejaz, the Wahhabis also began operations on the borders of Iraq. Here, they had little success. True, they crushed the troops of the Baghdad pashas each time the pashas invaded the peninsula. But in Iraq, the Wahhabis were unable to take a single town or village and had to content themselves with raids and tribute-gathering. Even the biggest raid on Karbala (April 1801) ended unsuccessfully. Having destroyed the treasures of the *Shi'a*

mosques in Karbala, the Wahhabis returned to the steppes. After the unification of Arabia in 1808, the Wahhabis launched a large attack against Baghdad, but it was repulsed. The campaigns against Damascus, Aleppo and other Syrian cities were likewise unsuccessful. The Wahhabis exacted tribute from these cities but were unable to establish themselves there. The Wahhabis fought just as well in Syria and Iraq as they did in Oman or in the Hejaz. They were just as well organised, disciplined and courageous. They still believed in the justice of their cause. But in Arabia they had had the support of the tribes and the progressive elements of the feudal class; the objective need for unity had stemmed from the conditions of economic development, and in this lay the secret of their past victories. The economic and social prerequisites for a union with Arabia were non-existent in Syria and Iraq. The people here stubbornly resisted the Wahhabis, whom they regarded as foreign invaders. In the days of the Wahhabi campaign against Baghdad and Damascus, Arab unity was as much a utopia as it was when the Wahhabi movement was first born. But after half a century of struggle, the Wahhabis' dream for a united Arabia had come true at last.

CHAPTER VI

THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEST OF ARABIA

THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR AGAINST THE WAHHABIS. Having consolidated his power in Egypt, Mohammed Ali decided to go further afield and create a mighty empire. From 1811 onwards, he waged war continuously and within two decades the Egyptians had conquered almost all the countries of the Arab East.

Mohammed Ali fought his first external war against the Wahhabis as a vassal of the Sultan. The Wahhabi raids had greatly disturbed the Porte, and the Turkish sultans, Selim III and Mahmud II, regarded the growing Wahhabi state as a serious threat to their authority in the Arab countries, but all their attempts to suppress Wahhabism were unsuccessful. Occupied with internal strife, the uprisings on the Balkans and the war against Russia, they could not muster enough men to combat the Wahhabis. Instead, they entrusted their pashas at Baghdad, Damascus and Jidda to do the job for them. The pashas, however, merely repulsed the raids, but did not assume the offensive. In 1811, Sultan Mahmud II was finally compelled to employ the powerful Egyptian Pasha, Mohammed Ali, to deal with the rebellious Wahhabis. Mohammed Ali consented all the more readily because the Egyptian merchants themselves were interested in a campaign against Arabia. Having incurred great losses through the cessation of pilgrimages and the trade connected with them, they contributed generous sums of money to equip the expedition. Mohammed Ali's immediate aim was to seize Arabia and her riches, but ultimately he regarded Arabia as the key to Syria and Iraq. The Wahhabis were Mohammed Ali's potential rivals in the struggle for the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Mohammed Ali accordingly despatched his sixteen-year-old son, Tusun Bey, at the head of a large expeditionary

force (eight to ten thousand men) to conquer the Wahhabis. Tusun Bey's adviser and the real leader of the expedition was Ahmed Aga, nicknamed Bonaparte, one of Mohammed Ali's best generals. A merchant from Cairo by the name of El-Makhruki also accompanied the expedition. He was the chief supply officer and political adviser.

In September 1811, the Egyptians set out on their campaign. The infantry went by ship and the cavalry by land. Caravans loaded with water and provisions followed on their heels.

In October 1811, the Egyptians occupied Port Yenbo on the Arabian Peninsula and made it a springboard for their operations against the Wahhabis.

The war against the Wahhabis was a harrowing experience for the Egyptians. Many of them perished from the heat and the lack of water. They died of starvation and disease. The plague, cholera, malaria and dysentery thinned their ranks. Many soldiers went blind from the sun, others were swallowed up in quicksands or died from other causes while attempting to cross a desert that for centuries had been considered impassable.

The Egyptian army was surrounded by a hostile country and a hostile population. The Bedouin tribes attacked Egyptian patrols and caravans loaded with provisions. They cut off connections between the army's front lines and the rear bases. Every town and village had to be taken by force. The Wahhabis believed firmly in the justice of their cause and they also had a considerable numerical superiority. The Egyptians had only eight to ten thousand men, while the Wahhabis had several times more. But the Egyptians had better weapons. They had modern artillery and skilled generals, trained in the school of Mohammed Ali. The war was fought with varying success and lasted for many long and arduous years.

In January 1812, the Egyptian army withdrew from Yenbo and proceeded to advance on Medina. In a narrow gorge near El-Safra, it was surprised by the Wahhabis and utterly defeated. Five thousand out of eight thousand Egyptians were killed and only three thousand returned to Yenbo.

Forced to seek a respite, the Egyptians used the time to demoralise the population in the Wahhabi rear. Their agents grudged neither money nor false promises to gain the support

of the Hejaz towns and the leading Bedouin sheikhs. With their support and the reinforcements sent from Egypt, they again went into attack. In November 1812, the Egyptians seized Medina, and in January 1813 captured Mecca, Taif and Jidda. Thus the Hejaz was conquered. The conditions of the Egyptian army, however, did not improve. Nearly eight thousand soldiers died of the heat and disease. The population was unfriendly. The Wahhabis, who had retained their main forces, laid siege to Medina and launched a guerrilla war on the Egyptian communication routes.

MOHAMMED ALI IN ARABIA (1813-15). At this crucial moment, Mohammed Ali decided to take over the expedition himself. In September 1813, he landed at Jidda with fresh forces. His first efforts were aimed at consolidating Egyptian positions in the Hejaz. He removed the Meccan Sherif, Ghalib, and appointed his own protégé in his stead. He put down all resistance and gave large sums of money to the Bedouin sheikhs. All attempts to penetrate deeper into Arabian territory, however, were unsuccessful.

In May 1814, Emir Saud died. Abdullah, who headed the opposition in the north, became the new emir. In the south, numerous Wahhabi forces were concentrated in the Turaba oasis, which controlled the road from Nejd to the Yemen. Turaba served as a strong-point and base for Wahhabi operations in the south of the country.

Mohammed Ali was operating in the south of the Hejaz and in Asir. He personally led the fight against the southern Wahhabi forces and undertook many campaigns against them. On January 20, in the Battle of Basal (east of Taif), the Egyptians crushingly defeated a 30,000-strong army of "southerners" under Faisal, Abdullah's brother, and shattered the Wahhabis' strength in the south. The Egyptians occupied Turaba and Bisha, but in May 1815, Mohammed Ali suddenly had to leave Arabia for Egypt, having temporarily abandoned the idea of seizing the Yemen.

The Egyptian forces in the north were commanded by Tusun Bey. He waged a persistent struggle against the forces of Abdullah, who had recruited men from all over Nejd, El-Hasa and Oman. In the spring of 1815, Tusun Bey inflicted a series of defeats on the Wahhabis and forced Abdullah to conclude peace.

According to the treaty, Nejd and Kasim were to remain under the Wahhabis and the Hejaz was to go to Egypt. Abdullah was forced to acknowledge himself the vassal of the Turkish Sultan and pledged subordination to the Egyptian governor of Medina. He also pledged to ensure the safety of the pilgrimages, to return the treasures stolen by the Wahhabis from Mecca and to abandon religious innovations, and to obey the Turkish Sultan's summons without question.

After the conclusion of peace, Tusun Bey stationed garrisons in the chief cities of the Hejaz and left for Egypt. The first stage of the war was over.

IBRAHIM'S CAMPAIGN AND THE DEFEAT OF THE WAHHABI STATE. The Wahhabis, however, could not reconcile themselves to the humiliating terms of the peace treaty imposed upon them by Tusun Bey. Nominally, they had accepted the terms of the treaty, but in reality they were already making preparations for a new war of liberation. Mohammed Ali and the Sultan did not confirm the treaty either. They felt the Wahhabi Emir, Abdullah, was trying to avoid obeying the terms of the peace treaty, namely the return of the Meccan plundered treasures and the journey to pay homage to the Sultan at Istanbul.

The war was resumed in 1816. Egyptian troops, accompanied by French military instructors and a detachment of mine layers, was sent to Arabia. At their head stood Mohammed Ali's elder son, Ibrahim, an outstanding general and a man of iron will. Ibrahim decided to penetrate into the heart of Wahhabism, Inner Arabia, at all costs and strike at the heart of the movement. In the course of two years, Ibrahim's troops besieged the chief centres of Kasim and Nejd one after another. They turned blooming oases into deserts, destroyed wells, cut down palms and burnt homes. The Egyptian soldiers murdered and raped. Those of the local people who were not killed died of thirst or hunger. Sensing the approach of the Egyptian troops, the population would abandon their homes to seek refuge in the more remote oases.

In 1817, in a war of extermination, the like of which Arabia had never known before, the Egyptians overran Rass, Buraida and Anaiza. They entered Nejd at the beginning of 1818, seized Shaqra and on April 6, 1818, they approached

Deraiyeh, the fortified capital of the Wahhabis. On September 15, 1818, after a five-month siege, Deraiyeh ceased to exist. The Egyptians had razed the place to the ground. The people fled from the ruined city. The Wahhabi Emir, Abdullah, surrendered. He was sent to Cairo and then to Constantinople, where he was beheaded in December 1818.

Having destroyed Deraiyeh, Ibrahim's troops went on to conquer Qatif and El-Hasa. The Emir's relatives and the most important Wahhabi leaders were taken prisoner and sent to Egypt. Fortifications were demolished in all the towns of Nejd. The Egyptians celebrated their victory, and it seemed as though the Wahhabi state had been destroyed for ever.

In December 1819, Ibrahim returned to Cairo with the nucleus of his army. Egyptian garrisons remained in the towns of Nejd and the Hejaz. But the enemy was unable to suppress the opposition forces, nor were they able to gain possession of the country. The mountains and deserts of Arabia served as a refuge for the rebellious and were permanent breeding centres of the Wahhabi uprisings.

THE WAHHABI UPRISINGS (1820-40). One result of the Egyptian conquest was that the greater part of Arabia was formally incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. But in reality, Arabia now belonged to Egypt.

The Hejaz was turned into an Egyptian province under the administration of an Egyptian pasha, Mohammed Ali's appointee. The pasha appointed and removed the Meccan sherifs, who now exercised only illusory power.

The Yemen, the coastal towns of which had been occupied by the Egyptians in 1819, retained its autonomy. It was ruled by a Zaydite Imam who resided at San'a. He considered himself the Porte's vassal and pledged to pay an annual tribute to Egypt. His power over the country was, however, nominal.

Many tribes and local rulers openly disobeyed the Imam. In the period between 1823 and 1826, the Egyptians undertook several campaigns against the Yemen, but were obliged to leave the country because of the Morean war. In 1834, they again occupied Yemenite Tihama and Taiz.

Egyptian deputies ruled Nejd. Everyone ignored the late Abdullah's younger brother, Emir Mashar, Ibrahim's ap-

pointee. The country was ruined and in great distress. Famine and desolation prevailed everywhere. Feudal and tribal dissensions were growing. In Shammar, Kasim and other regions, the local dynasties retained a certain degree of autonomy and manoeuvred between the Egyptian authorities and the insurgent Wahhabi emirs from the Saudi dynasty, who were keeping up the war against the invaders.

No sooner had Ibrahim withdrawn from Nejd than in 1820, a Wahhabi uprising, headed by a relative of the executed emir, flared up in Deraiyeh. The uprising was suppressed, but in 1821, the Wahhabis revolted again. This time they were more successful. The uprising was led by a relative of the executed emir, Turki (1821-34), who overthrew the Egyptian appointee, restored the Wahhabi state and transferred the capital from ruined Deraiyeh to the well-fortified Riyadh (in about 1822). The Egyptian troops sent against the Wahhabis perished from hunger, thirst, epidemics and guerilla raids. Mohammed Ali was compelled to restrict the occupation of Nejd to Kasim and Shammar. The rest of Nejd was cleared of the Egyptian garrisons.

The Wahhabis restored their former domains and in 1827, drove the Egyptians out of Kasim and Shammar. In 1830, they recaptured El-Hasa.

In 1827, the Meccan sherif instigated an anti-Egyptian revolt, but was unsuccessful. The Egyptians, who had lost Nejd, managed to suppress the revolt and hold out in the Hejaz.

Mohammed Ali was too occupied with the events in Greece and Syria to care about Arabia. However, after the conquest of Syria he decided to recapture Nejd. To counter-balance Turki, he proposed a certain Mashari ibn Khalid as the pretender to the Wahhabi throne. In 1834, Mashari, with the support of the Egyptians, gained possession of Riyadh, assassinated Emir Turki and took over in his stead. His joy, however, was short-lived: Two months later, Turki's son and heir, Emir Faisal, seized Riyadh, made short work of Mashari and proclaimed himself the head of the Wahhabi state.

This setback did not deter Mohammed Ali, who decided to go ahead with his plans to recapture Nejd and obtain access to the Persian Gulf. In 1836, a large Egyptian force headed by Khurshid Pasha invaded Nejd. The long, obstinate

struggle ended in the victory of the Egyptians. In 1838, Emir Faisal was sent away captive to Cairo. The Egyptians captured Riyadh, El-Hasa, Qatif and even attempted to seize Bahrein.

The second Egyptian invasion of Nejd and the occupation of El-Hasa aggravated the already strained relations with Britain and was one of the reasons for the Eastern crisis of 1839-41. Mohammed Ali was drawn into a serious international conflict and in 1840, he was compelled to recall his forces from Arabia. The Wahhabis seized the occasion to overthrow Emir Khalid, the puppet ruler left by Khurshid Pasha, and restored their authority in Riyadh.

THE BRITISH EXPANSION IN SOUTH ARABIA AND ON THE PERSIAN GULF. The Wahhabis' defeat in the southern and eastern parts of Arabia greatly troubled Britain, who claimed complete supremacy in the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The East India Company looked on the area as her domain. The Company's residence, its naval bases and fleet were located here, and it was unwilling to permit a single powerful state to gain access to the region. It was quite natural, therefore, that the Egyptian advance on the Yemen, the occupation of El-Hasa and Mohammed Ali's plans to unite Arabia under his rule met with fierce resistance from the British, who intensified their expansionist activities in South Arabia and on the Persian Gulf, striving at all costs to strengthen their hold on the sea routes to India.

In 1819, the British offered Mohammed Ali their "collaboration" in "pacifying" the regions situated south-east of San'a, but their offer was rejected. Then they began to act independently. In December 1820, a British squadron bombarded the Yemenite port of Mocha and on January 15, 1821, imposed a treaty on the Imam. The treaty granted a series of privileges to British subjects in South Arabian ports. In 1834, the troops of the East India Company occupied the island of Sokotra, which later (in 1866) was turned into a British protectorate. Finally, in 1839, during a punitive naval expedition, the British seized Aden. The capture was given the guise of a commercial transaction. On the pretext of establishing a coal station, England "bought" the harbour and the village of Aden (at the time it had about five hundred

inhabitants) together with the adjoining territory from the Sultan of Lahej.¹

England then became engaged in a prolonged struggle against the local feudal rulers and the tribes of the Pirate Coast, or Jawassi, in eastern Arabia. The Jawassi were the Wahhabis' allies. They engaged in sea trade and piracy. In the first decades of the 19th century, the East India Company waged a fierce sea war against the pirates. In 1811, Emir Saud proposed a peace treaty to the British, but the latter refused on the grounds that their only serious foe were the Wahhabis.

The situation changed in 1818, when the Egyptians gained access to the Persian Gulf, seized Port Qatif and advanced on Jawassi. The piratical sheikhs hastened to take refuge in Persia, but found themselves hemmed in on both sides. Ibrahim's forces were advancing by land and a large British squadron turned up at sea. The squadron had the double task of smashing the pirates and stopping Ibrahim. Immediately after the capture of Hufuf by the Egyptians, the East India Company demanded that Ibrahim evacuate El-Hasa. Ibrahim refused and turned down British claims to the Persian Gulf. England, however, forestalled him, having sent her warships to the Wahhabi ports of West Oman and Bahrein. In 1819, the British squadron burnt the fleet of the Wahhabis' pirate allies and in January 1820, forced the sheikhs of the Pirate Coast to sign a peace treaty with the East India Company.

The Jawassi sheikhs retained part of their fleet, but pledged themselves not to attack the ships of the East India Company. The treaty formally forbade piracy and slave trade in the Persian Gulf. In reality it placed the Wahhabi Pirate Coast (renamed Trucial Oman) in complete dependence on England. In the same year, the British forced the Sheikh of the Bahrein Islands to sign similar treaty and thus acknowledge his dependence on England.

One of the pirate towns, which had refused to sign the treaty was destroyed by the British fleet. Between the 1820s and the 1840s, England imposed a series of new treaties on the governors of Trucial Oman, Muscat and Bahrein. Claiming

that the Persian Gulf states had violated the treaties banning piracy and the slave trade, England seized the opportunity to interfere in their internal affairs and the Persian Gulf became little more than a "British lake".

The intrigues of the British made it impossible for the Egyptians to gain possession of the Persian Gulf, particularly as they had no firm base in the rear of the Gulf, in Nejd. After the Wahhabi uprising of 1821, they gradually withdrew from Nejd and in 1830, from El-Hasa. It was not until 1839, after the second conquest of Nejd, that the Egyptians once again occupied El-Hasa, but they did not hold out for long. Having broken the might of Mohammed Ali in Syria, the British had rid themselves of a dangerous rival in the Persian Gulf.

¹ The sultanate of Lahej had broken away from the Yemen and in 1728 had become an independent state.

THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST SUDAN

BY MOHAMMED ALI. THE EXPEDITION TO MOREA

THE CONQUEST OF THE SUDAN. Mohammed Ali's second big campaign was the conquest of the East Sudan. From time immemorial there had been a steady flow of slaves, gold, gum, ostrich feathers, ivory and valuable kinds of wood to Egypt from the Sudan. Mohammed Ali wanted to lay his hands on the trade, for he saw in the Sudan a means of replenishing his treasury, exhausted by the long Arabian war, and a considerable sum of money was needed to build an army and fleet. Mohammed Ali also wanted to crush the remnants of the Egyptian Mamelukes, who had fled from Egypt to the Sudan.

Unlike the war in Arabia, the war in the Sudan offered no great difficulties. The Sudan was closer to Egypt than Arabia, and conveniently linked with Egypt by the Nile. Moreover, the people were not united by common religious or political views. The country was divided into several small Moslem states and a host of tribal territories, where the primitive-communal system still prevailed. The largest state was Sennar, which was ruled by the Funj dynasty. In the 18th century, it stretched from the Third Cataract of the Nile in the north to Fazughli in the south, from the Red Sea in the east to Kordofan in the west. However, by the beginning of the 19th century, the kingdom had virtually disintegrated. Separate states arose on the Atbara, on the Red Sea coast and in Dongola. The Mamelukes, whom Mohammed Ali had banished from Egypt, exercised great influence in Dongola. The one time vassalage of the Funj, the state of Fazughli (on the Blue Nile) occupied a special position. The strongest state of the East Sudan at the time was the Darfur sultanate. In the 19th century, it established

relations with the Turkish Sultan, whom it regarded as its spiritual suzerain.

All these *melikates* and sultanates were very primitive state formations, embracing several different tribes. These were the Arab-Berber tribes in the north and the Arab-Negroid tribes in the centre. The Nilote tribes lived in the south. The settled population was small in number. There were no cities. The Arabs settled in the South Sudan and engaged in caravan trade and the captivity of slaves.

The Egyptians had no difficulty in capturing the East Sudan. The Sudanese did not even have firearms, and fought with spears, pikes and leather shields, while the Egyptians were well armed and had excellent artillery.

In October 1820, the 5,000-strong Egyptian army led by Mohammed Ali's son, Ismail Pasha, set out on a campaign against the Sudan. It encountered almost no resistance and pushed on further up the Nile. The tribes of North Nubia and Dongola submitted to the conquerors. In the spring of 1821, the Egyptians reached Cape Khartoum at the confluence of the White and the Blue Nile, where they set up camp. Then they moved on farther and on June 12, 1821, they captured the Funj capital, Sennar, without firing a single shot.

Here the army split up. Some of the troops, led by Ismail, went upstream along the Blue Nile. Having seized Fazughli, they almost reached 10° N and in February 1822, turned back north. The other group, led by Mohammed Ali's son-in-law, Mohammed Bey, the *defterdar*, conquered central Kordofan at the end of 1821.

Thus, by the beginning of 1822, the whole of the East Sudan, excluding Darfur and the outlying regions, had been seized by the Egyptians. But uprisings began to burst out in the rear. Ismail was forced to go to Sennar, having heard of fresh uprisings against Egyptian authority in the rear. He killed thousands of people and quickly suppressed the uprising. But soon he himself was caught in a trap. In October 1822, one of the local leaders, *mek* (king) Nair Mimr, invited Ismail and his chief officers to a feast in his house, around which he had piled heaps of straw. While the Egyptians were feasting, the *mek* set fire to the straw and Ismail and his companions were burnt to death.

Hearing of Ismail's death, the *defterdar*, together with

his troops, set out for Sennar and cruelly avenged Ismail's death by exterminating over 30,000 in the region where Ismail Pasha had been assassinated. That was almost the whole population. Nair Mimr, however, managed to escape.

Later the Egyptians dealt just as cruelly with the numerous uprisings which broke out all over the Sudan. At the same time, they were gradually rounding off their domains. They advanced southwards along the White Nile and reached Fashoda in 1828. In the west the Egyptians reached the borders of Darfur. The Red Sea ports of Suakin and Massawa came under their control. In 1838, Mohammed Ali arrived in the Sudan. He fitted out special expeditions to search for gold along the White and the Blue Nile. In 1840, the regions of Kassala and Taka were added to the Egyptian domains.

In 1823, Khartoum had become the centre of the Egyptian domains in the Sudan and had quickly grown into a large market town. By 1834, it had a population of 15,000 and was the residence of the Egyptian deputy. In 1841, the country was split up into seven provinces: Fazughli, Sennar, Khartoum, Taka, Berber, Dongola and Kordofan. The deputies and the provincial pashas were all Turks from among Mohammed Ali's circle, and the Sudanese people regarded the invaders as Turks and the Sudan's annexation to Egypt as a Turkish conquest.

The Egyptian authorities plundered the Sudan and laid the population under heavy tribute. Each year they would drive up to 8,000 head of cattle to Egypt, as well as ivory, ostrich feathers and other exotic goods, not to mention slaves. The slave trade, which remained a state monopoly until 1850, acquired considerable proportions. Tens of thousands of slaves were exported from the Sudan. Mohammed Ali had achieved his end. He now controlled the trade in slaves and in tropical raw materials. He was now master of almost the whole Nile, and only one fact disappointed him. The Sudan was not as rich in gold as the Egyptians had expected.

THE GREEK UPRISING. The campaigns against Arabia and the Sudan opened a whole series of wars in the struggle for control of the East Mediterranean countries.

Mohammed Ali kept up a stubborn struggle to realise his plan for the creation of an independent Arab power. Each year brought nearer the decisive trial of strength. In the meanwhile, Mohammed Ali strove to gain possession of Syria and the Morea. In 1821, he began sending money and gifts to the Porte dignitaries to induce them to grant him control of these countries. Although the Porte did not trust him, Mohammed Ali, afraid of losing his chance, persistently renewed his solicitations.

In 1821, a large national liberation uprising flared up in Greece, assuming the form of a national revolution against foreign oppression. The revolution was led by the national bourgeoisie, which was unable to bear the Sultan's tyranny any longer. The Greek merchants had become rich on the growing sea trade. Their ships plied back and forth along the Mediterranean Sea, where they controlled almost all trade, especially the growing wheat exports from Russia. In Odessa, Taganrog, Marseilles, Livorno, Istanbul, Alexandria and all the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports there were Greek vessels, Greek commercial offices and Greek merchants and sailors.

However, the Greek merchants and navigators, who dreamt of supremacy in world trade, had no rights in their own country. Any of the Sultan's satraps could kill a merchant and seize his riches. Hence the Greek bourgeoisie's struggle against Ottoman feudalism, for national independence and the creation of a bourgeois state of their own.

In their liberation struggle, the bourgeoisie had the support of the peasants, who hated their oppressors, the Moslem feudal lords, and longed for national independence, which would give them back their lands. The Greek uprising was characteristically an agrarian war, a fierce struggle of the peasants against the feudal oppressors. In the Morea at the time there were 20,000 Moslem landowners, chiefly of Greek origin, almost all of whom were exterminated.

To prepare for the uprising, in 1815, the Greek Nationalists formed a conspirative organisation Philiki Etaireia (Alliance of Friends), similar to the carbonari organisations. It had branches in several European and Turkish towns. Its centre was in Odessa. The head of the organisation was Alexander Ypsilanti, son of the former Walachian hospodar Constantine, who had fled to Russia,

and a major-general in the Russian service. He was also Alexander I's aide-de-camp. The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek by origin, was also connected with the national liberation movement. Alexander I, the founder of the Holy Alliance, which was designed to combat all revolutionary tendencies, at first supported the Greek nationalists, but later disavowed Ypsilanti's claim to his support.

"The Serbian insurrection of 1809, the Greek rising in 1821, were more or less directly urged on by Russian gold and Russian influence," Engels wrote.¹

On March 6, 1821, Alexander Ypsilanti led a small Greek detachment across the Pruth into the Danube dependencies of the Turkish Sultan. The detachment had been formed on Russian territory and bore the high-sounding title of "army of deliverance". Ypsilanti intended to instigate the local population to revolt against the Sultan, but was unable to gain a following among the Moldavian and Walachian peasants, whose hatred for the Greek hospodars was very strong. The help promised by the tsar was also not forthcoming.

Deprived of support, Ypsilanti was crushed by the Turks. In June 1821, he fled to Hungary where Metternich locked him up in a fortress.

Ypsilanti's daring campaign acted as a sign for an uprising of the Greek people. In March 1821, the peasants of the Morea revolted under the leadership of General Kolokotronis. His guerilla detachments routed the Turkish janissaries. In October 1821, in the Battle of Tripolitsa (Tripolis), the guerillas dealt the janissaries a decisive blow, when a 3,000-strong peasant levy routed a 5,000-strong janissary corps. By the end of 1821, all of the Morea was rid of the Turks. On January 1, 1822, in an ancient Greek amphitheatre located in the sacred forest of Epidaurus, a Constituent Assembly proclaimed the constitutional independence of Greece and elected a Provisional Government headed by Mavrocordato.

The guerillas received energetic assistance from the Greek sailors. Greece's entire merchant marine turned into a

¹ Frederick Engels, "The Turkish Question", *New York Daily Tribune*, April 19, 1853.

militant armada of the revolution and the Archipelago became a naval base for the guerilla war. Five hundred Greek ships and twenty thousand sailors, led by Kanaris, continuously attacked Turkish vessels and blockaded Turkish ports.

MAHMUD II's APPEAL FOR HELP TO MOHAMMED ALI. For three years the Greek people successfully repulsed the attacks of the Turkish punitive detachments, waging a persistent struggle on three fronts: in eastern Greece, western Greece and the Morea, the stronghold of the Greek revolution. The Porte, realising that it had not enough troops to fight against the insurgents on all fronts and to retain its hold on the islands, turned to Mohammed Ali for help.

In 1822, the Porte gave him control of Cyprus and Candia (Crete). On January 16, 1824, on the advice of Metternich, the sworn enemy of the Greek revolution, Mahmud II gave Mohammed Ali the Morea *pashalik*, which actually no longer belonged to the Porte, and commissioned him to suppress the Greek uprising.

This was what Mohammed Ali had been waiting for. He readily accepted the Sultan's offer. Whatever his official declarations might have been, Mohammed Ali had his own interests in mind, and these had nothing in common with those of the Porte. Mohammed Ali was no mere executor of the Sultan's will. Only a year previously, in 1823, he had flatly refused to send his troops against the Persians since such a war promised no advantage to Egypt. In the Morea, as in Arabia, Mohammed had his own political aims, despite his role of an obedient vassal.

What were Mohammed Ali's reasons for starting the Morean war? First of all, wanted to show the world Egypt's military might and its superiority over the Porte. He had to prove that Egypt was fit to become a Great Power, capable of influencing the course of history. Moreover, he simply wanted to annex the Morea and the Archipelago to his domains and place the Morea's resources and Greek navigation at the service of his emergent empire. Finally, he dreamt of complete domination over the Eastern Mediterranean and of turning it into an "Egyptian lake".

THE MOREAN WAR. Mohammed Ali equipped a large army and fleet to fight the Greeks. The expedition was led by the conqueror of Arabia, Mohammed Ali's eldest son, Ibrahim Pasha.

In July 1824, Ibrahim's 16,000-strong army left Egypt on one hundred troop-carriers under the guard of sixty-three warships. He was prevented from landing at the Morea, however, by the Greek sailors, and he and his troops were compelled to spend the winter on the Island of Candia (Crete). Here he put down an uprising, organised the administration of the island and turned it into a base for further operations.

The situation in the Morea itself now took a favourable turn for Ibrahim. In 1824, civil war had broken out among the Greek insurgents. The followers of Kolokotronis were defeated and in January 1825, Kolokotronis was arrested. In February of the same year, the Egyptians effected a landing in the south-western part of the Morea and seized Modon, Coron and Navarino.

The Egyptian landing immediately turned the tide of the war. On June 23, 1825, Ibrahim seized the capital of the Morea, Tripolitsa (Tripolis). The Greeks, led once again by Kolokotronis, resorted to guerilla warfare. Ibrahim's reaction was to begin a systematic devastation of the country. The Egyptians burnt villages, destroyed gardens, trampled down the crops; thousands of Greek captives were sent as slaves to Egypt. By the end of 1825, the whole of the Morea had been conquered and turned into a desert like Nejd.

In 1825-26, Ibrahim received reinforcements from Egypt and, supported by the Turks, began the battle for central Greece. The chief centre of Greek opposition was the Missolonghi Fortress, where help flowed in from the Archipelago and the Philhellene committees. For a long time it had been unsuccessfully besieged by the Turks. In February 1826, having left his deputy, Colonel Sève, in the Morea, Ibrahim led a 10,000-strong force against Missolonghi. The weakened defenders of the fortress were unable to offer serious resistance and on April 22, 1826, the Egyptians and the Turks burst into the half-ruined fortress.

On June 5, 1827, Acropolis capitulated and Ibrahim's troops seized Athens, the "symbol of Greek freedom". It looked as if the Greek revolution had been suppressed. All

that was left of the once powerful insurgent army were a few guerilla detachments scattered here and there in the mountains and deprived of a united command and political leadership. But at this point the European powers brought about a change in the development of the Greek uprising.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE POWERS. The fall of Athens accelerated the intervention of the Powers. As far back as March 25, 1823, British Foreign Secretary Canning had recognised Greece as a belligerent. This meant that England would in the future acknowledge Greece's independence. In 1825, there was also a change in Russian policy. With the accession of Nicholas I to the throne, the Russian Government showed an inclination to give the Greeks more support. England, unwilling to permit the unilateral intervention of the Russians, hastened to come to an agreement with them over joint action in Greece.

On April 4, 1826, in St. Petersburg, Nesselrode and Wellington signed an Anglo-Russian Protocol on joint intervention in the affairs of Greece. Both Powers pressed the Sultan to grant Greece autonomy, including the right to trade, religious freedom and administrative independence. Formally, Greece was to remain in the Ottoman Empire, but both Powers, in fact, intended to establish their protectorate over it.

The agreement, however, remained ink on paper. In Greece at the time the odds were in Egypt's favour and Sultan Mahmud II stubbornly rejected the solicitations of England and Russia. The European Powers were still unprepared for a war and could not back up their demands with an armed intervention.

In March 1827, on the insistence of Kolokotronis, a new Greek National Assembly elected as president Count Capo d'Istria, formerly Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. This greatly strengthened Russian influence. In order to avoid the further consolidation of Russia's positions and unilateral actions, England once more raised the question of the joint action of both Powers. On July 6, 1827, one month after the seizure of Athens, a convention was signed in London expanding the Treaty of St. Petersburg signed in 1826. France joined the Anglo-Russian bloc, and the three Powers

decided to press for the "civic secession of Greece from Turkey".

The text of the convention stipulated that the Porte was to agree to the convention in a month's time, otherwise it would be forced to do so.

NAVARINO. THE EVACUATION OF THE EGYPTIANS FROM THE MOREA. The Porte again rejected the demands of the Powers. Accordingly, on October 20, 1827, a combined fleet under the command of Admirals Codrington, De Rigny and L. P. Heiden entered the Bay of Navarino, where the main forces of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets lay at anchor. The allies had 26 ships. Ibrahim had 94. Counting on his numerical superiority and the support of the shore batteries, Ibrahim was the first to start the fight, which ended in the complete destruction of the Egyptian and Turkish fleets. With only one ship and fifteen small auxiliary vessels left, he found himself in a position similar to that of Napoleon in Egypt after the Battle of Aboukir. He was cut off from his main base. Moreover, the armed intervention of the Powers imparted new strength to the Greek uprising.

Navarino was a prelude to the Russo-Turkish war, which began in the spring of 1828 and ended one year and six months later in the victory of Russia. According to the Treaty of Adrianople, signed on September 14, 1829, Greece received her autonomy and, soon after, her independence.

Mohammed Ali wisely refrained from taking part in the Russo-Turkish war. Nevertheless, on the insistence of the Powers he was forced to evacuate the Morea, where Ibrahim's army was in great difficulties. On August 9, 1828, at Alexandria, Mohammed Ali signed a convention on the evacuation of Egyptian forces from the Morea and the return of Greek prisoners and slaves. In September 1828, units of the French expeditionary corps landed at Morea and the evacuation of the Egyptians began. Thus ended this fruitless war in which Egypt suffered heavy losses (nearly 30,000 men) and was deprived of her fleet.

MOHAMMED ALI'S STRUGGLE FOR SYRIA AND PALESTINE. EGYPT'S DEFEAT

THE CONFLICT WITH THE PORTE. Mohammed Ali's failure in the Morea acted as a stimulus in his struggle for Syria and Palestine. He could not realise his plans for the creation of a great Arab Power without gaining possession of these two countries. Syria and Palestine protected Egypt from attacks from the east and served as a shield against the Turkish menace. The annexation of Syria would strengthen Mohammed Ali's eastern borders and Egypt's independence of the Porte. And Syria itself was a tempting prize. It was one of the richest provinces of the Ottoman Empire; it produced raw silk, wheat, wool, olive oil and valuable fruits, and it could also become a profitable market for Egypt's growing industry.

Mohammed Ali was well aware of the Sultan's weakness and knew he could force the Sultan to accept any conditions. With this in view, he began preparing for a struggle against the Porte. "In consequence of the unfortunate war of 1828-29," wrote Marx, "the Porte had lost her prestige in the eyes of her own subjects. As usual with Oriental empires, when the paramount power is weakened, successful revolts of Pashas broke out. As early as October 1831, commenced the conflict between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had supported the Porte during the Greek insurrection."¹

The war against the Porte began in 1831. There was a two-year delay because of the Franco-Egyptian plans for the conquest of North Africa. Mohammed Ali's relations with his western neighbours were far from friendly and he had long nurtured the idea of seizing Maghreb. The condi-

¹ See Karl Marx, *New York Daily Tribune*, November 21, 1853.

tions for such a conquest in 1829-30 seemed to be ripe. Relations with France, Mohammed Ali's most important ally, had been normalised. In 1829, the French offered to finance a campaign against North Africa, to which the Pasha agreed. The Egyptians were to seize Tripoli, Tunisia and Algeria. Mohammed Ali formed a 40,000-strong army under the command of Ibrahim for the campaign against Africa, but demanded that, besides money, France should give him four 80-gun ships. The French refused and offered instead the assistance of their fleet. This arrangement was highly distasteful to Mohammed Ali, who wished to fight in Maghreb under the flag of Islam. In 1830, France put forward a new plan for a joint campaign. The Egyptians were to seize Tripoli and Tunisia, while France was to take Algeria. But Mohammed Ali rejected this plan, too. In the end he completely refused to participate in the Algerian campaign, which the French undertook by themselves, while Mohammed Ali devoted himself wholly to the events in Syria.

A dispute over six thousand Egyptian fellaheen, who had fled in 1831 to Palestine to avoid recruitment, served as an excuse for a revolt against the Sultan. The situation by this time had become quite strained. Mohammed Ali was openly refusing to obey the Porte. Having refused to participate in the Russo-Turkish war, he also refused to pay the indemnities agreed on by the Treaty of Adrianople. He felt he had paid tribute in blood in the Morea for many years in advance. Crete, he reasoned, could not compensate for the losses in the Morea, and he insisted on having Syria and Palestine too.

In the meanwhile, six thousand peasants fled from Egypt and found refuge in the domains of the Akka Pasha, Abdullah. Mohammed Ali demanded the return of the fugitives. Abdullah refused to give them up, declaring that, being the subjects of one ruler, they could live in any part of the Ottoman Empire they liked. Mohammed Ali then began military operations. In word, he remained loyal to the Sultan. He said he was not declaring war on the Porte, but on the Akka Pasha. In effect, the campaign against Abdullah developed into the Turco-Egyptian war.

THE FIRST SYRIAN CAMPAIGN (1831-33). The superiority of the Egyptians over the Turks made itself felt

from the very outset. The Turkish army was in a state of complete decay. "The Turkish fleet was destroyed at Navarino," Marx wrote, "the old organisation of the army was defeated by Mahmud, and a new one had not yet been created."¹ The war against Russia weakened the Turkish army still further. The Egyptian army was well armed and disciplined. It had a series of victories to its credit in Arabia, the Sudan and Greece.

Moreover, military expenditure and indemnities had forced the Porte to raise taxes, and this was causing discontent among the masses. Peasant uprisings flared up throughout Turkey. The population of both the Arab and Turkish regions hailed the Egyptians as deliverers from the Sultan's rule.

Turkey was unprepared for the war and showed signs of hesitation. For six months the Porte took no action. Only in March 1832, did the Turks really begin to prepare for the campaign, which had already begun. On April 23, 1832, the Sultan declared Mohammed Ali a rebel and relieved him of his duties. This was equal to a declaration of war.

The Egyptians made the best of the time factor. In October 1831, Ibrahim Pasha launched a campaign. Two or three weeks later, not having encountered any serious resistance, Egyptian troops occupied Gaza, Jaffa, Haifa and at the end of November 1831, advanced on Akka, the fortress which had once barred Napoleon's path. After a six-month's siege, (from November 26, 1831, to May 27, 1832) Akka fell. By this time the main forces of the Egyptians were far away in the north. The first big battle against the Turks took place on July 8, 1832, near the city of Homs. In this battle the Turks, commanded by nine pashas, were crushed. Over four thousand were killed or taken prisoner. They lost all their artillery and transports. The Egyptians lost only 100 men.

Having triumphed in Homs, Ibrahim occupied Hama and Aleppo and then headed for the Beilan mountain pass, situated between Antakiyah (Antioch) and Alexandretta. The pass was the key to the heart of the Ottoman Empire, Asia Minor, and here were stationed the main forces of the Turkish army, under the command of *serdar-i-ekram*,

¹ Marx and Engels, *Works*, 2nd Russ. Ed., Vol. 28, p. 257.

Husein Pasha. On July 29, 1832, Ibrahim attacked and shattered the Turkish forces. Husein Pasha fled to Adana with the remnants of his army, leaving the whole of Syria to the Egyptians.

The Egyptian troops entered Anatolia. They occupied Adana and then proceeded westwards. The Sultan dismissed Husein Pasha and appointed Mohammed Reshid Pasha commander-in-chief. But this did not affect the course of the military operations. The third and last decisive battle of the war was waged on December 21, 1832, near Konya. The Turks threw their remaining 60,000 men against 30,000 Egyptians. Ibrahim proved a brilliant leader in the ensuing battle. Although outnumbered by two to one, he surrounded the Turks and utterly defeated them.

After the Battle of Konya, the Sultan had no troops left. The way to the empire's capital lay open. The Egyptian advance guard soon entered Bursa. Istanbul was threatened.

The confused Sultan turned to the Powers for help. France openly supported Egypt and refused to help the Sultan. Russia openly sided with the Turks. England's position was complicated. She was against Mohammed Ali, but feared the Turco-Egyptian conflict might lead to Russian intervention and consequently, to the strengthening of Russia's influence or the division of the Ottoman Empire into two parts: the northern, which would be dependent on Russia, and the southern under Mohammed Ali, which would become a sphere of French influence. England, therefore, did all in her power to iron out the differences and preserve the "integrity" of the Ottoman Empire, where British influence was prevalent. England, in fact, bided her time and avoided rendering any direct aid to the Sultan.

In such circumstances there was nothing left for the Porte to do but to turn to Russia for help. Mohammed Ali's success worried the Russians. According to the Russian Foreign Minister, Count Nesselrode, the aim of Russian intervention was to "save Constantinople from the possibility of a coup d'état, which would be a detriment to our interests and lead to the downfall of a weak, yet friendly state. Were they to substitute it for a stronger state under the French, it would be a source of all sorts of difficulties". Russia, therefore, came out in defence of the empire's integrity and the Sultan's sovereignty.

On December 21, 1832, the Russian representative at Istanbul made an official offer of Russian military aid. General Muravyov set out with a special mission to the shores of the Bosphorus, and from there proceeded to Egypt. He arrived at Alexandria on January 13, 1833, and communicated the demands of Nicholas I to Mohammed Ali. Mohammed Ali agreed to a compromise. He promised Muravyov to check the advance of his troops on Istanbul, stop military operations and recognise the supreme authority of the Sultan.

The panic in Istanbul, however, did not die down. Revolts instigated by Ibrahim Pasha's agents flared up in Asia Minor. On February 2, 1833, the Egyptians occupied Kutahya. On February 3, Mahmud II made an official request for Russia's help, and a Russian squadron entered the Bosphorus on February 20, 1833. The landing of the 20,000-strong Russian expeditionary corps began on March 23, 1833. Its headquarters was situated on the Asian shores of the Bosphorus at Unkiar-Skelessi, near the Sultan's summer residence. At the same time, another Russian corps was sent to the Danube, to advance on the Turkish capital by land.

The Russian intervention seriously alarmed England and France. They hastened to reconcile Mohammed Ali with the Sultan so as to deprive the Russians of an excuse for keeping their troops on the Bosphorus. To drive the point home, England and France carried out joint naval demonstrations off the coast of Egypt. On May 4, 1833, at Kutahya, a peace treaty was signed between Turkey and Egypt through the mediation of England and France.

Formally this was not a peace treaty in the legal sense of the word. The Sultan issued a unilateral *firman*, confirming Mohammed Ali's right to Egypt, Crete, Arabia, and Sudan, and making him the ruler of Palestine, Syria and Cilicia. Mohammed Ali had to withdraw from Anatolia and recognise the Sultan's suzerainty. By the will of the Powers, Egypt remained the vassal of the defeated Porte.

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR. THE UNKIAR-SKELESSI TREATY. Russia's intervention had saved Mahmud II. He retained his throne and empire, but he was still in a critical position. Both sides were dissatisfied with the Kutahya Treaty and regarded it as a truce. The Sultan

was eager for revenge. Mohammed Ali wanted independence. A new conflict was inevitable, and Russian diplomacy did not fail to take advantage of this.

On the eve of the evacuation of the Russian troops, July 8, 1833, Turkey signed the famous eight-year Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty, which provided for the creation of a military alliance between Russia and Turkey. Russia undertook to send her troops to the Sultan's aid "should the need arise". In this connection Nesselrode remarked: "We now have a legal basis for an armed intervention in Turkey's affairs." Turkey undertook to close the Dardanelles to warships of all nations, whenever Russia demanded it.

The Münchengrätz Convention, signed on September 18, 1833, between Russia and Austria during a meeting of the emperors in Münchengrätz, was a supplement to the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty. The Convention was soon signed by Prussia. The signatory Powers undertook:

"I. . . To support the existence of the Ottoman Empire under the present dynasty, and to use all effective means at their disposal.

"II. . . To oppose by common efforts any combination that may cause detriment to the rights of the supreme government in Turkey either by the establishment of an interim regency or a complete change of dynasty."

Finally, the first secret clause stipulated that "the provisions of Article II should be applied specifically to the Pasha of Egypt . . . to prevent the direct or indirect spread of his supreme power to the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire".

In the end, British and French diplomacy paralysed the practical results of the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty and the Münchengrätz Convention. These agreements, nevertheless, did constitute a serious obstacle to the realisation of Mohammed Ali's plans and deprived him of the fruits of his victory in the first Syrian campaign.

The Turco-Egyptian war resulted in the formation of two states within the framework of the formally united Ottoman Empire. Mohammed Ali exercised control over Egypt, the Sudan, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Cilicia and Crete, and only Anatolia, Iraq and a few regions of the Balkan Peninsula remained in the hands of the Sultan. Mohammed Ali's empire was more densely populated, vaster, stronger and richer

than that of Mahmud II. The situation was fraught with a new conflict which was not long in making itself felt.

IBRAHIM'S REFORMS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE (1832-40). The political plans of Mohammed Ali and his son Ibrahim, the supreme ruler of Syria, went very far. Both dreamed of creating a large independent Arab state.

"His real design is to establish an Arabian kingdom including all the countries in which Arabic is the language,"¹ wrote Lord Palmerston about Mohammed Ali in 1833.

A French envoy, Baron de Boislecote, who paid Ibrahim a visit at the time, related that Ibrahim made no secret of his intention to revive Arab national consciousness and restore Arab nationhood, to instil in the Arabs a real sense of patriotism and to associate them in the fullest measure in the government of the future empire. Baron de Boislecote added that Ibrahim was active in spreading his ideas of national regeneration. In his proclamations he had frequently referred in stirring terms to the glorious periods of Arab history and had infected his troops with his own enthusiasm. He had surrounded himself with a staff who shared his ideas and worked for their dissemination.

However, the conditions for the consolidation of the Arab nation had not yet matured: the Arab bourgeoisie of Syria was still very weak; feudalism had not been liquidated. Ibrahim Pasha, who was a talented politician, made a careful study of the experience of the advanced countries of the time. He saw the tendencies of future development and tried to accelerate their realisation. He carried out a series of reforms in Syria, which, like the reforms of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, were aimed at the centralisation of the country, the liquidation of feudal arbitrary rule and separatism, and the creation of prerequisites for the development of capitalist relations.

First of all, Ibrahim tried to turn Syria into a granary of the future Arab empire. To check the decline of farming, he ruled that the fellaheen pay a fixed tax. He forbade arbitrary feudal extortions and exempted the newly ploughed land from taxation for many years. He settled Bedouins on

¹ George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, L., Hamilton, p. 31.

abandoned land, forcing them to give up their nomadic way of life. Thus new villages were built and close to 15 thousand feddans of virgin land were brought under cultivation in the steppe between Damascus and Aleppo. During the first two years of Egyptian rule the area under cultivation rose from 2,000 to 7,000 feddans in the fertile Hauran Valley. The Turkish army had always been notorious for its marauding. But Ibrahim sent his troops on a campaign against the Turkish army, thereby putting an end to the continuous devastation of the Syrian crops.

The liquidation of the tax anarchy promoted the development of industry and trade. Now the merchants and the artisans had no need to fear for the safety of their property. They had no need to fear the plundering and blackmail of the Turkish pashas. They knew the exact amount of the tax they had to pay and could freely dispose of the remainder of the surplus value which they had collected. With a boldness hitherto unknown, they circulated and turned into capital the rotting treasures hidden from the covetous eyes of the pashas and derebeys. The custom houses were wrested from the tax-farmers and fixed customs duties were introduced. This policy, which was conducive to economic development, led to the growth of Syrian towns and foreign trade. "The liberty granted to trade by the Egyptians, gave new life to the seaports. Saida, Beirut and Tripoli became free markets where the mountaineers could exchange their silk and olive oil for wheat and European manufactured goods. Output in the Lebanon increased by at least one-third and the consumption of overseas goods doubled," Russian consul Bazili wrote.

Roads inside the country and caravan routes through the desert linking Damascus with Baghdad were made safe. Transit trade expanded. British cloth was sent via Syria to Mesopotamia and Iran. Goods from India and Iran passed through Syria to Europe.

Ibrahim waged a fierce struggle against the Syrian feudal lords. Naturally, he could not destroy the feudal mode of production and the feudal class domination that went with it. But he strove to end feudal separatism, restrict the political rights of individual feudal rulers and replace the indocile seigniors with men who would obey him absolutely. In the Lebanon, for instance, he depended on Emir Beshir II,

who continued the war against other Lebanese feudal lords in the name of Ibrahim Pasha. In Nablus, Ibrahim depended on the Abd el-Hadi sheikhs in his struggle against the other sheikhs.

Ibrahim consolidated the central authority and reorganised the administration of the country along Egyptian lines. Syria, Palestine and Cilicia were divided into six provinces or *mudiriyas* headed by *mudirs*. Deputies of the central power (*mutasallims*) were appointed in each town. The sheikhs of the neighbouring villages were subordinate to the *mutasallims*. Each *mutasallim* headed a consultative organ, *mejliss*, or *shura*, which was formed from among the local landowners, merchants and clergy. The *mejlisses* were given the functions of civil courts. The highest judicial authority was in the hands of Ibrahim, who personally passed sentence on criminal and political cases after their preliminary consideration by the courts.

Educational reforms were also introduced during Egyptian rule. The first Lebanese printing house was founded in 1834 in Beirut. In the same year, Ibrahim initiated a wide programme of primary and secondary education. He established primary schools all over Syria and founded secondary colleges in Damascus, Aleppo and Antioch. The pupils were boarded at government expense. They wore uniforms and were given a strict military education as was the custom in Egyptian schools. The teaching was conducted in Arabic. The American traveller, George Antonius, related that the school director, the famous Clot Bey, received instructions to "inculcate a true sense of Arab national sentiment".¹

Like Mohammed Ali, Ibrahim was known for his religious tolerance, which was an unusual trait among the Turkish pashas. Ibrahim freed the Arab Christians, in whose hands were concentrated the crafts and urban trade, from many humiliating restrictions forced on them by the Turks.

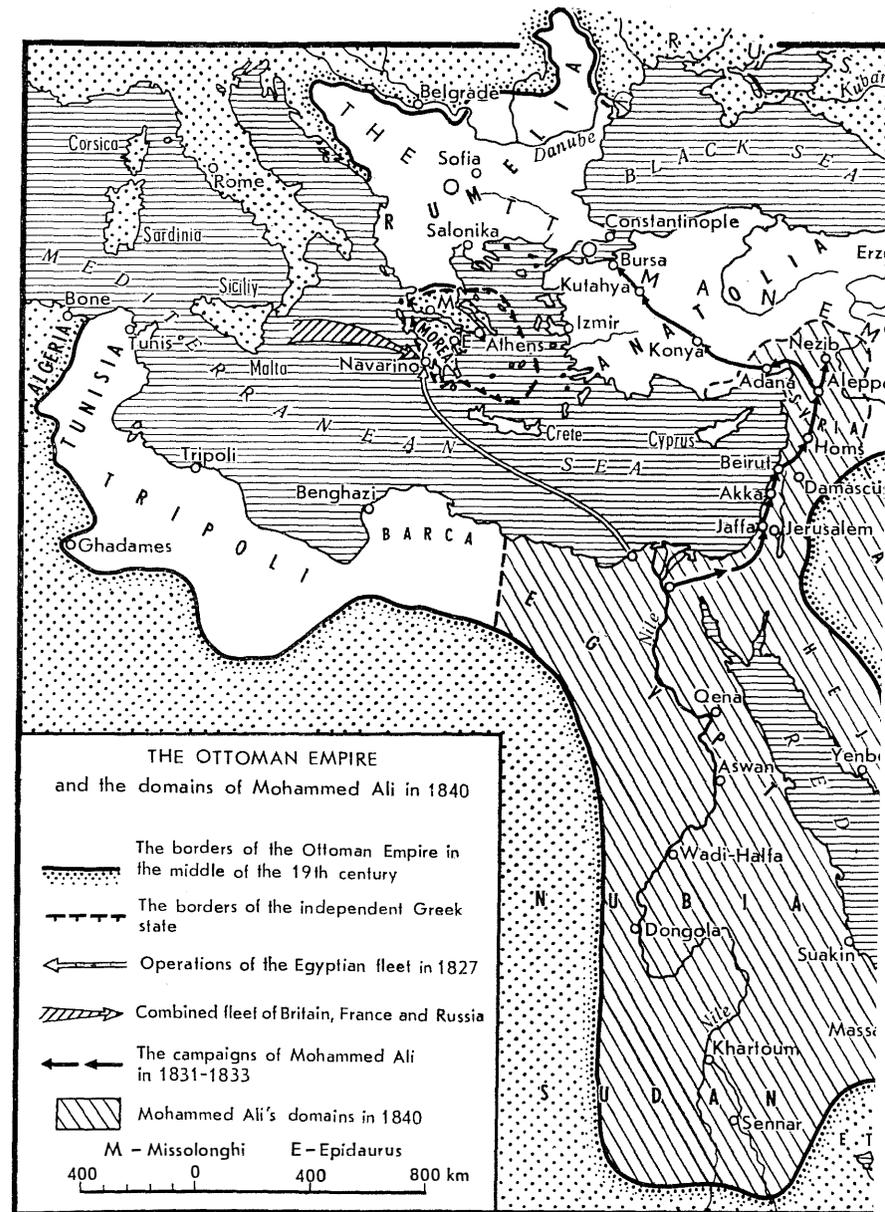
GENERAL DISCONTENT. UPRISINGS AGAINST RECRUITMENT. Although the reforms of Ibrahim Pasha promoted the growth of the productive forces and eased the conditions of the merchants, artisans and peasants, they evoked considerable discontent in Syria.

¹ George Antonius, op. cit., p. 40.

The feudal lords, whom Ibrahim had deprived of political privileges, were not the only ones in the country who showed signs of discontent. The Bedouin and mountain tribes, banned from the practice of highway robbery, were also dissatisfied. There was a sharp change in the mood of the peasants, who had also begun to show signs of discontent at Ibrahim's reforms. It was they who had to bear the burden of his military plans. Realising that the Sultan had reconciled himself to the loss of Syria temporarily only and would attempt to recapture the province in the near future, Ibrahim undertook a number of defensive measures. He built fortresses, strengthened the mountain passes with fortifications, bought cannons and expanded the army. Ibrahim used the forced labour of the Syrian fellaheen, recruited from all over the country, to build the fortifications. Cannons were acquired at the expense of the same Syrian fellaheen, who had to pay higher taxes to the authorities each year. Ibrahim had restricted taxes in the first years of Egyptian rule, but the preparations for the war against Turkey made him change his policy. Finally, the ranks of the Egyptian regiments were swelled by the Syrian fellaheen, whom Ibrahim wearied with his endless recruitments. The recruitments evoked especial animosity, causing peasant disturbances and, in some districts, large uprisings.

In 1834, the first big peasant uprising against recruitments broke out in Palestine and soon spread almost over the whole country. The Egyptian punitive expedition sent to the Judaean Hills was wiped out and insurgents besieged Ibrahim in Jerusalem. Reinforcements from Egypt, led by Mohammed Ali, came to his help. Mohammed Ali personally supervised the reprisals against the rebels.

An uprising of the Druse peasants of Hauran and Anti Lebanon flared up at the end of 1837. For the first five years of Egyptian rule the Hauranians had been exempted from military service. When the term expired, the Egyptian authorities demanded recruits. The Hauranians then rose in rebellion and entrenched themselves in the lava field of El-Leja, a huge mountainous labyrinth, resembling a natural fortress. All the attempts of the Egyptians to storm El-Leja were unsuccessful. Those who managed to penetrate into the fortress were killed. Ibrahim continued to send greater numbers of troops trained in mountain warfare to El-Leja, but



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they were unable to overcome the small group of Druse peasants. Ibrahim tried to overcome them by starvation, but still the peasants did not surrender. Ibrahim blew up the wells and filled the reservoirs with corpses. The Druses drank the stagnant water. Only when Ibrahim poisoned the wells did the Druses emerge from El-Leja. Even then, they did not surrender. They broke through the encirclement and continued to fight the Egyptians at the foot of Anti Lebanon, where they were eventually defeated and dispersed in the autumn of 1838.

THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE. A NEW CONFLICT WITH THE PORTE. The uncertain and ambiguous situation created by the Kutahya treaty of 1833 was a source of serious anxiety to Mohammed Ali. It was necessary to consolidate his gains legally, ensure the continuity of power and legalise Egypt's independence. For many years Mohammed Ali had pressed for the recognition of his hereditary rights to his vast domains. In 1834, he turned to the Powers and in 1836-37, directly to the Porte, requesting a decision on the question of Egypt's independence and the rights of his heirs. This brought no results. As usual, the Powers sided with the Porte. Feeling their support, the Sultan showed no inclination to give up the greater part of his empire. At the last resort he agreed to grant Mohammed Ali his hereditary rights to Egypt alone on the condition that the Egyptian Pasha give his other domains back to the Porte.

The Porte's refusal to come to a peaceful settlement once again worsened Turco-Egyptian relations. Serious trouble was in the making. Awakened public opinion in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt, sided with Mohammed Ali. In 1838, the *Ulema* of Cairo declared their full support for the plans to grant Egypt independence. But the Powers, especially England, adopted a hostile attitude towards the question. England eyed the growth of Egypt's might with anxiety. Egypt was a serious obstacle to the establishment of British domination over the coastal regions in the East, a menace to British positions in the Persian Gulf, and the chief impediment to the development of Britain's imperial communications and commerce.

The famous Anglo-Turkish Trade Treaty was signed on August 16, 1838. It was very advantageous to England and

paved the way for the conversion of the Ottoman Empire into an agricultural and raw material appendage of the foreign powers. In exchange for a certain raising of tariffs, the treaty abolished the monopolies of the Turkish treasury on the exchange of various sorts of raw material. Thus the British exporters could buy raw materials at low prices either directly from the producers or through their commercial agents, skirting the treasury.

The British bourgeoisie pressed for the extension of the treaty to cover the entire Ottoman Empire, including Mohammed Ali's domains. By steering round Mohammed Ali's monopolies, it hoped to buy Egyptian cotton, Syrian wool and silk at low prices. It wanted to capture the import markets of Egypt and Syria, which were then dominated by France. But Mohammed Ali flatly refused to have the conditions of the treaty applied to his domains.

Mohammed Ali was also against England's plans for the creation of an English waterway on the Euphrates (for the transfer of mail and goods from the mouth of the Orontes to the Euphrates by caravan or a specially built canal and further downstream along the Euphrates to Basra). He also objected to various schemes for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez.

Mohammed Ali's reconquest of Nejd and the Egyptians' emergence on the Persian Gulf roused British displeasure, while Egypt was troubled by British expansion in the Persian Gulf and South Arabia.

High policy—the Powers' struggle for hegemony in the Near East and, in particular, England's desire to weaken French and Russian positions in the East—aggravated the conflict. England fought against both Mohammed Ali and France. But by this time France had captured the greater part of Algeria and occupied a dominating position in Syria and Egypt as Mohammed Ali's ally. By fighting against Mohammed Ali, the British hoped to consolidate the Sultan's position and change the balance of forces in his favour. In this way they intended to make the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty ineffective and at the same time bring to naught Russian influence in Turkey.

Such were the reasons that prompted England's decision to remove Mohammed Ali and prevent a settlement of the Turco-Egyptian conflict. England objected to the recogni-

tion of Egypt's independence and acted as the fourth guarantor of the Ottoman Empire's integrity, although officially she had not signed the Münchengrätz Convention.

Feeling the support of the four Powers, Turkey began preparing feverishly for a war. She mobilised a 100,000-strong army, which she concentrated near the Syrian border. England backed the Turks and urged them to fight. Her attitude made an armed conflict inevitable.

THE SECOND SYRIAN CAMPAIGN. The Turkish troops crossed the Euphrates and invaded Mohammed Ali's domains on April 21, 1839. They were utterly defeated, however, in the first decisive battle at Nezib. The battle began early on June 24, 1839. The Egyptians, led by Ibrahim Pasha, occupied the heights, overlooking the Turkish positions and opened fire. After an hour of fighting, the Egyptian artillery silenced the Turkish batteries and cleared the path for Ibrahim's cavalry, whose headlong attack sealed the Turkish army's fate. For the second time in seven years, the way to the Turkish capital opened before Ibrahim. On June 30, 1839, six days after the battle at Nezib, Sultan Mahmud II died. Two weeks later the whole Ottoman fleet under Ahmed Fauzi Pasha went over to Mohammed Ali's side. In the space of three weeks Turkey had lost her sovereignty, her army and her fleet, wrote Guizot. Once again Egypt was victorious.

Ibrahim, however, had no intention of undertaking a campaign against Istanbul. Acting on the advice of his father and France, Ibrahim restricted himself to the occupation of Urfa and Marash. Nowhere did the Egyptians cross the Taurus, for they had no desire to provoke a new Russian intervention. Ibrahim chose instead to come to terms with the Porte. He was ready to limit himself to the recognition of the hereditary rights of Mohammed Ali's dynasty to Egypt and her domains. The Porte's defeat made it all the more willing to accept any terms Ibrahim might propose.

This was certainly not the outcome of the war that England and the other signatory Powers of the Münchengrätz Convention had expected. They had reckoned without the growing strength of Egypt. On July 27, 1839, they presented a joint note to Turkey in which they urged her to suspend all definite decisions made without their concurrence, pending the effect of their interest in its welfare. The note was

signed by the four Powers of the anti-Egyptian bloc (England, Austria, Prussia and Russia) and also by France, who presented herself as "Egypt's ally and friend". France decided to operate jointly with the Powers so as to avoid isolation and guard the interests of the French bourgeoisie in Egypt and Syria.

The talks between the Powers on the fate of Turkey and Egypt lasted for a whole year. France urged the Powers to come to a peaceful settlement and give Mohammed Ali the hereditary *pashaliks* of Egypt and Syria. Austria and Prussia agreed to surrender Egypt and part of Syria. Russia, who was anxious to maintain the status quo and the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty, was indifferent to the territorial question. England proposed to wrest Syria from Mohammed Ali.

The talks continued without a break. The Permanent Conference of Ambassadors sat in London and discussed the Eastern Question. Diplomats and journalists raised a clamour over the "Eastern crisis". But what they forgot to mention was that the crisis was of their own making, that but for their interference all the differences between Turkey and Egypt would have been settled.

France, acting behind the back of the four Powers of the anti-Egyptian coalition, persuaded Turkey and Egypt to sign an agreement in May 1840, according to which the Sultan made Mohammed Ali the hereditary ruler of Egypt and Syria.

The Powers decided to wreck the agreement. They took advantage of the discontent in Syria and Palestine to instigate several revolts against the Egyptians. The Lebanese uprising of May 1840 was particularly formidable.

Bazili, an eyewitness of the event, wrote in this connection: "Mutiny raged throughout the Christian regions of the Lebanon. A few thousand mountaineers, half of them armed with weapons and half with shovels and wooden staffs, descended from the mountains with the intention of capturing Beirut. They were met by a barrage of fire from the castles, which, however, caused no damage to the mountaineers, who took what cover was offered by the terrain. They occupied the whole neighbourhood and began killing the soldiers, and looted all state property, but they did not lay hands on private individuals. . . . In their proclamations they pledged loyalty to the Sultan, poured out their grudges against the

Egyptians, and spoke of Mohammed Ali and Ibrahim Pasha in biblical terms, portraying them as the worthy heirs of the pharaohs who had oppressed the chosen people.

Ibrahim easily suppressed the uprising, for it was poorly organised and confined mainly to the Christian areas of the Lebanon. Mountain villages were pillaged and burnt and the leaders of the uprising were banished to Sennar (the Sudan).

THE INTERVENTION OF THE POWERS. The failure of the Lebanese uprising coincided with the beginning of the Powers' open intervention. The London Conference of Ambassadors came to an agreement in the summer of 1840 on the conditions for a settlement of the Eastern Question. England, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Turkey signed a convention on July 15, 1840, which decided the fate of Mohammed Ali and his domains.

The conclusion of the London Convention of 1840 was a great success for British diplomacy. Russia was restricted in her actions. France was completely isolated and England came near to realising her cherished dream. She had secured the support of the three Powers and the supervision of the struggle against Mohammed Ali.

On August 19, 1840, the Powers demanded that Mohammed Ali accept the conditions of the London Convention, which boiled down to the following:

- 1) Mohammed Ali receives the *pashalik* of Egypt.
- 2) He receives the administration for life of Palestine (the *pashalik* of Akka).
- 3) He returns all other domains to the Sultan.
- 4) At the end of ten days if he should remain obdurate he will be left only Egypt.
- 5) If at the end of another ten days he is still defiant, he will be overthrown by the united effort of the Powers.

Mohammed Ali declined the Powers' ultimatum and declared his intention of "upholding by the sword what had been won by the sword". In response, England and Austria along with Turkey began military operations. British and Austrian squadrons appeared off Syria. The squadrons included steamships, which were being used for the first time in naval warfare. On September 11, 1840, a British squadron under the command of Charles Napier, landed a force (1,500

British soldiers and 7,000-8,000 Turks) north of Beirut, where the British and Austrians began to arm the mountaineers and supply them with instructors and money. Rebellion against the Egyptians broke out with new force in the Lebanon. The Egyptian army was in difficulties.

Mohammed Ali had counted on France's help, but France did nothing but rattle her sabres. The bellicose campaign in the French press did not frighten England. The French Government realised that armed assistance to Egypt would mean a large-scale European war. Moreover, France would have had to fight singlehanded against Prussia on the Rhine and against Britain on the seas. Rather than incur the risk of a European war, France decided to leave Egypt in the lurch. In March 1840, the French Government was taken over by Thiers, an advocate of a union with Egypt and of resolute actions. On October 8, 1840, Thiers sent a threatening note to the Powers, warning them that he would not permit Mohammed Ali's banishment. Three weeks later, however, on October 29, 1840, he resigned. The new cabinet of Soult and Guizot did not intend to fight over Egypt and hastened to come to an agreement with the Powers concerning Mohammed Ali.

In the meantime, the position of Ibrahim's army was becoming increasingly difficult. Ibrahim's forces, scattered all over Syria, were suffering from disease and undernourishment. They were trapped by cross-fire. The guerillas had cut their communication lines. The Anglo-Austrian squadron was blockading the ports and shelling the Syrian coast, while on land the British landing party and the insurgents were dealing heavy blows at the Egyptian army. In the first few weeks, the insurgents, with the help of the British fleet, occupied Jubeil, Batrun, Sur, Saida and Haifa on the Syrian coast. New arms transports flowed into the heart of the country from the occupied towns.

On October 10, 1840, Ibrahim's forces were shattered by the insurgents and Napier's landing party in a relatively big battle near Beirut. The Egyptians were compelled to withdraw from the coastal and mountain regions of the Lebanon. Beirut, Latakia and Alexandretta went to the enemy. Emir Beshir II, Mohammed Ali's ally, surrendered to the British, who banished him to Malta, replacing him with his own cousin Qassim, who had fought on the British side.

Akka, the chief stronghold of the Egyptians, fell on November 3, 1840, after it had been bombarded from the sea. A small British detachment captured the city and then marched on Jerusalem. Anti-Egyptian uprisings flared up in Palestine. They spread to Galilee, Nablus, Hebron and to the southern parts of Syria, Biqa'a and Anti Lebanon. Further resistance was useless.

THE CAPITULATION OF MOHAMMED ALI. The British squadron, under the command of Napier, approached Alexandria in November 1840. Napier offered Mohammed Ali an ultimatum, threatening to open fire on the main base of the Egyptian fleet.

The Syrian uprising, the defeat of the Egyptian army in Syria and Palestine, France's position and the menace to Egypt itself shook Mohammed Ali's iron will. He realised that the Egyptians could not stand against the world's four biggest Powers and accepted Napier's terms.

On November 27, 1840, under the muzzles of British guns, the Egyptians signed the convention proposed by Napier. In return for a guarantee of the hereditary *pashalik* of Egypt, Mohammed Ali undertook to evacuate Syria and Palestine completely and to restore the captured Turkish fleet.

Mohammed Ali gave the order for the immediate evacuation of Syria and Palestine. Ibrahim Pasha and his forces left Damascus on December 29, 1840, and headed for the south, but by this time the British had occupied Jerusalem and barred the Egyptian army's retreat. Ibrahim had to retreat through the Transjordanian steppes and deserts. Out of 60,000 Egyptian soldiers, who had started out on the campaign, only 24,000 reached Gaza. The others died on the way of hunger, thirst, cold, disease and guerilla raids.

The Egyptian Question was settled on June 1, 1841, by a special *hatti-sherif* (the noble rescript) after long talks between the Powers. Mohammed Ali retained the hereditary *pashaliks* of Egypt and the Sudan, but gave the Sultan back Syria, Palestine, Cilicia, Arabia and Crete. He reduced his army to 18,000 men. He was deprived of the right to appoint generals in his army and to build warships. He gave Turkey back her fleet. He acknowledged himself the Sultan's vassal and pledged to pay a large tribute into the Sultan's treasury.

Having destroyed the Egyptian army and fleet, the Pow-

LEBANON, SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE PERIOD OF THE TANZIMATS

(1840-70)

ers, as Marx put it, made impotent "the only man... to replace a 'dressed up turban' by a real head."¹ They dealt a serious blow to the plans for Egyptian independence and were responsible for the conversion of Egypt into a British colony. Formally, Egypt's dependence on the Porte was strengthened, but actually the Porte lost Egypt in 1841. It passed completely under British control. From then on, as Marx and Engels wrote, "Egypt belongs more to the English than to anybody else."²

Having placed the Nile valley under her control, England simultaneously gained a foothold in the Dardanelles. On her insistence, the Unkiar-Skelessi Treaty, which had expired in 1841, was not renewed. In its place, five European Powers and Turkey signed a new Convention on the Straits on July 13, 1841, in London, according to which the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles were closed to all warships, including those of Russia.

THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD CAPITALIST MARKET. The British intervention and Mohammed Ali's capitulation in 1840 marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Arab countries, a period when foreign capital was rapidly gaining ground. This period may be considered the beginning of the colonial and economic enslavement of the Arab countries. It culminated in the conversion of the Arab countries into colonies, a process that took place in the next historical stage—during the formation and domination of monopoly capital.

The application of the Anglo-Turkish Trade Treaty of 1838 to Egypt and Syria gave British goods and those of other capitalist countries access to the Arab markets. Between 1840 and 1850, imports to the Ottoman Empire of British goods alone increased almost threefold (from £1,440,000 to £3,762,000). The inflow of European goods resulted in the decline of the old industrial centres, and the ruin of handicrafts and the domestic industries. It also impeded the development of the national manufactories which were unable to withstand the competition of European factory production.

At the same time, the development of foreign trade led to the rise of trading cities and the strengthening of the comprador bourgeoisie. It also stimulated the growth of the means of communication (the building of the Suez Canal, a port at Alexandria and a road between Beirut and Damascus).

Under pressure from foreign capital, farming in the Arab countries began to assume a commodity character. It began specialising in the production of a small number of commodity crops. In Egypt this was cotton and sugar cane, in Syria and Palestine it was cotton, cereals and wool, and in

¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, July 25, 1853.

² *New York Daily Tribune*, April 7, 1853.

the Lebanon—raw silk. The development of commodity production, however, did not lead to the establishment of capitalist relations. The peasant became dependent on the world capitalist market and at the same time retained his dependence on the feudal lord.

The Arab countries were incorporated in the world capitalist market as an agricultural and raw material appendage to European industry. Economic relations were based on unequal exchange, which in itself was a sign of the exploitation of the Arab countries by industrial capital.

In 1856, foreign capital began to enslave the Arab countries by the export of capital, mainly in the form of loans to Egypt and Turkey and the construction of means of communication.

HATTI-SHERIF GULHANE. Signs of the new were appearing in Turkey itself. A small strata of national bourgeoisie, as yet mainly commercial, had come into being. Feudal relations in the village were collapsing. A movement for national liberation was growing in the Turkish ruled Balkan provinces, where the development of capitalist relations had begun earlier than in Turkey. Greece and Serbia had actually fallen away from the Ottoman Empire. To prevent the complete collapse of the empire and the fall of the Sultan's authority, the more farsighted members of the feudal and bureaucratic ruling class set to work to draw up a new plan of reforms. They realised that the reforms of Mahmud II alone could not save the empire and that new, resolute changes were needed.

The initiator of the new reforms was Reshid Pasha, liberal Minister for Foreign Affairs and Westerner. His programme was a modest one. It did not endanger the feudal mode of production and fully preserved the absolute power of the Sultan. In effect, it was an attempt at compromise between the outlived feudal-theocratic monarchy of the Sultan, on the one hand, and the growing commercial bourgeoisie and the liberal-minded landowners, on the other. Based, as it was, on the interests of the ruling class, it reflected to a considerable extent the aspirations of the Turkish bourgeois elements.

The defeat of the Turks by Mohammed Ali's troops convinced the Porte of the urgent necessity of new reforms. On

November 3, 1839, four months after the battle of Nezib and Mahmud II's death, the new Sultan, Abdul Mejid (1839-61), called a meeting of higher dignitaries, foreign diplomats and representatives of the merchant class at his Palace of Roses (Gul-Han). At this meeting the contents of the manifesto called *hatti-sherif Gulhane* were read out. The manifesto enunciated the programme of reforms known as the *tanzimat el-khairiye* (charity reforms), from which the whole reformative period in the history of the Ottoman Empire received the name *tanzimat*.

The manifesto proclaimed: "The whole world knows that in the first years of the Ottoman Empire the famous laws of the Koran and the Empire were respected by all. Therefore, the state grew in strength and grandeur and all its subjects without exception lived in the highest degree of prosperity."

Reforms dictated by the new conditions of economic and social life were portrayed in the manifesto as a return to the old laws and institutions of the Ottoman Empire, to its "golden age". The manifesto also noted that for various reasons "in the last 150 years, people have ceased to observe the holy code of laws and the rules proceeding from it. And the former might and prosperity of the Empire has declined into weakness and poverty."

The manifesto then undertook "to extend the blessings of good administration to all the regions of the Empire by means of new institutions".

The new institutions were to ensure the following:

1. Complete safety of life, honour and property of subjects, irrespective of their religion.
2. A correct method of the assessment and collection of taxes.
3. A correct method of military recruitment and reduction of the term of service.

The guarantee of personal immunity and property inviolability in the Ottoman Empire, where everyone's life depended on the unrestricted arbitrary powers of the satraps and pashas, was of great significance. By its guarantee of property rights, the *hatti-sherif Gulhane* created the conditions for bourgeois accumulation. This guarantee applied to all subjects regardless of their religion. This was especially important, because the bourgeoisie in the empire was mainly of another nationality and belonged to the persecuted Chris-

tian religion—Armenians and Greeks in Turkey proper, Armenians and Arab Christians in Syria, Maronites in the Lebanon, Copts in Egypt, and so on.

The manifesto specified concrete measures to ensure personal immunity and property inviolability, namely, the introduction of public trials,¹ banning of the old practice of confiscating a criminal's property,² and the convening of a consultative legal council to draw up new laws.

Fixed tax rates and a fixed budget were introduced and the farming out of taxes (*iltizam*) and the system of selling government posts, which had led to the same extortionate practices as tax-farming, were abolished.

Universal military service and regular conscription were instituted. A recruiting law was promulgated, reducing the period of military service to 4 or 5 years and fixing military conscription in the provinces in proportion to the number of the population.

THE REFORMS OF THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE TANZIMAT. Despite its moderation and half-measures, the *hatti-sherif Gulhane* encountered strong opposition among the most reactionary feudal lords, courtiers and religious authorities. Sultan Abdul Mejid himself, who had been forced to sign the manifesto, was unable to conceal his disapproval of the projected reforms. He regarded the *tanzimat* as a compromise to which he had agreed against his will and whenever the opportunity offered, did all in his power to hinder its implementation. Most of the contemplated reforms, therefore, even the mildest of them, remained ink on paper, whether they were made law or not.

The *tanzimat*, however, did have some results. In the first place, an attempt was made to divide functions, to separate civil from military administration and create a new legal procedure. The recruiting law promulgated in 1843 intro-

¹ "That is why each defendant will be tried publicly according to our holy law after the investigation and until the correct verdict has been passed nobody has the right to kill openly another by poison or any other means."

² "Each will own all forms of property and will dispose of it freely without hindrance of any kind. Thus, for example, the innocent heirs of the criminal will not be deprived of their legal rights and the property of the criminal will not be confiscated."

duced universal military service and reduced its term to 5 years. A radical change was made in the army. The infantry and cavalry were reorganised along French lines and the artillery along German lines. From then on the Turkish army was composed of six corps, two of which were stationed on the Balkan Peninsula, two in Asia Minor, one (with its headquarters at Damascus) in Syria and Palestine and one (with its headquarters at Baghdad) in Iraq.

In 1840, Sultan Abdul Mejid began the work of instituting judicial reforms, which dragged on for many years. The drawing up of a new criminal, trade and civil legislation and the laying of the foundations of a new judicial system continued throughout the period of the *tanzimat*.

Mahmud II himself had made an attempt to regulate tax gathering. In 1838, he had established a fixed salary for the officials, and then abolished several government monopolies which had led to all sorts of abuse. The tax-farming system was liquidated in 1840 and the provincial pashas were deprived of the right to gather taxes. This task was handed over to special tax collectors, who came under the control of the central finance department. Actually, this measure was carried out only in the towns. The attempt to abolish the farming out of agricultural taxes fell through and the powerful tax farmers continued their old practices.

The administrative reform, which was linked up with the division of civilian and military authority, clearly defined the duties of the *wali* (governors) and the *qa'im ma'qams*, who governed the *vilayets* and *sanjaqs* respectively. They were granted only civil powers and could be removed at any time. The *elayets*, which had previously been feudal patrimonies of the pashas, were turned into subdivisions of a united state body. The departments of state became specialised. Special consultative organs were attached to the governorships. These were administrative councils (*mejlis idareh*) made up of representatives of the bureaucracy, clergy, landlords and merchants. A special official (*defterdar*), who was independent of the *wali*, was entrusted with the collection of taxes and the finances of the *vilayet*. The *malmudirs* or *muhassils*, who headed the tax department in the *sanjaq*, were independent of the *qa'im ma'qam*, but dependent on the *defterdar*.

Greater consideration was given to education during the

period of the *tanzimat*. A law was issued in 1845 introducing free and compulsory education. Although this law, like many others, remained largely unimplemented, it had favourable results. The collegiate mosques were placed under the control of the state. Secular secondary schools were founded where the pupils studied history, geography and elementary mathematics. Special medical, engineering, law and military schools were established at Istanbul. And in 1847 a Ministry of Education was founded.

An attempt was made in 1845 to set up special commissions in each *elayet* "to investigate the causes of the decline in farming". These commissions were to discuss agricultural problems such as the land tax, road building and irrigation. Their activities, however, were doomed to failure since the main "cause of the decline in farming", the feudal system, remained untouched.

Such were the reforms carried out in the first period of the *tanzimat* (1839-56). They gave greater scope for the development of the local bourgeois elements, but were not enough to change the social system. They did not undermine the feudal mode of production or the feudal state, nor did they create the conditions for the development of a national capitalist industry, for repelling the economic aggression of foreign capital. The reforms gave the bourgeoisie certain personal privileges but did not give it political rights. All the power in the empire remained in the hands of the old bureaucracy.

THE REFORMS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE. After the evacuation of Mohammed Ali's troops, Syria and Palestine again reverted to Turkish rule. The Porte immediately began to normalise the administration of these far-flung provinces. New laws were gradually introduced despite the opposition of the reactionaries. The governors of the *elayets* in Syria and in other parts of the empire were deprived of military and financial prerogatives. Special financial officials, *defterdars* and *muhassils*, who depended directly on the Ministry of Finance, were appointed. But the tax-farming system was retained. After the institution of military reforms, a corps of the new regular army, the Arabistan *ordus*, was quartered in Syria. This was a regular army under the command of a field marshal (*mushir*), who was

independent of the civilian authorities, but subordinate to the Ministry of Defence.

In 1841, a new territorial division was introduced in Syria. The *pashaliks* of Saida and Tripoli were merged into one *elayet* and its centre was transferred to Beirut. Palestine was divided into a special *sanjaq* of Jerusalem under the control of the Beirut governor.

All these relatively insignificant administrative changes did not affect the core of the feudal system in Syria. However, they deceived the peasants, who regarded them as a promise of liberty. The uprisings against Egyptian rule and the active part played by the Syrians in expelling the Egyptians from Syria and Palestine had given the Syrians more confidence in their strength. On the other hand, the restoration of Turkish rule did not ease the lot of the Syrian people. All this served to create the prerequisites for a new upsurge of the liberation struggle. A series of anti-feudal uprisings took place in Syria, the most serious of which were the Aleppo uprising of 1850 and the Hauranian uprising of 1852-53.

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE LEBANESE PRINCIPALITY. The anti-feudal movement was especially strong in the Lebanon. The big Druse feudal lords returned to the Lebanon after the dethronement and banishment of Emir Beshir II in 1840 and began to solicit for the return of their former estates and political privileges. The Maronite peasants offered resistance to the Druses, on whose lands they had settled during the reign of Emir Beshir II. The ensuing struggle created a tangle of conflicts. The real class differences, complicated by the conflicts between the Druses and the Maronites, were supplemented by the rivalry between England and France, who backed the opposing religious and political groups. England supported the Druses and France, the Maronites.

In October 1841, the British-armed Druse feudal lords instigated a revolt against the Porte's appointee, Emir Qasim, who was Beshir II's cousin. They managed to involve the Druse peasants, who were dependent upon them. The insurgents laid siege to the Emir's palace. They broke into the Maronite villages, slaughtered the population, burnt homes and seized lands and orchards. The Maronites organised

self-defence detachments and at times successfully repulsed the attacks of the Druses. Several Maronite detachments penetrated into the Druse villages, where they organised pogroms. This mutual extermination continued for six weeks. The Druses finally gained the upper hand and took over the southern Lebanon.

The Porte used this as an opportunity to send its troops to the Lebanon. Emir Qassim was deposed, arrested and sent to Istanbul and the Lebanese principality was turned into an ordinary Turkish province with the Turkish general, Omar Pasha, as governor.

Omar Pasha launched reprisals against the Druse feudal lords, who prevented him from pursuing his centralising policy. In March 1842, he summoned eight Druse sheikhs to his castle at Beit-Ed-Din, arrested them and sent them to Beirut under heavy guard. After their arrest the Maronites who had fled from the southern Lebanon during the massacre of 1841 returned to their home villages, lands and orchards.

The actions of the Turks caused disapproval among the Powers that were striving to consolidate their positions in the East. They sharply protested against direct Turkish rule and demanded that the Lebanon's autonomy be restored. France, who supported the Maronites, insisted on the return of Beshir II (Shehab) and, to back up her demand, sent a squadron to Beirut. England again sided with the Druse feudal lords who had fought against the Shehab family.

Under pressure from the Powers, the Porte held a referendum in the summer of 1842 in the Lebanon. The results showed that the Maronites were in favour of restoring the Lebanese principality with a Christian governor from the Shehab family. The Druse feudal lords pretended to submit to the Porte and during the referendum voted for direct Turkish rule. However, in October 1842, they again rose in rebellion, demanding the release of the arrested sheikhs and the resignation of Omar Pasha. But they were defeated once again. Omar Pasha crushed the Druse irregulars and burnt the ancestral castle of the Junbalat family.

In 1843, however, the Porte was finally compelled to relinquish its plans for the direct rule of the Lebanon. Under pressure from the Powers it agreed to hand over the administration of the Lebanon to two *qa'im ma'qams* from among

the local feudal lords. A Christian was appointed *qa'im ma'qam* over the Maronites and a Druse over the Druses. The Shehabs were removed for good. This "solution" only confused matters further in the Lebanon and fanned the flames of discord between the Druses and the Maronites. A Turkish pasha aptly termed the solution "an organised civil war".

THE DRUSE-MARONITE MASSACRE OF 1845. There was no uniform religion in the Lebanon. Nearly all the people in the north, in Kesruan, were Maronites. The majority in the central part of the Lebanon, Metn, were also Maronites, but Druse villages were scattered here and there among the others. The peasant population in the southern part, Shuf, was mixed, and consisted of both Druses and Maronites. The feudal claimants to power in Shuf were Druses. When functions were divided between two *qa'im ma'qams*, Kesruan went to the Maronite *qa'im ma'qam* and the other regions were declared "mixed".

A new conflict arose between the Druses and the Maronites over the mixed regions. The Christians of the mixed regions, anxious to retain their lands, felt they should subordinate directly to a Christian *qa'im ma'qam*. The Druse feudal lords said there could not be two governors in one district and that the Maronites of the mixed regions of Shuf should submit to the Druse *qa'im ma'qam*. In the end, in September 1844, they agreed to a compromise suggested by the French consul, which only widened the "organised civil war". Two elders, or *wakils*, one for the Christian and one for the Druses, were appointed in each of the mixed villages. The Maronites of Shuf were subordinate to the Druse *qa'im ma'qam*, but could lodge complaints against him through their *wakil* before the Christian *qa'im ma'qam*.

The Druse sheikhs returned to their former estates immediately after the southern Lebanon had been handed over to the Druse *qa'im ma'qam*. The Maronite peasants began to prepare for an uprising. This time the religious form of the conflict was soon discarded and the uprising acquired a clearly defined class character. Unlike the uprising in 1840-41, when the Maronite peasants fought under the leadership of the feudal sheikhs and priests, the insurgent detachments were now made up entirely of peasants. "The Christians

began to form levies with platoon and company commanders, and so on. But not a single sheikh or emir dared command the levies," wrote an eyewitness.

A secret committee at Deir El-Kamar, which had branches in all the big settlements of the southern Lebanon, stood at the head of the movement. But the peasants did not fully grasp the class aims of the struggle. Their hatred for the Druse feudal lords extended to all the Druses in general, thereby antagonising the Druse peasants and calling forth a wave of Maronite pogroms.

An uprising began in May 1845 and spread to all parts of the Lebanon. It was followed by a general slaughter of the Druse peasants, who in return began slaughtering the Maronites. Tens of Druse and Maronite villages were sacked and completely destroyed.

The anti-feudal character of the movement forced the Turkish authorities to change their policy. Although in the struggle for the centralisation of the empire the Porte had come out against the Druse feudal lords, who wanted to retain their former political rights, it continued to uphold the interests of the feudal class as a whole. In 1841 and 1842, the Porte had put down the mutinies of the Druse sheikhs against the unity of the empire, but in 1845, it helped the same Druse sheikhs suppress an uprising of the Maronite peasants against the feudal system. With the help of the Turkish forces the Druses emerged triumphant. The Druse *qa'im ma'qam* continued to govern the southern Lebanon and the estates remained in the hands of the Druse sheikhs.

The uprising then spread to the northern Lebanon, where the Maronite peasants rose in rebellion against the bishops and nobles of their own sect.

By the autumn of 1845, the Turkish troops had subdued and disarmed the Lebanon. A new administrative regime was organised with the help of the foreign consuls. While preserving the system of dual control, two *qa'im ma'qams* for the whole area and two *wakils* for each village, the foreign consuls demanded the formation of a council to assist each *qa'im ma'qam*. The council was to have judicial functions and also the right of control over the collection and assessment of taxes. The council was to be made up of ten members: two Maronites, two Druses, two Sunnites, two Greek Orthodox and two Melkites (Greek Uniates). This,

however, did not do away with the main conflict between the peasants and the feudal lords. At the same time it deepened religious discord, caused fresh strife between different religious groups and gave the foreign Powers a permanent excuse for meddling in Syria's internal affairs.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSIONARIES. BRITISH PLANS FOR JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE. Missionaries provided another means of foreign penetration in the Arab East. In the 1840s they revived their activities which had abated at the beginning of the century. The missionaries opened schools and charity organisations in Syria and Palestine, zealously spreading Christianity and with it the influence of the countries they represented.

The first and most active missionaries in the East were the Lazarths and Jesuits. Supervised by the Vatican and vigorously supported by France, they had a wide network of schools and seminaries at their disposal. In 1846, the Pope restored the Latin Jerusalem patriarchate, which had existed at the time of the Crusades.

The first Americans, Presbyterians, appeared in Beirut in 1820. By 1860, they had over 30 schools and a printing shop and in 1866 they opened the Syrian Protestant College later to become the American University.

In 1849, Russia set up a Russian Orthodox mission in Jerusalem. She did not have any directly aggressive plans in Syria and Palestine, but merely wanted to strengthen her influence over the Greek Orthodox population of the Balkan Peninsula.

England, who was eager to make the best of Mohammed Ali's defeat, was not to be left behind. She staked on two cards at once. On the one hand, she backed the Protestants and the plans for German colonisation in Palestine, an Anglo-Prussian diocese being established in Jerusalem in 1841. On the other hand, England encouraged the plans for Jewish colonisation and initiated all sorts of Zionist projects.

The Jewish population of Palestine in the middle of the 19th century hardly numbered 11,000. Many of them were pilgrims and had settled here for religious purposes. During the Eastern crisis of 1839-41 the British reverted to Bonaparte's plans for the creation of a Jewish state in Jerusalem. In 1838, Lord Shaftesbury and then Gauler and the British

consul in Palestine, James Finn, put forward a number of projects for the transfer of the Jews to Palestine and the creation there of a Jewish state under British protection. These plans were welcomed by Lord Palmerston, who regarded them as a guarantee of the safety of imperial communications. Sir Moses Montefiore, a British banker related to the Rothschild family, also supported these plans. Montefiore visited the East several times and even bought an orange grove near Jaffa in 1855, but was unable to attract a single Jewish colonist.

The plans of the Anglo-Prussian diocese also fell through.

The rivalry of the Powers in the East was reflected in the endless bickering between the various missions over the "holy places", the distribution of the money and gifts received from pilgrims, and so on. One such seemingly insignificant conflict, the argument over repairs to the roof of the Holy Sepulchre and the keys to the Bethlehem shrine, grew into a serious international crisis and gave rise to the Eastern war of 1853-56.

Although Turkey was among the victors and included in the concert of European Powers, the war had a disastrous effect on the Ottoman Empire. In 1854, to cover its military expenses, the Porte concluded its first foreign loan, which marked the beginning of Turkey's financial enslavement. Ultimately, the Powers established a kind of joint protectorate and dictated a new programme of reforms to the Turkish Sultan, which completely cleared the way for the penetration of foreign capital in Turkey.

THE HATTI-HUMAYUN OF 1856. THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE TANZIMAT. Under pressure from the European Powers, on February 18, 1856, shortly before the conclusion of peace, the Sultan issued a new imperial rescript (*hatti-humayun*). Formally, the imperial rescript confirmed the main stipulations of the *hatti-sherif Gulhane* (noble rescript) by continuing the *tanzimat* policy. Actually, things were different. The Powers regarded the *hatti-humayun* of 1856, unlike the *hatti-sherif* of 1839, as an international obligation and it was mentioned thus in Article 9 of the Paris Peace Treaty signed on March 30, 1856. Actually, the Sultan could neither annul nor alter it without the approval of the Powers. If the first manifesto deprived for-

eign diplomacy of an excuse to interfere in the Ottoman Empire's internal affairs, the second encouraged it.

In the *hatti-humayun* of 1856, unlike the *hatti-sherif Gulhane*, the stress was on religious equality and various economic undertakings. This played into the hands of the European Powers, who demanded that the rights be extended to cover their subjects and commercial agents, most of whom came from the Christian (Armenian and Greek) merchant class.

The Porte made its first concessions to the Powers during the Eastern war, when it attempted to apply the recruitment laws to the Christians and with this in view on May 7, 1855, abolished the *kharaj*. This move met with opposition both from the Moslem reactionaries, who were displeased that "infidels" should be allowed to serve in the army and to receive arms, and from the "infidels" themselves, who refused to serve in the Turkish army. In the end the Porte exempted the Christians from military service, having introduced in its stead a special tax called *bedel el-askari* (military exoneration tax), which was really the same as the *kharaj* only under a different name.

Apart from the *kharaj*, in the Ottoman Empire there were many other medieval taxes, which continued to grow from year to year. The introduction of state monopolies on salt and tobacco in 1862 increased the burden and prices of these products rose. The tax farmers continued to collect the taxes. The tax-farming system was abolished in 1857, but not for long.

On April 21, 1858, a land law was issued, legally abolishing the military fief system and the peasants' dependence on the former *timariots*. Actually, the system had been liquidated long before the law was issued. The peasants, however, were as usual deprived of land. The new law did not give the peasants land, it merely granted the leaseholders of the state lands the right to buy the lands for a large sum. The land law widened the category of privately owned lands, promoted the development of private landownership and made it a part of commodity circulation. At the same time, the law retained many restrictions on the use of the land, which hampered economic initiative. In 1867, a new law was passed granting foreigners the right to acquire and own land in the Ottoman Empire.

Apart from the land legislation, the laws on the Ottoman Bank (1856) and the granting of concessions, in the second stage of the *tanzimat*, laws were promulgated on the rights and position of religious communities and on Ottoman citizenship (1869). Criminal and civil codes were compiled. A law on the secularisation of the *waqfs* (1873) remained ink on paper. A law on the *elays* was passed on November 8, 1864, introducing a new administrative division of the empire and reorganising local administration.

On the whole, the reforms of the second period of the *tanzimat* weakened the Porte and accelerated the penetration of foreign capital. The European capitalists received bank, railway and other concessions, the right to buy land, and so on. Thus, the *hatti-humayun* (imperial rescript) of 1856 and the laws issued after it turned the Ottoman Empire into a semi-colony of the European capitalist Powers. It ushered in the second period of the *tanzimat*, when Turkey and her Arab domains were plundered and enslaved by foreign capital.

THE PEASANT UPRISING IN KESRUAN (1859-60). Soon after the publication of the *hatti-humayun* of 1856, a new crisis arose in Syria. The immediate cause was the publication of the *hatti-humayun*, which the Lebanese peasants interpreted as a sign of their social equality and exonerated from feudal obligations.

The growth of foreign trade and marketable agricultural produce in the forties and fifties of the 19th century intensified the exploitation of the Lebanese peasants. Discontent in the villages grew. The peasants wrote complaints against the growing extortions and abuses. At the beginning of 1858, at a big gathering in the village of Zuk, where about 300 persons had gathered from different villages of Kesruan (northern Lebanon), all the complaints were made up into a single petition, which a special delegation handed over to the Beirut Governor, Khurshid Pasha. The peasants demanded the liquidation of all feudal obligations. The Pasha politely, but firmly refused to comply with their demands. The peasants then began to prepare for an uprising. They fetched the weapons they had hidden twelve years ago and began to form insurgent detachments.

In January 1859, an armed uprising headed by the village blacksmith, Taniyus Shahin, flared up. The uprising was

of a purely class character. Having driven the Maronite feudal lords out of Kesruan and seized their land and property, the insurgent peasants set up their own rule and the Porte was compelled to acknowledge Shahim as *qa'im ma'qam*.

The Kesruan uprising had a revolutionary effect on the other regions of the Lebanon. The disturbances spread to Latakia and the central Lebanon and involved the Maronite peasants of the Druse *qa'im ma'qamate*, where the peasants, actively supported by the Maronite clergy, began to prepare for an armed uprising against the Druses. The Druse feudal lords in their turn began to arm the Druse irregulars.

THE DRUSE-MARONITE MASSACRE OF 1860. In the spring of 1860, the uprising grew into a new Druse-Maronite massacre. The provocative actions of the French consul in Beirut were partly to blame for this. Marx noted that "French agents who were bestirring themselves to bring about a politico-religious row ... on the Syrian coast",¹ were involved in the bloody events in Syria.

On May 22, 1860, a group of ten or twelve Maronites fired on a group of Druses at the entrance to Beirut, killing one and wounding two. This is all that was needed. Druses and Maronites began slaughtering each other and fires and pogroms swept through the Lebanon. In a mere three days (from May 29 to 31, 1860) 60 villages were destroyed in the vicinity of Beirut. In June, the disturbances spread to the "mixed" neighbourhoods of the southern Lebanon and Anti Lebanon, to Saida, Hasbeiya, Rasheiya, Deir El-Kamar and Zahle. The Druse peasants laid siege to Catholic monasteries and missions, burnt them and killed the monks.

In July 1860, in Damascus, with the connivance of the military authorities and Turkish soldiers, Moslem fanatics organised pogroms, killing Christians and setting fire to churches and missionary schools. This lasted for three days (from July 9 till July 11). But thanks to the popular Algerian hero, Abd el-Kader, who lived as an exile in Damascus, a mass extermination of the Christians was averted. He defended the Christians during the pogroms and placed his palace at the disposal of the victims of fanaticism.

¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1860.

The bloody events of 1860 cost the Syrian people dear. Over 20,000 Christians were killed and 380 Christian villages, 560 churches and 40 monasteries were destroyed. The Druses and Moslems also suffered heavy losses.

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1860-61. The pogroms and the Druse-Maronite massacre gave the French Emperor Napoleon III the long-awaited excuse for intervention. The French ruling circles felt that the right time had come to gain complete possession of Syria. Napoleon III's desire to raise his prestige as "the most Christian king" and internal and foreign policy considerations also played an important role. In July 1860, he suddenly spoke out in defence of the Syrian Christians and made known his intention of sending troops to Syria.

France's plans put the Powers and Turkey on their guard. Sultan Abdul Mejid tried to prevent the French expedition by sending one of the empire's highest dignitaries, Fuad Pasha, to Damascus. Having received emergency powers, Fuad organised an exemplary mass execution in Damascus. On his orders 111 persons were shot, 57 hanged, 325 sentenced to hard labour and 145 were banished. Fuad Pasha hoped to please France by punishing only the Moslems. The Turkish troops quickly "restored law and order" and stopped the pogroms. But the Bonaparte press continued to rage, describing Fuad's repressions as a mere "comedy" and demanding that the executions be doubled.

England and Russia, who were reluctant to permit the capture of Syria by the French, insisted on the convocation of an international conference to tie Napoleon down. On September 5, 1860, six Powers, England, Russia, France, Austria, Prussia and Turkey, signed an agreement restricting the size of the French occupation corps to 12,000 men and its stay in Syria to 6 months. Moreover, the signatory Powers sent special commissioners to Syria to make an on-the-spot investigation of the causes of the Syrian events, expose the culprits, punish them and "prevent a repetition of such events" by the institution of the Lebanese statute (*règlement organique*). After the setting up of an international commission the French idea of sending troops to Syria lost all meaning.

On the very eve of the signing of the agreement, however, at the end of August 1860, French troops landed at

Beirut. In September, they made a tour of the country subdued by the Turks. Having performed this "feat of arms", the French generals then directed their ardour against the "insurgent" fellaheen of the northern Lebanon. The leader of the Maronite peasants was forced to flee to the mountains. Yusef Karam, the feudal leader who with France's help had suppressed the uprising in Kesruan and returned the land to the Maronite sheikhs, became *qa'im ma'qam*.

Napoleon III attempted to evade the agreement of September 5, 1860, and keep his troops in Syria under the pretext that the situation in the area was still "insecure". But England and Austria threatened war and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the French forces. In the end, a withdrawal date was fixed for June 5, 1861, by which time the French expeditionary corps was embarked on ships and sent home. The French attempt to take over Syria had fallen through.

THE "RÈGLEMENT ORGANIQUE" OF THE LEBANON. In June 1861, after lengthy arguments, the international commission worked out a new *règlement organique* of the Lebanon. It was drawn up in the form of a convention and signed by Turkey and the Powers on June 9, 1861, in Constantinople. The Mountain Region (excluding the sea-coast) became an autonomous region with a Christian governor at its head. The governor was independent of the Beirut and Damascene pashas but directly subordinate to the Porte. The system of two *qa'im ma'qams* was abolished. The governor (*mutassarif*) was chosen and appointed directly by the Porte. An administrative council composed of 12 men was set up under the governor. Each of the six religious groups inhabiting the Lebanon (Maronites, Druses, Sunnites, *Shi'as*, Greek Orthodox and Greek Uniates) elected two members to the council. The council received the right to distribute taxes, to control their gathering and expenditure; it also had the right to consult on any question. The region was divided into six *mudiriyas* with *mudirs* at their head. Three of them were Maronites, one a Druse, one a Greek Orthodox and one a Greek Uniate. The sheikhs of the *nahiyas* and villages, the judges and scribes were subordinate to them. The statute determined the degree of power to be exercised by each religious group. District councils were

formed under each *mudir*. A special police force and judicial system were created for the Mountain Region with Deir El-Kamar as its centre. The governor had the right to disarm the population of the Lebanon and call in Turkish forces. The Lebanon undertook to pay an annual tribute to the Porte.

The *règlement organique* was introduced preliminarily for a period of three years. In September 1864, the Powers and Turkey signed a convention which confirmed the permanent character of the statute and made minor changes in it. Another Maronite district was formed and the council under the governor was reorganised (it now had twelve members—four Maronites, three Druses, three Greek Orthodoxes and Greek Uniates, one Sunnite and one *Shi'a*). The *règlement organique* of the Lebanon remained in this form up till 1914.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT MOVEMENT OF THE 1860s. BUTRUS EL-BUSTANI. The development of foreign trade led to the emergence in Beirut of a significant strata of the commercial bourgeoisie. However, feudal oppression, the age-long enmity between the tribes and the feudal cliques, between the numerous religious groups and sects hindered the development of trade and the formation of a single national market. In the struggle of the commercial bourgeoisie for Syrian unity many outstanding ideologists came to the fore. They called for religious tolerance, the unification of all Syrian Arabs regardless of their religious or tribal affiliation.

The most outstanding Syrian bourgeois ideologist in the sixties of the 19th century was Butrus el-Bustani (1819-1883). A Christian, he had studied at a Maronite seminary and knew many languages. In 1840, he became acquainted with the American missionaries and adopted the Presbyterian faith. He advocated patriotism and called for Syrian unity. He castigated religious intolerance and fanaticism, religious strife and enmity, superstitious beliefs, feudal separatism, the corruption of the Turkish authorities and the enslavement of women. He was a tireless enlightener, teacher, publicist and writer. He founded in Beirut the first national Arabic school (1863) and published two weeklies in the Arabic language—*Nafir Suriya* (*Clarion of Syria*) in 1860, and

El-Janna (*Paradise*), and the magazine *El-Jinan* in 1870, publications that for the first time acquainted Syrian readers with political, cultural and literary questions. He worked a great deal to develop a new literary Arabic language and to spread the European sciences among Arab intellectuals. He compiled a big dictionary of the Arabic language and an Arabic encyclopaedia in seven volumes (*Dairat El-Ma'arif*). His cousin, Suleiman el-Bustani, continued the encyclopaedia after his death and translated Homer's *Iliad* into Arabic.

Butrus el-Bustani's closest friend and associate was Nasif Yazeji (1800-1871), the court poet of Beshir II. He also made a great contribution to the revival of the literary Arabic language and Arabic literature. A Christian like Bustani, Nasif Yazeji opposed religious fanaticism and called on the Arabs to unite in brotherhood on the basis of their common heritage.

Bustani and Yazeji rallied the most progressive Syrian intellectuals of the time. In 1857, their followers founded in Beirut the Syrian Scientific Society, which for the first time in Syrian history united Arab intellectuals irrespective of their religion. But foreign missionaries were not admitted to the Society. Bustani and Yazeji confined themselves to the enlightenment movement and regarded enlightenment as the only means of struggle against feudalism.

Political problems were advanced by the new generation. At clandestine meetings of the Syrian Scientific Society, which in 1868 revived its activities that had been interrupted by the events of 1860, discussions on cultural renaissance were replaced by fervent calls to struggle for independence. At one such meeting, Nasif Yazeji's son, Ibrahim Yazeji, recited patriotic poems, which had a wide circulation in Syria and the Lebanon. In his poems Ibrahim Yazeji sang of the glorious past of the Arabs, castigated fanaticism and called upon the people to shake off the Turkish yoke. This was a passionate call to rise in the name of the Arab nation. "By the sword may distant aims be attained. Seek with it, if you mean to succeed," Yazeji said.

IRAQ, 1831 TO 1871. THE TANZIMAT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN IRAQ IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES OF THE 19th CENTURY.

Iraq, one of the most backward regions of the Ottoman Empire, was not under the control of Mohammed Ali and was not affected by his reforms. It continued to be a remote colony of the East India Company. In the period following Daud Pasha's dethronement (1831) the Turkish governors of Iraq strove to consolidate the Porte's authority and executed its orders to the letter. The situation in Iraq became very critical after the liquidation of the Kulemen dynasty. The country was ruined and in the grip of an unusually severe, even for Iraq, economic crisis. The plague of 1831 had carried off most of the population and dealt a crushing blow to Iraq's productive forces. Out of the 150,000 inhabitants of Baghdad only 20,000 were left and in Basra, only 5,000 or 6,000 were left out of 80,000. Many towns and villages had died out completely. Homes were boarded up. Stores and workshops were closed. Fields and orchards were abandoned. The area under cultivation had shrunk and the fruit trees had perished. Trade had come to a standstill. Feudal anarchy returned with new force and deepened the crisis.

It took the country over twenty years to recover from the consequences of the plague.

THE KURDISH UPRISING AND TRIBAL WARS.

Daud Pasha had forced the Kurdish beks and the Arab sheikhs into submission. He had known how to keep them under control. He had fought against the Porte, but united the whole of Iraq under his own authority. The new pashas of Iraq were appointed by the Sublime Porte and fulfilled its every wish. They destroyed the traces of Iraq's former

independence and placed it under the complete control of the central government. But actually their authority in Iraq was illusory. They were unable to cope with the tribes, who were reluctant to pay taxes, or with the opposition of the feudal lords who did not want to recognise the authority of the pashas. The country once again entered a period of feudal decline and became involved in continuous tribal uprisings and internecine wars.

The Arab tribes of Muntafik, Shammar, Anaiza and others either fought among themselves or formed alliances and fought against the Baghdad pashas. For three months in 1833 the warriors of the Shammar tribes besieged Baghdad.

An endless wave of uprisings of the Kurdish feudal lords swept the north. They were supported by the Shah of Iran on the one hand, and the Egyptian Pasha, Mohammed Ali, on the other. Striving to complete the unification of the "Arab Empire" and gain possession of the strategic trade route from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, Mohammed Ali pressed for the annexation of Iraq to his domains. Hence his readiness to support any movement in Iraq which would weaken the Porte's authority. For its part, the Turkish Government began sending punitive expeditions to Kurdistan, which in the period between 1831 and 1842 committed repeated outrages against the local Kurdish rulers and liquidated a number of Kurdish principalities. But these partial victories did not reduce the Kurds to submission. In 1838, it looked as though the Kurdish regions had at last been subdued. But when the news reached them in 1839 of the Turks' defeat at Nezib, the Kurds again rose in rebellion. The Kurdish feudal lords were supported in 1841 by the advance of Persian forces into Suleimaniye which almost led to a new Turkish war.

Russian-English mediation brought about a peaceful settlement of the conflict and led to the conclusion of the second Erzerum Treaty on May 31, 1847. It settled the boundary and pilgrimage disputes. According to the Treaty, Persia relinquished her claims to Suleimaniye and other regions. To compensate for this the Porte let her have Mohammerah (now called Khorramshahr) and the left bank of the Shatt-Al-Arab.

The Turco-Persian settlement, like the defeat of Mohammed Ali, did not change the general state of affairs in Kur-

distan. Any attempts to establish direct Turkish rule in the Kurdish regions called forth new uprisings. The next Kurdish uprising took place in 1843 and lasted till 1846. No sooner had Turkey put it down than new disturbances broke out in 1848 and 1849. This went on year after year. From time to time the Turks gained ephemeral successes in a difficult war, but their authority in Kurdistan remained illusory.

THE TANZIMAT IN IRAQ. The new, liberal ideas which inspired the Turkish reformers and were reflected in the *hatti-sherif Gulhane* were slow to penetrate into Iraq, gripped, as it was, by economic dislocation and shaken by feudal mutinies and tribal internecine wars. The Turkish pashas exercised full military, civilian and judicial power and continued to rule the country like real satraps. The reforms prescribed by the capital of the empire at first had no effect whatsoever on distant Iraq.

It was only after 1842, when the reforms of the first period of the *tanzimat* began to be applied in Iraq, that some changes occurred. Even these reforms, however, came too late. They were far from complete and often had the opposite result from what was intended. The law of universal conscription was not implemented in Lower Iraq until 1870. The division of military and civilian power took place only in 1848, when the sixth corps of the Turkish army was formed with its headquarters at Baghdad, thus separating the functions of the governor from those of the corps commander. Simultaneous reorganisation of state machinery brought a certain degree of centralisation and specialisation and the abolition of the tax-farming system. Special clerks were entrusted with the supervision of financial and tax questions. A slightly Europeanised Turkish bureaucracy came into being.

The reforms did not give rise to a social movement in Iraq and their practical results were nil. The new administration was not as despotic as it was corrupt. The people still suffered from the extortions and outrages of the officials, who often confused their personal interests with those of the state.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION. For a long time the economy of Iraq remained in complete decline. It was only in the sixties

of the 19th century that the first signs of economic progress appeared. Iraq began supplying the world market with grain and dates and purchasing foreign manufactured goods. To meet foreign demands for Iraqi agricultural products the country restored her fields and orchards and expanded the sowing area and the date plantations. Iran too was drawn into the world market. Moreover, a considerable part of its foreign trade passed through Baghdad and Basra. The liquidation of internal customs in Iraq in 1861 considerably increased the growth of this trade.

The growth of foreign trade and transit called for the development of communications. As far back as the thirties of the 19th century, the British traveller Chesney had unsuccessfully attempted to organise regular shipping along the Euphrates; the route to India through Egypt and the Red Sea was more profitable. Iraqi trade at the time was too insignificant to justify spending so much money on the development of a new waterway, but in the sixties increased trade led to a revolution in the means of transport. In 1862, the Turkish Government established regular shipping lines along the Tigris between Baghdad and Basra. In the same year, the British Company of Lynch also established regular shipping lines along this route. Basra had regular sea communications with the ports of the Persian Gulf and India. In 1864, a telegraph was set up connecting Baghdad with Istanbul, Tehran, Basra and India.

MIDHAT PASHA IN IRAQ. The final reformation of Iraq was entrusted to the outstanding Turkish statesman, Midhat Pasha (1822-1883). Midhat Pasha was the leader of the Turkish constitutional movement and author of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876. The Turkish Government granted him full authority. In 1869, he was appointed governor of Baghdad and also Commander-in-Chief of the Sixth Corps, thus acquiring absolute military and civil authority in Iraq.

With characteristic energy Midhat Pasha set to work to carry out reforms and reorganise the entire life of Iraq. He gave considerable attention to the construction of transport routes. He expanded steam navigation on the Tigris and founded a state steamship company. After the opening of the Suez Canal, he organised shipping lines linking Basra

with Istanbul and London. He drew up a project to extend navigation further upstream along the Tigris to Mosul and along the Euphrates up to Aleppo, entailing considerable excavation work. On his initiative a dockyard was built in Basra. Midhat Pasha also intended to organise the extraction of oil in Mosul and build railways all over Iraq. He worked enthusiastically on the project of the "Euphrates railway", but he was only able to complete the 12-kilometre Baghdad-El-Kazimiyah line, which was used for steam trams. He gave great consideration to the expansion of the sowing area and plantations.

Midhat Pasha also carried out a number of administrative and cultural reforms. As early as 1864, a law was passed in Turkey on the *vilayets*, which separated the judiciary from the administration, established elective courts and drew the population into local government. By 1868, the law had been applied to all the provinces with the exception of Iraq and the Yemen. Midhat Pasha implemented the law in Iraq. He created new courts, instituted municipal councils (*baladiyah*) and founded new schools. Baghdad's first newspaper appeared under Midhat Pasha.

Midhat Pasha considered it his chief duty to subordinate Iraq completely to the central government and liquidate tribal and feudal separatism. He introduced military conscription in Iraq and demanded recruits from the tribes. He also taxed them and insisted on regular payments. When his policy evoked a big uprising of the Arab tribes in 1869, it was ruthlessly suppressed.

Midhat Pasha realised, however, that repressions alone could not break the resistance of the tribes. He therefore decided to win over the feudal and tribal leaders to his side by interesting them "in the peaceful exploitation" of the peasants. With this aim in view, following the example of some of his predecessors, he encouraged the tribes to settle on the land and began selling the state lands to the tribal sheikhs. As part of the plan to implement the land law of 1858, he sold state lands at a comparatively low price (officially without granting the right to private ownership) to the former holders of the *timars* and *ziamets*, to the merchants and, above all, to the tribal sheikhs. All these figures often became owners of large tracts of land called *miri tapu*. The state remained the supreme owner of these lands. Upon

sale the state gave the new owners a document (*tapu*) granting them the right to use the land.

Midhat Pasha's seizure of Kuwait and El-Hasa (1871) was aimed at consolidating Turkish authority in Iraq. These regions were formed into a special administrative unit (*sanzaj* Nejd), which was dependent on the Turkish rulers of Iraq.

The conquest of El-Hasa and Midhat Pasha's brutal reprisals against the rebellious Bedouins showed that even the progressive representatives of the Turkish ruling class were the suppressors of the popular movements in the Arab countries. Even while carrying out reforms, the Turks acted as the oppressors of the people. The reforms of Midhat Pasha, like those of the first period of the *tanzimat*, strengthened the Turkish domination in Iraq. Arabs were removed from the government and Turks placed in all the important posts. Iraqis were admitted only to minor positions. The highest position they could hope for was that of *mutasarraf*.

The reforms of Midhat Pasha completed the reorganisation of the administration of Iraq, which from then on became closely connected with the neighbouring provinces and the centre of the empire. Iraq's former isolation became a thing of the past. The successors of Midhat Pasha, who was transferred in 1871 to Adrianople, attempted to follow in his footsteps, but most of their reforms remained unimplemented.

THE ARABIAN COUNTRIES DURING 1840 TO 1870

ARABIA AFTER 1840. After the Egyptians had withdrawn from the Arabian Peninsula, the country was again spilt up into a number of regions. These, however, were not city-states (such a degree of disunity existed only in Hadhramaut and in some parts of the Persian Gulf), but comparatively large feudal formations such as the Hejaz and the Yemen on the Red Sea and Wahhabi Nejd, Kasim and Shammar in Inner Arabia and Oman on the Persian Gulf. All these regions, with the exception of Oman and southern Arabia, were formally under Turkish control. Turkey, however, stationed garrisons only in the chief towns of the Hejaz and the port of Tihama, and the Turkish pashas' authority was restricted to these towns. Actually, the Arabian feudal estates were independent of the Porte.

In the Hejaz, power belonged to the Meccan sherifs, as it had been in ancient times. In the Yemen the Zaydite Imams held the reins of power. Turkey's attempt (in 1849) to place the Yemen under her direct control fell through. The Wahhabi state was restored in Nejd and embraced almost all Inner Arabia, including El-Hasa. Only the feudal lords and the merchants of Kasim strove to uphold their independence. Meanwhile, in the north of Nejd the new emirate of Shammar was formed and, gradually gaining strength, began to compete with Nejd for hegemony in northern Arabia.

Oman was divided into two parts. One came under the control of the Muscat *seyyid* Said (1807-1856), who also retained his hold on a number of islands in the Indian Ocean (Zanzibar and others), and other territories on the coast of Iran and East Africa. The other part, Trucial Oman, was split up into a number of small "pirate" sheikhdoms. Both parts were under the control of the British resident and the

guns of the British squadron stationed in the area ensured British domination all along the coast. The British resident used force to put down popular uprisings, appointed and dismissed governors and continued to impose new agreements on the coastal sheikhs. Southern Arabia was a conglomeration of small sultanates and sheikhdoms. England possessed the colony of Aden, which was a breeding ground of strife and uprisings in the southern part of the peninsula.

WAHHABI NEJD. After twenty years of Egyptian rule, the Wahhabis had restored their state in Nejd. In 1843, Emir Faisal became the head of state. Since 1838, he had been a war prisoner in Egypt, but had then fled to Damascus, where he masqueraded as a theological student. When the Egyptians withdrew, he returned to Riyadh and with popular support regained power.

Within a comparatively short time, Faisal restored the emirate, which had virtually begun to disintegrate. True, it was still far from being as powerful as it had been in the past. In 1846, it even acknowledged Turkish suzerainty and undertook to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 thalers. Nor were the former boundaries of the Wahhabi state restored. The Riyadh Emir controlled only Nejd and El-Hasa.

The attempt of the Saudi dynasty to regain power in Kasim led to a protracted struggle with the Hejaz. The prospect of Wahhabi domination in this important trade centre of Arabia did not appeal to the Meccan sherifs. The merchants of Kasim were also opposed to Wahhabi power. They had gained control of a significant portion of the increasing trade between various regions of Arabia and the neighbouring Arab countries, and were rapidly enriching themselves. Kasim's "commerce with Medina and Mecca on the one hand, and with Nejd, nay, even with Damascus and Baghdad, on the other hand," wrote the distinguished British traveller Palgrave, who visited Inner Arabia in 1862-63, "has gathered in its warehouses stores of traffic unknown to any other locality of Inner Arabia, and its hardy merchants were met alike on the shores of the Red Sea and of the Euphrates, or by the waters of Damascus."¹

¹ Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London, 1869, p. 117.

The merchants of Kasim were oppressed by feudal extortions and the rigorous customs of the Wahhabi state, and wanted their city-states to be independent. With the help of the Meccan sherifs the inhabitants of Kasim successfully repulsed all the Wahhabi campaigns. In 1855, Faisal even acknowledged the independence of Anaiza and Buraida. Further attempts by the Saudi dynasty to conquer the towns of Kasim achieved almost nothing. Only occasionally were they able to exact a certain amount of tribute.

In eastern Arabia, the Wahhabis met with British opposition. Twice they attempted to regain their former positions on the Persian Gulf (1851-52—western Oman, 1859—Qatar), and twice they were repelled by the British fleet. After the conclusion of the Anglo-Nejd Treaty in 1866, the Saudi family abandoned its attempts to extend its power to Trucial Oman and Bahrein and restricted its activities in these areas to tribute gathering.

An atmosphere of bellicose fanaticism pervaded the Wahhabi state. Religious intolerance had reached its highest pitch. A special tribunal of zealots was set up in the middle of the 19th century in Nejd to mete out strict punishment upon all who violated religious laws. The guilty were fined and subjected to severe corporal punishment.

The new Wahhabi state lacked internal cohesion; the central power was weak. The tribes fought not only against one another, but also against the Emir. After Faisal's death in 1865, feudal and tribal separatism was aggravated still further by the continuous strife between the dynasties. Faisal had divided Nejd among his three eldest sons and on his death a fierce struggle ensued between them for supreme power.

The struggle for the throne and internecine strifes further weakened the already tottering foundations of the Wahhabi state. The emirs of Shammar, who were competing with the Saudi family for supremacy in northern Arabia, did not fail to take advantage of the critical situation. The Turks followed their example by seizing El-Hasa.

THE GROWTH OF THE SHAMMAR EMIRATE. The Shammar emirate acquired especial significance among the Arabian feudal states after the withdrawal of the Egyptians. Hail was its capital. The new Rashid dynasty, which had

firmly established itself in the emirate as far back as the thirties of the 19th century, used Nejd's decline to consolidate its power. The Rashids had been the vassals of Nejd, but in the middle of the 19th century their dependence became purely nominal. Shammar, like Nejd, was a Wahhabi state. But unlike Nejd, the rulers of Shammar pursued a policy of religious tolerance.

The emirs of Shammar, Abdullah (1834-47) and especially his son Talal (1847-68), did much to develop trade and the crafts. Talal built markets and workshops in Hail. He invited merchants and artisans both from the neighbouring Arabian regions and from Iraq. He granted them various privileges. Religious tolerance attracted the merchants and pilgrims. Caravans from Iraq changed their usual routes and began passing to Mecca via Hail, steering clear of fanatical Nejd. Talal ensured their safety. He completely stamped out highway robbery, subdued the Bedouin tribes and forced them to pay taxes. He also conquered a number of oases (Khaibar, Jauf and others), removed rebellious feudal lords and everywhere appointed his own governors. The growth of trade and the policy of Emir Talal led to the centralisation and strengthening of Shammar.

The Riyadh emirs watched with anxiety the growing might of their vassal. In 1868, Talal was summoned to Riyadh, where he was poisoned. His state, however, continued to exist and with the help of the Turks entered the struggle against Riyadh for supremacy in Inner Arabia.

BRITISH COLONIES IN ARABIA (1840-70). After the withdrawal of the Egyptians from Arabia, the British became the absolute rulers of the Persian Gulf coast and Aden. Apart from Oman, which had lost its independence in 1798, seven sheikhdoms of Trucial Oman and Bahrein had been under British control since 1820. England left power in these tiny states in the hands of the local rulers and restricted herself to establishing what was known as relations of alliance with them.

These relations, which tied the sheikhs of Trucial Oman and Bahrein hand and foot, were constantly ratified and renewed. Thus, with each new treaty (1839, 1847, 1853, 1856) on the surface claiming peace and concord "for all time", the "rights" of the British political resident in Bender-

Bushir, who was the virtual ruler over all these territories, were extended. The local rulers were deprived of the opportunity to pursue an independent foreign policy. England always managed to find an excuse for interfering in the internal affairs of Trucial Oman and Bahrein. The British merchants received various rights and privileges.

In 1861, England imposed a new convention on Bahrein, by which she undertook to "defend" Bahrein from foreign attacks and became entitled to send her troops there whenever she wished. The convention actually meant the establishment of a British protectorate over Bahrein.

The British expansion in the Persian Gulf met with the open resistance of Turkey and Iran, who laid claim to a number of territories. In 1868, England came near to establishing "relations of alliance" with Qatar, but three years later was compelled to yield the sheikhdom to Turkey.

France threatened British positions in Oman. England's most reliable "ally" in Arabia was the Muscat *seyyid*, whom the British political agent had well in hand. Under the pretext of joint suppression of piracy and the slave trade, England imposed on him a number of new unequal agreements (1839 and 1845), which strengthened the "relations of alliance" between England and Oman. As far back as 1834, the British had forced the Muscat *seyyid* Said to surrender to them the Kuria Muria Islands. In 1857, they seized Perim Island which was annexed to the colony of Aden.

In 1856, Said, the governor of Muscat, died. The British intervened in the ensuing dynastic conflict and in 1861, at the proposal of the viceroy of India, Lord Canning, they divided the huge domains of the Muscat *seyyid* between his two sons. Oman¹ went to the eldest son Thuwaini and the coast of East Africa and Zanzibar, which had been a part of Muscat ever since the end of the 18th century, went to the youngest son, Mejid. This division weakened Oman and later facilitated the British seizure of Zanzibar and control over Oman.

In the middle of the 19th century, Oman became the object of Anglo-French rivalry. In 1846, France concluded a

¹ Oman gradually lost its domains on the coast of Iran. In 1868, Bender-Abbas with the adjoining coastal strip went to the Persians.

commercial agreement with Oman, similar to the Anglo-Oman Trade Treaty of 1839. In 1861, she objected to the partition of Oman into two parts. The Anglo-French conflict ended in a compromise. On March 10, 1862, in Paris, England and France signed a joint declaration, granting "independence" to Muscat and Zanzibar. Thus France had reconciled herself to the factual partition of Oman. England acknowledged the illusory "independence", but her actions belied her words. In the space of ten years (1862-71) a wave of uprisings swept Oman. The great mass of the people were rebelling against the new Muscat Sultan Thuwaini (1858-66), whom they regarded as a British protégé. They were supported by the Wahhabis, who strove to restore their former power in Oman and even collected a regular tribute from many towns and districts of Oman. England openly interfered in Oman's affairs despite the Declaration of 1862. She supplied Thuwaini with guns and ships to deploy against the people and her fleet shelled the hostile towns. She ordered the sheikhs under her control to support the Sultan and, when Thuwaini was killed, she rendered the same assistance to his son. When Thuwaini's son was banished from the country, she helped his younger brother to suppress the popular uprisings and install himself at Muscat.

The British troops in Aden lived almost in a state of siege. A series of uprisings flared up in southern Arabia against the interference of the British authorities. In 1840, an uprising, backed by the Lahej Sultan, took place in Aden. It was put down, but in 1846, the Arabs attacked again. Upon his accession to power in 1849 in Lahej, Sultan Ali demanded the return of Aden. In 1858, he sent his troops to fight the British, but was defeated in a battle near Sheikh-Othman and compelled to acknowledge British rule in Aden. In 1867, the British undertook another expedition against the rebellious tribes of southern Arabia, who refused to acknowledge the seizure of Aden.

**EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE 19th CENTURY (1841-76)**

EGYPT AFTER THE CAPITULATION OF 1840. Mohammed Ali's capitulation opened the way to foreign capital. In 1842, the terms of the Anglo-Turkish Trade Treaty of 1838 were applied to Egypt. The system of monopolies was abolished. Henceforth British merchants and industrialists could freely buy Egyptian cotton from the producers, either directly or through their compradore agent, while they had to pay hardly any customs duty on the goods they exported to Egypt. By 1845, England was predominant in Egypt's foreign trade. She accounted for a quarter of Egypt's imports (£242,000 out of £1,000,000) and over a third of Egypt's export (£626,000 out of £1,747,000).

From being a great eastern power, Egypt had become a vassal of the weakening Porte. The Turks, who could hardly cope with their own affairs, could not, of course, exercise effective control. Their tutelage was, in fact, a mere cover for the domineering policy of the foreign consuls. In reality, Egypt was under the joint protection of England and France and only the rivalry between the two Powers made it possible for her to retain a degree of independence.

Within the country a struggle was being waged between the two rival groups of the ruling class. One of them was composed of retrograde landlords of the old society, who strove to maintain their contacts with Turkey. They took their cue from the British, whose influence was prevalent in Constantinople. The other group consisted of merchants and liberal landlords, who had embarked on the capitalist path of development. They were in favour of a continuation of the reforms and relied on the French.

The struggle between the two groups was reflected in the activities of Ibrahim Pasha and his successor Abbas Pasha.

At first, the odds were in favour of the Francophiles headed by Ibrahim Pasha, who was the real ruler of the country in the forties. Mohammed Ali was aging. The capitulation had affected his intellectual faculties. He grew old overnight and soon withdrew from the conduct of state affairs.

The reins of power were taken over by his son and successor Ibrahim Pasha. The new ruler gave considerable attention to Egypt's economic development, he tried to improve the corrupt and hidebound civil service. He improved the country's finances, which had been disrupted by the events of 1840, and introduced a regular state budget. In 1842, the rights of the landowners were expanded, permitting them to sell their lands. In 1845-46, Ibrahim accomplished a long journey to Europe. In Paris, a big parade was organised on the Champs de Mars in honour of the victor of Konya and Nezib.

In 1848, Ibrahim Pasha became the official governor of Egypt, but died three months later, on November 10, 1848. Mohammed Ali died soon after, on August 2, 1849. Power passed to his grandson, Abbas Pasha, who turned out to be the exact opposite of his grandfather.

ABBAS PASHA (1849-54). Abbas Pasha officially accepted the reins of government on December 24, 1848, while Mohammed Ali was still alive. He was extremely reactionary and seemed to set himself the aim of destroying as far as lay in his power all the work of his father and grandfather. He liquidated manufactories founded by Mohammed Ali, gave orders to stop work on the construction of the Great Nile Dam and to destroy what had already been built. He closed factories and schools and greatly reduced the army. The Egyptian army had gradually begun to acquire a national character during Mohammed Ali's reign. Under Abbas it became little more than a personal bodyguard, as it had been under the old beys. Moreover, his actual bodyguards consisted of elements alien to the population, mainly Albanians and slave Mamelukes. Abbas found support in the big feudal landowners, Albanian, Circassian and Turkish pashas, who had acquired extensive latifundia under Mohammed Ali. Abbas lavished new lands on them. He himself was the biggest landowner in Egypt and shamelessly robbed the fellaheen. Mohammed Ali and Ibrahim had dreamt of full

independence for Egypt. But such dreams were alien to Abbas. On the contrary, he always emphasised his submissive loyalty to the Turkish Sultan and the old Turkish customs. He openly scorned Western culture and despised Europeans, which, however, did not prevent him from obeying directives from England.

In 1851, Abbas granted the British concessions to build a railway from Alexandria to Cairo and Suez, which would have great strategic importance as one of the main links connecting England with India. The Suez Canal had not yet been built. But since the early years of the 19th century England had been trying to replace the route round Africa with a shorter one through Egypt. British ships sailed from England to Alexandria, from India to the Suez. Camels were used to transport passengers and mail back and forth between the two ports. Egypt became the most important transshipping base on the British route to India. The construction of the railway line Alexandria-Cairo-Suez, which was carried out between 1853 and 1857, enhanced Egypt's importance as a transshipping base. In 1858, the British used the line to transport troops to suppress an uprising of the sepoys in India.

The French capitalists, who had had a decisive say in matters during the reign of Mohammed Ali and Ibrahim, were forced into the background. But they had no intention of giving up. On the contrary, they redoubled their efforts. In opposition to the British plan for a railway, they submitted a project for a canal linking the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUEZ CANAL. As far back as the beginning of the 19th century, Napoleon had assigned one of his engineers, Lepère, to draw up a project for a canal. But Lepère wrongly concluded that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Mediterranean, making the construction of a canal almost a technical impossibility. Although Fourier and Laplace soon discovered Lepère's mistake, all attempts by the French to raise the question of the Suez Canal again always met with the resistance of Mohammed Ali and England. Mohammed Ali did not want to create a second Dardanelles. He was fully aware of the canal's strategic significance. He realised that the

European Powers would fight over the Suez Canal just as they had over the Dardanelles. He resolutely opposed the construction of the Canal to safeguard Egypt's independence. England was also against the canal as long as French influence prevailed in Egypt.

In the fifties of the 19th century, the French capitalists submitted a new project for the Suez Canal. Its ardent advocate was the biggest financial tycoon of the 19th century, the French diplomat, Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-1894). As usual, England and Abbas Pasha were against the scheme.

Abbas was preventing not only the construction of the canal but also the economic development of Egypt as a whole. The nation, which had once known the reforms of Mohammed Ali, could not be reverted to the old Turkish rule. Egypt had become part of the world capitalist economy. The productive forces had developed, as had the market and also commodity production. Capitalist relations had begun to form and a bourgeoisie was gradually coming into being. The economic needs of Egypt as well as the interests of France urgently called for Abbas Pasha's removal.

One hot night in July, an official communication declared that Abbas Pasha had died of a stroke. In reality, he had been murdered by his own bodyguards. History has not yet determined who was behind the assassination, but France was the first to profit by his removal.

On July 14, 1854, Said Pasha (1854-63), one of Mohammed Ali's youngest sons, became the viceroy of Egypt. He was a liberal, Westerner and a personal friend of Ferdinand de Lesseps. As soon as he came to power, he immediately, on November 30, 1854, granted de Lesseps concessions for the construction of the Suez Canal. This step increased Egypt's dependence on the European Powers and hastened its conversion into a colony.

In 1855, de Lesseps made a preliminary survey and on January 5, 1856, he obtained a new *firman*, which specified the terms of the concession. Under this *firman* the Egyptian Government granted the canal company without compensation all the land and quarries needed for construction of the canal. It also undertook to construct a fresh-water canal from the Nile in order to provide the construction zone with drinking water and exempted the company from the payment of customs duties. Most important of all was the Egypt-

tian Government's undertaking to supply at least four-fifths of the labourers needed for the work free of charge. The concession was to last for 99 years from the date of the opening of the canal and share capital was to be 200,000,000 francs.

In November 1858, de Lesseps opened the subscription lists for his company, the capital of which was 400,000 shares of 500 francs each; 207,000 shares (52 per cent) were subscribed in France. Said Pasha subscribed for 64,000 shares at a total value of 32,000,000 francs. Moreover, de Lesseps put down to Said Pasha's account large shareholdings (112,000 shares worth 56,000,000 francs), which were meant for Turkey, England, Russia and the United States. In order to meet his obligations in connection with the purchase of 176,000 shares, Said Pasha was compelled to conclude foreign loans. In 1860, he concluded a private loan in Paris for 28,000,000 francs and in 1862, he concluded the first state loan for 60 million francs (£2,400,000). Thus, apart from the land, the labourers, the water supply and quarries, Said Pasha had to give de Lesseps about half (44 per cent) of the share capital. The Egyptians built the canal with their own hands using chiefly their own natural resources. But the canal only brought Egypt huge losses, not to speak of its negative effect on her political life.

On April 25, 1859, the construction work was formally begun. Said Pasha was true to his word. He rounded up hundreds of thousands of fellaheen from all over Egypt. With almost no wages and poor nourishment, the fellaheen had to work from dawn till dusk under the broiling sun to dig the canal with their own hands. No machines were used. The manual labour of free workers was much more profitable and 25 to 40 thousand fellaheen were permanently engaged at the construction site. As soon as one batch had served its time, others took their place. Many of them were unable to bear the hard working conditions and up to 20,000 workers perished before the canal was built. One of the greatest structures of 19th century capitalist civilisation was erected with the help of the compulsory, semi-slave labour of the Egyptian fellaheen. It was erected over their bones.

The virtual enslavement of hundreds of thousands of fellaheen awakened hatred for foreigners and stirred up a wave of popular protest against foreign domination in Egypt. The

feeling of hatred extended to the Egyptian ruling classes, who were incensed by the arbitrariness of the company, its disregard for the laws of Egypt and her interests. The general discontent was skilfully exploited by England and a campaign was launched in the British press against the system of forced labour used in digging the canal. Under pressure from England, the Porte announced that the Egyptian Pasha had no right to hand out concessions and demanded their annulment. A serious political crisis threatened to upset de Lesseps' undertaking.

Said Pasha did not live to see the outcome of the Suez affair. He died on January 18, 1863. His successor, Ismail Pasha (1863-79), like Said, had received his education in France and was a Westerner to the marrow of his bones. He wanted to make Egypt "a part of Europe" and continued the reform policy of his predecessor. He did not oppose the construction of the Suez Canal, but considered that de Lesseps' excessive privileges were a burden to Egypt.

On January 30, 1863, Ismail Pasha issued a *firman*, prohibiting the use of forced labour on the canal. His actions were immediately supported by the Porte, who was backed by England. The Turkish Government sent two notes, one after the other, in which it made confirmation of the concessions conditional on the banning of the use of forced labour on the canal, demanded the return of the lands alienated for the benefit of the company, and so on. Otherwise, the Porte threatened to stop the undertaking by force.

Difficult times began for de Lesseps. However, he managed to extricate himself from this embarrassing situation, and even used it as an opportunity to plunder Egypt anew. He appealed against the actions of Ismail Pasha and forced him to submit the case for consideration by a court of arbitration.

The Emperor of France, Napoleon III, who was married to de Lesseps' cousin, was elected the "impartial" arbitrator. In July 1864, he suggested that Ismail should pay the General Company of the Suez Maritime Canal 84,000,000 francs. This included not only an indemnity for the abolition of the *corvée*. According to the new terms of the concession, the General Company of the Suez Maritime Canal was allowed to retain the land along both banks of the canal to a distance of 200 metres from its course, and the remaining lands had to be returned to Egypt. For the land it returned

the company had not paid Egypt a single piastre. All the same, Ismail had to pay de Lesseps 30,000,000 francs to get it back. This was open robbery! Said had undertaken to build a fresh-water canal for the construction site. The canal served the needs of construction; however, when it became Egyptian property, Egypt had to pay de Lesseps 14,000,000 francs for a canal which had not cost him a penny and had been built completely at Egypt's expense.

In order to satisfy these wild claims, Ismail, like Said Pasha, was forced to appeal to the European banks. The loans were granted on the most outrageous terms and Egypt was soon trapped in debts.

The new terms of the concession were confirmed by the convention of February 22, and on March 19, 1866, they were ratified by the Porte. British intrigues had not achieved their aim. Having lost its supply of free manpower, the company began inventing machines to do the digging. In 1860, the French engineer Couvreux invented a multiscoop mechanical shovel and the construction of the Suez Canal forged ahead. The formal opening of the canal was celebrated on November 17, 1869. Scores of crown personalities and hundreds of statesmen from all over the world participated in the festivities held in honour of this event. At Ismail's request, the composer Verdi wrote the opera *Aida* especially for the occasion. Luxurious palaces and yachts were built for the guests. The celebrations lasted several weeks and were paid for by the Egyptian treasury.

The construction of the canal, including the value of shares, forfeit, expenses of the opening ceremony, and so on, cost Egypt 400,000,000 francs. Six years later, the Egyptian Government sold its shares of the canal for 100,000,000 francs. The net loss amounted to 300,000,000 francs, apart from the thousands of lives sacrificed in the construction work and the political harm the Suez Canal caused Egypt.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY. During the fifties and especially during the sixties of the 19th century, there was a significant economic upsurge in Egypt. It was called forth mainly by the increased demand for Egyptian cotton owing to the Civil War in the United States, during

which the European textile industry experienced an acute shortage of raw materials. In those years, cotton plantations were expanded. For this purpose the old network of irrigation canals was modernised and a great number of new ones were built (with an over-all length of 21,000 kilometres). The system of year-round irrigation was extended to Upper Egypt and the area of land under cultivation increased from 4,100,000 feddans in 1852 to 4,700,000 feddans in 1877.

Most of the cotton grown on the estates of the semi-feudal landlords were exported. The export of cotton during the cotton boom (1861-65) increased fourfold, from 500,000 cantars in 1860 to 2,000,000 cantars in 1865. After the Civil War in America, the export of Egyptian cotton declined somewhat, but it still remained on a relatively high level. In 1870, it rose again to 2,000,000 cantars and in 1876, it reached 3,000,000 cantars.

The rapid growth of cotton cultivation led to a reduction in the cultivation and export of other crops, and Egypt was in real danger of becoming a one-crop country. To restore the balance, Ismail tried to speed up the sugar-cane crop. In 1872, 1,500,000 cantars of sugar were produced in Egypt, out of which 500,000 cantars were exported.

The cotton boom was followed by a sharp rise in foreign trade. The over-all value of Egyptian cotton exports grew from 200,000,000 piastres in 1860 to 1,000,000,000 in 1870 and 1,500,000,000 piastres in 1872. Imports to Alexandria rose from 185,000,000 piastres in 1843 to 400,000,000 in 1863 and 600,000,000 in 1872. In thirty years (1843-72), the total volume of Egyptian overseas trade increased fivefold.

The growth of trade was accompanied by the growth of navigation. In 1845, 62 steamers called at the Port of Alexandria while in 1865, the number rose to 1,145. The number of sailing vessels that called at Alexandria in the same period increased from 1,338 to 3,138. In 1850, 26 steamers passed through the Suez and in 1865, before the inauguration of the canal, 216 steamers.

In the year 1870, after the opening of the canal, 570 steamers passed through the Suez. The tonnage of trading vessels calling at Alexandria grew from 907,000 tons in 1863 to 1,238,000 tons in 1872. In the same period, the tonnage of trading vessels passing through the Suez Canal grew from

170,000 to 666,000, and the tonnage of trading vessels calling at Port Said increased from 52,000 to 857,000 tons. In 1847, 1,000 passengers disembarked at Alexandria. In 1867, the number rose to 45,000 and in 1872, to 68,000. Alexandria became one of the biggest international seaports in the world. In 1875, freight turnover at Alexandria reached 1,925,000 tons, thus rivalling Marseilles.

Egypt acquired her own commercial fleet. In 1873, there were 55 sea steamers and 58 river vessels in Egypt, apart from a large number of sailing vessels. Regular shipping lines were established along the Nile and in the Mediterranean. Most of the ships belonged to Ismail Pasha personally. One of the foremost maritime Powers of the time, France, which had a population seven and a half times the size of Egypt's, had a steam fleet that was only three times larger than the Egyptian. Moreover, the Egyptian fleet, being the younger of the two, was technically superior. The average tonnage of one French sea-going steamer was 350 tons, while the tonnage of one Egyptian steamer was 1,000 tons. The French fleet had only 15 per cent steamers to 85 per cent sailing vessels. The British fleet had 25 per cent steamers to 75 per cent sailing vessels. Whereas over 60 per cent of the Egyptian fleet's over-all tonnage were steamers and less than 40 per cent were sailing vessels. Between 1865 and 1875 fifteen light-houses were set up on the Mediterranean and Red Sea coast for the development of navigation.

In the same period, Egypt acquired a wide network of railways belonging to the state. Until 1860, Egypt had only one railway, Alexandria-Cairo, 210 kilometres long (with a branch line to Zagazig 35 kilometres long).¹ Then in fifteen years (1861-75) of intensified railway construction in Egypt, 1,590 kilometres of railway were laid. In this respect Egypt outstripped several advanced capitalist countries. In France, for instance, in 1876, there were 37.5 kilometres of railway per 1,000 square kilometres of land, while in Egypt there were 55 kilometres of railway per 1,000 square kilometres of populated territory.²

¹ The line between Cairo and the Suez, which had been built in 1856-57, was unfit for use.

² Not counting deserts, which were uninhabited and without railways.

Modern means of communication grew. Up to 1863, Egypt had 582 kilometres of telegraph lines. By 1872, she had 6,450 kilometres, outstripping several advanced countries. In 1878, France had 77 kilometres of telegraph lines per 1,000 square kilometres of land. Egypt had 216 kilometres. France had 11.33 kilometres of telegraph lines per 10,000 of the population; Egypt had 12.25 kilometres.

Towns sprang up. Not less than 20 per cent of the Egyptian population lived in 113 urban centres. Cairo had a population of 350,000, Alexandria—212,000, Tanta—60,000 and Zagazig—40,000. Gas and water mains and sewers were laid in Cairo.

Egyptian industry moved ahead. Ismail Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, owned two weaving mills near Cairo, in which over 400 workers were employed, and 22 big sugar refineries with a capacity of 150,000 tons of sugar a year, where about 10,000 workers were employed. In addition, Ismail Pasha owned four arms factories, two dockyards, employing 500 workers, and saltpetre mines. Many private industrial enterprises were founded in Egypt, most of which were small textile mills, foundries and repair workshops, tanneries, creameries, cotton-cleaning mills and wood-working plants, steam mills and salt works.

The technical level of the Egyptian enterprises, however, was lower than the European. The products of the small Egyptian weaving mills and foundries could not compete with the goods of the large British textile and metallurgical industry, which flowed into the Egyptian market without encountering any customs barrier on the way. On the strength of the Anglo-Turkish Trade Treaty of 1838, the Egyptian industry had been deprived of tariff protection. On the whole, at the height of her economic development, from the fifties to the seventies of the 19th century, Egypt continued to remain an agrarian country. Raw materials—cotton—were her main product, not industrial goods. She supplied more and more cotton to the world market and in return purchased more and more foreign manufactured goods. Thus, the growth of overseas trade deepened Egypt's economic dependence on the European countries. Egypt was becoming an agrarian and raw material base of the industrial Powers.

Another contradiction in the Egyptian economy at the

time of Said and Ismail was that Egypt had embarked on the capitalist path of development without having first liquidated by revolutionary means the numerous and powerful survivals of the Middle Ages. The mainstay of capitalist relations in agriculture were the landlords, who combined the new methods of economy with the old methods of exploitation. They introduced machines on their estates (the steam plough was used for the first time in Egypt, not in Europe), they expanded the areas planted with such export crops as cotton and sugar cane. They conducted wide-scale commercial operations and built factories on their estates. But at the same time they continued to exploit the fellah, to impose medieval extortions on him, to force him to do *corvée*, and so on. The first such half-feudal and half-capitalist landowner, financial manipulator, merchant, factory-owner and speculator, who ably made use of the market situation, and at the same time a feudal lord, was Ismail Pasha himself, the ruler of Egypt. Other big landowners from the Turco-Albanian-Circassian nobility followed his example.

The domination of feudal survivals in the countryside hampered the genuine development of agriculture and industry. The starved Egyptian countryside, exploited as it was by semi-feudal landlords, was a bad market for industry.

The reverse side of Egypt's economic development was the influx of Europeans to the country. Only a few of them were specialists—agronomists, mechanics, doctors, teachers, workers, people who were prepared to work. The overwhelming bulk of them were parasitic elements of the worst kind such as dealers, speculators, stock-jobbers, money-lenders, smugglers, brothel owners, swindlers, thieves, corrupt journalists, prostitutes, and others. Operating under the protection of the capitulations and foreign consuls, these scum of Europe, who regarded themselves as the representatives of "high culture", exploited the working people of Egypt and poisoned the atmosphere in the towns, especially in the beautiful town of Alexandria, which they had turned into a veritable bog. Alexandria became an international centre of the drug traffic. Whole blocks were turned into brothels, dens and taverns. In 1840, there were only 6,150 Europeans in Egypt, whereas by 1871, their number had risen to 80,000, 34,000 of whom were Greeks (who engaged chiefly in usury), 17,000 French, 14,000 Italians, 6,000 British and 7,000 Ger-

mans. About 50,000 foreigners lived in Alexandria (they comprised nearly a quarter of the urban population) and about 20,000 in Cairo.

THE REFORMS OF SAID AND ISMAIL. Unlike Abbas, Said and Ismail were clearly aware of the demands of Egypt's economic development and carried out a number of much-needed socio-economic and political reforms.

Under Said Pasha slavery and the trade in slaves were prohibited in Egypt; the import of slaves was forbidden and the slaves living on Egyptian territory were set free. A land law was issued in 1858, granting the peasants who owned plots of land (*atar*), or *kharaj*, the right to sell freely, purchase, mortgage or hand down their lands by right of succession. In other words, it granted them the same right to private landownership as the owners of the *ushr* lands. The *corvée* and other obligations stemming from the social inequality of the fellaheen were formally abolished. All land became a commodity. This created conditions for the development of capitalist relations in the countryside, making it possible for the merchants and the rich peasants to purchase land. Considerable areas of land passed into the hands of the usurers and foreign capitalists.

The land reform was followed by a reform in taxes. Money tax took the place of taxes in kind. The collective taxation of whole villages by means of mutual guarantee was substituted by the individual taxation of separate peasant families. Tax gathering, which previously had been carried out by the village sheikhs, came under the control of special functionaries.

Said abolished the last survivals of the monopoly system, liquidated internal customs and granted full freedom of trade. Each peasant could now sow the land with what crops he saw fit, freely sell his harvest and transport it without government control.

Big changes took place in the army. Said Pasha abolished a number of restrictions, which had been introduced in 1841. In 1856, he received the Porte's permission to increase the Egyptian army from 18,000 to 30,000 men. Like Mohammed Ali, he attempted to give the army a national character and began to recruit the fellaheen. For the first time in the history of Egypt, Egyptians were promoted to the rank of offi-

cers. The most capable were given a military education and were appointed to key posts. One of them, Arabi, quickly rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and became Said Pasha's aide-de-camp.

Unlike Said, Ismail promoted not national Egyptian personnel to key posts in the army, but representatives of the feudal nobility such as Albanians, Turks and Circassians. The Egyptian officers from among the fellaheen were pushed into the background. This resulted in a conflict in the army between the democratic national elements among the officers, who called themselves "fellaheen" and the aristocratic pashas, who were nicknamed "Circassians". The conflict played an important role in the further development of the Egyptian national movement.

Said and especially Ismail pressed for Egypt's independence from the Porte. Actually, Egypt already enjoyed full internal autonomy and in spite of the restrictions of 1841 pursued an independent foreign policy. Egypt had her own army, government and laws. The Turkish legislation, and in particular the *tanzimat*, did not apply to Egypt. Said and Ismail wanted to consolidate this position legally. The *firmans* of 1866-67 occupied an important place in these plans. The *firman* issued on May 27, 1866, changed the order of succession to the throne. Instead of the old Turkish order of succession practised until now, by which power passed to the eldest in the family, now it passed from father to the eldest son, as was the custom of the European monarchies. The *firman* of June 8, 1867, granted Ismail the hereditary title of khedive, which meant ruler in Persian but lacked any particular sense. Now, however, the title began to single out the Egyptian ruler, who was no longer an ordinary pasha, a governor of one of the many provinces of the Ottoman Empire. According to the *firman*, the khedive received the right to conclude commercial and other agreements of a non-political character with the foreign Powers.

In 1866, in imitation of the Western constitutional monarchies, Ismail established a semblance of a parliament, the House of Representatives (*Mejliss Niyabi*) or House of Notables. According to the 19th century Russian philosopher and writer Herzen, Egypt had entered the era of parliamentarianism on a camel. The House of Notables was composed of seventy-five delegates, who were elected for a term of

three years by the village sheikhs and the notables of Cairo, Alexandria and Damietta. It had consultative functions and reviewed the state budget. The House was an obedient tool in the hands of the khedive and played no part in the administration of Egypt.

In 1873, Khedive Ismail induced the Sultan to issue a *firman* on Egypt's financial autonomy. Egypt gained the right to conclude loans without the permission of the Porte. The *firman* was of a dual nature. On the one hand, it weakened Egypt's dependence on the Porte. On the other, it made it easier for foreign banks to enslave the country by means of loans, thus increasing its dependence on foreign capitalists.

The legal reform carried out by Ismail was also of a dual nature. By trying to limit the functions of the consular courts, which existed by virtue of the capitulations, Ismail decided to establish mixed courts composed of both foreign and Egyptian judges. The preparations for the reforms, including the talks with the Powers, took several years. The courts began to function on February 1, 1876. They considered ordinary cases of conflict between the Europeans and the Egyptians, between Europeans of different nationalities and also criminal cases, which concerned the Europeans. Actually, not only did the mixed courts not restrict the privileges which had been granted to foreigners by the capitulations, but they also became supplementary tools of foreign domination over Egypt.

Said and Ismail continued the cultural reforms initiated by Mohammed Ali. Under Said, the Arabic language became the only official language of Egypt. Public education, to which much attention was devoted, developed in Arabic. The old schools, which had been closed at the time of Abbas, were reopened, and many new ones were set up too. Under Ismail the number of schools increased from 185 in 1863 to 4,685 in 1875, when about 100,000 pupils were enrolled. The number of secondary and specialised educational establishments also increased. The Egyptian National Library, a museum, scientific societies and the Cairo Opera were founded. A new interest in Arab history and literature arose. Translations and original works by Egyptian poets, writers and dramatists appeared. The well-known poet and statesman, Mahmud Sami el-Barudi, the talented writer and pub-

**THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF ALGERIA
AND THE LIBERATION WAR OF THE ALGERIAN
PEOPLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP
OF ABD EL-KADER**

licist Ibrahim el-Muveilikhi, the pedagogue and literary historian, Husein el-Matsafi, greatly contributed to the Arab renaissance. Between 1865 and 1875, many newspapers and magazines were issued in Arabic and French, such as *Wadi-El-Nil* (1866), *Le Progrès Egyptien* (1868), *Nuskhat El-Afkar* (1869) and *Al-Ahram* (1875). Scientific and literary magazines began to be published.

Many writers portray Ismail as a lazy and ignorant Oriental pasha, who out of a desire for gain became involved in various shady undertakings. Cromer reproached Ismail for "preferring the company of his coachmen and lackeys to that of European diplomats". In reality, Ismail was an educated and energetic Egyptian statesman, a pioneer of capitalist development in Egypt. In the cultural sense he was far superior to the European diplomats and merchants who surrounded him. He was, however, first of all, a representative of his class, the class of semi-feudal landowners who had turned to capitalist enterprise. In the meanwhile, the social development of Egypt in the seventies of the 19th century gave birth to new and more progressive democratic elements of the national bourgeoisie. This bourgeois-democratic movement was ultimately to sweep the semi-feudal landowners of Egypt headed by Ismail from the historical scene.

ALGERIA ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH CONQUEST. At the end of the 18th century, Algeria, which formally continued to be one of the domains of the Ottoman Empire, was suffering a sharp decline. Economic development was on an extremely low level. The population was engaged chiefly in nomadic cattle-breeding. Only the inhabitants of the valleys and the oases did any sort of farming. They sowed wheat, barley, cultivated olive trees and date palms. A few towns were famed for their artistic crafts and for their trade.

The native Algerian population consisted of Arabs and Berbers. Nearly the whole population, with the exception perhaps of the urban dwellers and a number of settled regions, was organised in clans and tribes. The most widespread form of landownership was communal ownership of the land. In the nomad regions the land belonged to the clans and in the settled regions, to the village communes. In some places collective tillage of the land and the gathering of the harvest still prevailed as well as joint consumption within the framework of the large families into which the clans were divided.

The feudal system in Algeria seriously hindered her social progress. Apart from the communal land in Algeria, there was the state and the *khabus* (*waqf*) land as well as the estates. These last were the personal property of the feudal lords, who exploited the enslaved *khammases* and robbed and ruined the nomads and the free farmers. The janissary leaders, who ruled Algeria, stirred up hatred between various tribes. It was by taking advantage of the internecine strife between the clans and the tribes and the feudal lords

that the janissaries retained their domination over Algeria. They endowed a few tribes with special privileges. These tribes, which were known as Makhzen, helped the Turks collect taxes and offered military service, for which they were exempted from taxation. Many sheikhs and tribal chiefs exercised absolute power by right of inheritance.

The yoke of the Turks and the local feudal lords called forth popular, chiefly Bedouin, movements, which inevitably acquired a religious taint. The movements were headed by religious brotherhoods, which were closely linked with the tribal mass. Quite often their leaders, the *marabouts*, who headed the popular uprisings, later became feudal despots themselves. The religious brotherhoods carried on a tireless struggle against the Turks and exercised great influence over the people. The most important of these brotherhoods were the Kadiria and Rahmania.

THE SEIZURE OF ALGIERS BY THE FRENCH. As the weakest link in North Africa, Algeria became the first victim of French expansion in Maghreb. At the same time this was the first colonial conquest in the Arab countries to take place in the pre-monopolistic stage of capitalist development.

French plans for the conquest of Algeria had matured long before the famous "blow of the fly-whisk". Napoleon I had once regarded Algeria as an indispensable foreign market for the industrial development of France. In his talks with Alexander I in Tilzit (1807) and Erfurt (1808), whenever the question of the partition of the Ottoman Empire arose, Napoleon I never failed to include Algeria in his future domains. To prepare for the conquest of the country in 1808, he sent the military engineer, Major Buten, to Algeria and Tunisia to make a topographical survey and work out a plan for the expedition. Although the defeats in Spain and Russia prevented Napoleon I from putting his plans into practice, Buten's material was to come in handy during the preparations for the expedition of 1830.

Charles X recalled Napoleon's plans in the last days of the collapsing Bourbon monarchy. The greed for new markets was the primary reason for the conquest of the Algerian regency, as the country was called in the official documents of the time. Of no little importance was the desire of the

French landowners, who had lost their lands during the Great Revolution, to acquire new estates. By conquering Algeria, the Bourbons hoped to strengthen their own tottering throne. Charles X and his Prime Minister, Polignac, calculated that the military adventure would stir up a wave of nationalist feelings and delay the revolution. Tsarist Russia supported the aggressive plans of the Bourbon monarchy. Although England objected, she offered no resolute opposition.

As a propaganda pretext for the Algerian adventure, France raised the question of "piracy and the sufferings of prisoners in Algeria" as well as the financial account of the dey government. It must be noted, however, that as far back as the 18th century and especially after the punitive expeditions of the European squadrons and the United States at the beginning of the 19th century, Maghreb piracy had fallen into decay and had long since ceased to serve as a profitable business for the ruling clique of Algeria. The Algerians' opposition to the decisions of the Aix-la-Chapelle congress, however, made it possible for France to brand the dey government as the protector of the pirates.

The question of financial accounts was equally fictitious. During the revolution the dey had sent supplies of wheat, salt-beef and hides to France, which was under a blockade at the time. He also supplied Bonaparte's army with provisions during the Italian and Egyptian campaigns. The majority of the deliveries were made on a credit basis and the dey received nothing in return. The agreement on the repayment of debts and settlement of mutual claims concluded later through the mediation of the Algerian Jewish merchants, Bakri and Busnach, did not satisfy the dey. He felt that the French had deceived him, and cheated the Algerian treasury of several million francs. The dispute over the debts lasted for several years and irritated the dey and his men. Moreover, a conflict arose over the stronghold at La Calle, which the French had begun to fortify in spite of the formal prohibition of the dey.

The differences were considerably aggravated by the French consul in Algeria, Pierre Deval. According to a French historian, in Algeria he was regarded as a person of questionable reputation, a rascal and unprincipled intriguer. He played a dirty and provocative role in the money con-

flict. Deval plotted, lied and extorted bribes from the dey. One hot morning on April 29, 1827, during one of their countless squabbles, Deval gravely insulted the dey, who in his indignation struck Deval with his fly-whisk.

This provided France with the long-awaited excuse. She immediately severed all relations with Algeria and blockaded the Algerian coast. At first she decided to act through the Egyptians. In 1829, Mohammed Ali, the governor of Egypt and one of France's chief allies in the East, had almost agreed to attack Algeria, but then refused to bargain with France because of the insignificant reward that was offered.

In such circumstances the Polignac government and Charles X decided to operate independently. On June 14, 1830, the 37,000-strong French army under General de Bourmont landed at Sidi-Ferruch (23 kilometres west of Algiers). Opposition was strong, but fruitless. In the fight for Algiers, the French lost 400 men and the Turks lost 10,000. On July 4, 1830, Fort de l'Empereur fell. In the evening, the dey signed an unconditional surrender and on the following day, July 5, the French entered Algiers. On July 23, 1830, the dey was deported, the janissaries left for Turkey, the enemy plundered the Algerian treasury (about 48,000,000 francs) and also seized the homes, land and property of many Algerians.

Two weeks later, a revolution took place in Paris and Charles X's shaky throne collapsed. General de Bourmont tried to send his troops to save the Bourbons, but met with the resistance of the soldiers. Having abandoned the army, he fled to Portugal.

The July monarchy of Louis Philippe de Orleans accepted the Algerian heritage of the Bourbons and after some hesitation decided to continue fighting in the name of the self-interest of the new rulers of France—knights of the money bag and easy profit. In 1834, in conformity with the recommendations of the "Commission on Africa", Louis Philippe formally proclaimed Algeria's annexation and organised the civil administration of the "French possessions in North Africa" under a governor-general. By that time France had occupied only the coastal towns of Algiers, Oran, Mostaganem, Arzeu and Bougie as well as the Algerian Sahel and Metija. The rest of the country would not surrender to the French authorities.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION. ABD EL-KADER. Having seized Algiers, de Bourmont arrogantly announced in his report: "The whole kingdom will surrender to us within fifteen days without firing a single shot." But he was mistaken. The French subdued Algeria only after forty years of bloody fighting against her people.

No sooner had the news of the capital's fall spread throughout the country than the tribes rose in arms against the enemy. The Algerians used scorched earth tactics and the French troops, who were dependent on their own supply lines, often found themselves in difficulties. The extortion and plundering by the French army further roused the population who united to repel the aggressor. In the western part of Algeria, the movement was headed by the national hero, Abd el-Kader, and in the eastern, by Ahmed, the district bey of Constantine.

Abd el-Kader was born in 1808 in the *marabout* family of Muhi ed-Din. His father headed the religious brotherhood of Kaderiya in West Algeria and for many years he fought against the Turkish conquerors and then against the French occupation forces. Abd el-Kader had received his religious education before the French invasion and had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, visited Baghdad and then travelled to Egypt where he was impressed by the reforms of Mohammed Ali.

Abd el-Kader was no ordinary *marabout*. He was above all a courageous soldier, a skilled horseman, a good marksman and a talented general. He was an eloquent orator, an outstanding writer and poet and a brilliant organiser.

In 1832, the tribes who were fighting against the occupation forces elected Abd el-Kader as their leader. He was confronted with the difficult task of combating feudal and tribal disunity, subduing the endless strife and uniting the whole population in the one common desire to defend the independence of their country. Because of his closeness to the people and because he symbolised their hopes, Abd el-Kader went a long way towards achieving this end.

Once he took over the command of the West Algerian tribes, Abd el-Kader inflicted merciless blows on the French troops, using the classical tactics of guerilla warfare. Having suffered a number of defeats and some bad luck, the French finally agreed to negotiations and in February 1834, he con-

cluded with them the Desmichel Treaty. Abd el-Kader willingly agreed to the French proposal since he felt an urgent need for a peaceful respite to reorganise his troops and gain strength for a renewal of the war against the invaders. Moreover, the treaty acknowledged all western Algeria, with the exception of three coastal towns, as the territory of the new sovereign Arab state under Abd el-Kader, who adopted the title of "sovereign of the believers" (*emir el-mu'mineen*).

Having become the ruler of a large state, Abd el-Kader continued to lead a humble way of life. He ate simple food, drank only water, wore no ornaments and, true to the nomadic customs, preferred to live in a tent. His only property consisted of a small flock of sheep and a plot of land, which was ploughed by a pair of oxen. His only wealth was a wonderful library. He did not use a single penny for his personal needs from the revenues, which were paid into his treasury by the Algerian tribes.

His chief concern was for the army—his main weapon in the struggle against the enemy. Apart from the irregular tribal levies, numbering approximately 70,000 men, Abd el-Kader formed a regular army consisting of 10,000 men. The *aga el-askari* was entrusted with the command of the regular army, which was divided into thousands (battalions), hundreds (companies) and platoons with an *aga, saif* or *reis es-saf* respectively at their head. The artillery of Abd el-Kader numbered 36 pieces (true, only twelve of them were fit for use). Abd el-Kader invited instructors from Morocco and Tunisia to train and organise regular army units. There were also several European instructors, especially French. Abd el-Kader received considerable help from Morocco in equipping his troops. Close ties existed between him and the Moroccan Sultan, who supplied him with weapons and money. Abd el-Kader built barracks and fortresses, a foundry, two powder-mills and a weaving manufactory.

Abd el-Kader used the old, traditional methods as well as new, extreme methods to gain money for the upkeep of his army and for military construction. He collected *ushr*, *zakat* for each head of cattle and extraordinary taxes from his dependencies. Apart from this, he used the subsidies of the Moroccan Sultan and incomes from the state lands and monopolies. He also replenished his treasury with the spoils

seized during raids on hostile tribes who had refused to join his movement or had defected to the French.

Abd el-Kader found support among the Moslem clergy and Bedouins, who comprised the main bulk of his troops. The social structure may be characterised as early feudal. Strong survivals of the primitive-communal system existed within the feudal mode of production. Without changing the basis of feudal production, Abd el-Kader, nevertheless, realised the necessity of reducing feudal oppression and carried out a number of reforms curtailing feudal tyranny. He also carried out an administrative reform, dividing Algeria into nine regions with caliphs—vicegerents, subordinate to the central power—at their head. He abolished the selling of posts, struggled against the embezzlement of public property and tried to defend the nomads and peasants from the tyranny of the feudal lords and tribal chiefs.

Abd el-Kader was unable to eliminate feudal relations in Algeria, nor did he set himself the task of doing so. But he curtailed the absolute rule of the feudal lords and thus aroused their hate. "The time of the shepherds and the *marabouts* has come," they would say angrily. The feudal leaders of eastern Algeria refused to obey him. Under their bey, Ahmed, they fought the French independently of Abd el-Kader. Nor would the Kabylia feudal lords and sheikhs of the Sahara oases obey him. He usually assigned *marabouts* as his deputies and only in rare cases did he give the post to the feudal leaders. But even the feudal lords who collaborated with Abd el-Kader were ready to give him up to the French. Their interests, their ambitions and self-interest came before the interests of their country. The acts of treason and the mutinies of the feudal lords weakened the state founded by Abd el-Kader more than the doubtful successes of the French generals.

In 1835, the French generals, having treacherously violated their agreements with Abd el-Kader, invaded his territory. The peaceful respite had ended. After two years of fierce, yet fruitless fighting, France consented to a new agreement with Abd el-Kader. It was signed on May 30, 1837, in Tefna. This time the French were compelled to acknowledge Abd el-Kader's power not only in western, but also in central Algeria. They agreed to this so as to be able to concentrate all their efforts on the campaign against Constan-

tine, where the second breeding ground of anti-French opposition was located.

THE SEIZURE OF CONSTANTINE. THE NEW WAR AGAINST ABD EL-KADER. In the winter of 1836, the French had attempted to seize Constantine, but had been rebuffed by the Arabs and had retreated with the loss of 1,000 men. Now, a year later, having concluded peace with Abd el-Kader and having received an assurance of his neutrality, the French attacked Constantine with powerful forces. In October 1837, they finally succeeded in capturing the city, which was situated on high cliffs and had seemed inaccessible. The population offered fierce resistance. A battle was waged in the narrow streets for each corner and each roof. In the end Ahmed Bey was forced to retreat deep into the country, to the remote mountains, where resistance continued for some time.

The seizure of Constantine and the eastern part of Algeria was followed by savage colonial plundering. The French took over the land and property of the vanquished, and this resulted in a fresh outbreak of disturbances. The tribes of eastern Algeria began a guerilla war against the enemy. They acknowledged Abd el-Kader's leadership and requested him to send his deputies to Constantine. On this basis, the French accused Abd el-Kader of violating the Peace Treaty of 1839 and unleashed a new war against him. In his turn, Abd el-Kader declared a holy war on France, which lasted several years.

By 1839, France had concentrated 70,000 men in Algeria and was still sending in reinforcements. The French soldiers died by the thousands of disease, of the unbearable heat, marsh gas and hunger, and fell in battle. But the French army continued to grow. In 1837, it had 42,000 men whereas by 1844, the number had reached 90,000. It was twice the size of Abd el-Kader's army and was equipped with weapons that the Arabs could not even dream of. Abd el-Kader could oppose this force only with the moral superiority of his men and their skilful guerilla tactics. "When your army attacks, we shall retreat," he wrote to a French marshal. "Then it will be forced to retreat and we shall return. We shall fight when we feel it is necessary. You know we are not cowards. But we are not so foolish as to expose ourselves to defeat

by your army. We shall exhaust your army, torment and destroy it piece by piece and the climate will finish it off." By employing these tactics, Abd el-Kader was able to keep up a steady resistance for a number of years.

One of France's top generals, Marshal Bugeaud, was made commander-in-chief of the occupation army. He bribed the Algerian feudal lords, who became the vassals of France and were appointed deputies in the most backward regions of Algeria. In the battles against Abd el-Kader, Bugeaud adopted new mobile column tactics. He singled out nine to twelve columns, which moved simultaneously along the western routes, each combing its own sector, and seizing fortresses and towns where Abd el-Kader's bases and magazines were located. This was more like bilateral guerilla warfare than regular military actions. The battles and raiding dragged on for several years. The French resorted to the most barbarian methods to terrorise the Algerian population and exterminated entire tribes which had sided with Abd el-Kader. According to the testimony of participants in the campaign, the French cut off the prisoners' ears and took away the Arabs' wives, children and flocks. They exchanged women prisoners for horses and auctioned them off like pack animals. "It cost them nothing to behead a prisoner in public, so as to command the Arabs' respect for their authority," wrote a contemporary.

The barbarous war, inter-tribal strife and the acts of treason by many feudal lords culminated in Abd el-Kader's expulsion from Algeria and the subjugation of his territory by the French after a four-year struggle. Abd el-Kader did not give up. In 1844, together with a group of faithful followers he took refuge in Morocco, which had been helping him all these years, and began preparing for new battles.

THE FRENCH-MOROCCAN WAR OF 1844. Bugeaud made a demand in the form of an ultimatum that the Moroccan Sultan, Mulai Abd er-Rahman, should give up Abd el-Kader. When he was refused, he invaded Morocco. While the French squadron under Prince de Joinville was bombarding Tangier (August 6) and Mogador (August 15), Bugeaud crushed the Moroccan Sultan's semi-feudal army in a large-scale battle at the River Isly (August 14, 1844). Only the threat of British intervention restrained the French and

saved Mulai Abd er-Rahman. The French had to withdraw from Morocco. But according to the Tangier Peace Treaty of September 10, 1844, Mulai Abd er-Rahman declared Abd el-Kader an outlaw, undertook to refuse all aid to the Algerian uprising, to withdraw his troops from the borders and to punish the officers "guilty" of having helped the insurgents. The treaty fixed the exact borders between Algeria and Morocco, but only on a comparatively narrow coastal strip. No demarcation line was drawn further south, so there was always the danger of new conflicts.

THE BEGINNING OF COLONISATION. THE UPRISING OF 1845-46. Immediately after the conclusion of the Tangier Peace Treaty, Abd el-Kader returned to Algeria and waged guerilla warfare as he moved about in the desert. In the meanwhile, a new popular uprising headed by the goatherd Bu Maza ("the goat man") flared up in the northern part of Algeria in the region between Oran and Algiers.

The uprising was called forth by the French plundering of the land. In the very first years of French occupation, the authorities had begun a wide-scale confiscation of the lands. On September 8, 1830, all the state lands (*beyliks*) and those of the Algerian Turks were declared the property of France. On March 1, 1833, a law was issued on the expropriation of lands, the ownership of which had not been legalised by title deeds. In 1839, the lands of the rebellious Metija tribes and the Algerian Sahel were confiscated. All these lands either passed into the hands of the French colonists or became the object of desperate speculation. Land speculators, adventurers and nobles who had lost their estates in France came to Algeria in pursuit of easy profit and set up new feudal patrimonies on the fertile plains surrounding Algiers. They turned the landless Arab peasants into their serfs, *khammas*. Many of the colonisers surrounded themselves with Oriental luxury, erected palaces and acquired harems. The French generals and dignitaries participated in all these shady deals, grew rich and appropriated huge estates.

The "agrarian reform" carried out by the colonisers increased land plunder. In 1843-44, the French authorities issued decrees which ensured the rapid growth of French colonisation. On March 24, 1843, a decree was issued on the confiscation of the public *khabus* (*waqf*), the religious

lands. On October 1, 1844, the Europeans were permitted to buy private *waqfs* (on the basis of the new *enzel*). The decree of October 1, 1844, which was confirmed on July 21, 1846, declared as state property all land known as "no man's land" (all uncultivated land, for which no title deeds had been issued up to June 1, 1830). On the basis of these "laws" all the Algerian tribes were requested to present documentary proof of their land rights. Most of the tribes, which owned land on the basis of the usual rights, had no such documents, which was exactly what the colonisers counted on. Mass expropriations began. In the Algiers district alone the French authorities expropriated 168,000 hectares, out of which the Arabs received 30,000 hectares and the French colonialists—138,000 hectares. The same thing happened in other parts of Algeria.

The wholesale plundering of the land exhausted the local people's patience and in 1845 the whole of western Algeria rose in rebellion against the French. The leader of the uprising, Bu Maza, appealed to Abd el-Kader and offered him the leadership of the popular struggle. The French hastened to raise the strength of the occupation army to 108,000 men. Eighteen punitive detachments again slaughtered the population and destroyed villages. The French generals, Pelissier and Saint Arnaud broke the record of barbarism in this campaign. Pelissier drove thousands of Arabs into the mountain caves, where he suffocated them with smoke. Saint Arnaud bricked up in caves 1,500 Arabs, including women and children. Nor did Cavaignac, who was serving in the occupation army at the time, lag behind them.

The brutal repressions and the decree of July 31, 1845, on the confiscation of land as a punishment for "associating with the enemy" achieved their aim. The uprising began to wane. French detachments pursued Abd el-Kader, trying to surround him, but he withdrew to the oases of the Sahara Desert and from there continued to wage guerilla warfare. It was only at the end of 1847, following the treachery of the Moroccan Sultan, that the French captured Abd el-Kader and sent him away to France. In 1848, Ahmed bey was also taken prisoner. After spending five years in France, Abd el-Kader was permitted to return to the East. Having lived for a few years in Bursa, in 1855 he settled in Damascus, where

he spent the rest of his life. Abd el-Kader died in 1883, at the age of 75.

POPULAR UPRISINGS IN THE FIFTIES. After the capitulation of Abd el-Kader, almost all Algeria, except for the remote oases in the south and the mountainous Kabylia, came under French control. Several years were to pass before the latter regions were conquered. In 1849, the French undertook a campaign against the south and captured a number of oases in the Algerian Sahara. The rebellious oasis of Zaatcha, where the French had to take each hut by force, was wiped off the face of the earth. Bu Zian, the leader of the popular struggle, was executed. The "civilisers" beheaded him and put his head on display on the fortress wall.

In 1851, a large tribal uprising under the leadership of Bu Bagla (the "mule man") broke out in the mountainous regions of Kabylia. A punitive expedition destroyed and pillaged 300 villages, but it was unable to capture the leader of the uprising.

In 1852, a big uprising flared up in the Laghouta oasis and in 1854, in the Tuggurt oasis.

In 1854, as soon as the Eastern war had begun, the struggle in Kabylia once again acquired greater scope. For three years (1854-57) the people, headed by Bu Bagla, successfully repelled the French punitive expeditions. The leading role in the struggle was played by the religious brotherhood of Rahmania. It was only in July 1857, that the French generals were able to subdue Kabylia.

The Algerian war served as a school for the hangmen of the French working class such as Cavaignac, Saint Arnaud, MacMahon and many others. Later they were to apply the same bloody methods of reprisal against the revolutionary proletariat of Paris that they had used against the freedom-loving Arabs in Algeria.

ALGERIA UNDER THE FRENCH BOURGEOISIE. Algeria was an agrarian country and, having captured it, the French capitalists gave no thought to its industrial development. They regarded it as a market for their goods and as a source of raw material and food. Their main concern was to make as much profit as possible by selling their goods on the Algerian market for the highest price possible and

receiving in return agricultural raw material at the lowest possible price. The degree of their success can be seen from the following table of Algeria's imports and exports (annual average in millions of francs):

	Imports	Exports
1830-40	15	2.1
1841-50	71.9	3.7
1851-60	80.8	31.1
1861-70	172.6	81.6

Before the French conquest of Algeria, the domestic industry (peasant and Bedouin) and the handicrafts (in the towns) were widely developed, but after the conquest they fell into decline.

The occupation authorities actively catered to the demands of the metropolitan capitalists and guaranteed wide opportunities for the unrestricted import of manufactured goods to Algeria. This, naturally, led to the ruin of wide masses of artisans and to the aggravation of the conflicts between the working strata of the Algerian people and the French colonialists.

French capital went on pumping raw material out of Algeria in increasing quantities. By importing manufactured goods, French capital was destroying industrial production in Algeria, while by exporting raw material, it was exercising active control over the production of raw materials and foodstuffs, over agriculture and the mining industry of Algeria.

In what form was this control expressed? First of all, in the acquisition of land. After the defeat of Abd el-Kader and the popular uprisings of the fifties, this process was accelerated. Under Napoleon III, land plundering assumed considerable proportions. The law issued on February 26, 1851, having codified all the previous French "agrarian" laws issued in Algeria, included even woodland in the land categories that could be confiscated by the French authorities. The expropriation of large tracts of wooded country, including a considerable amount of bush, gave the colonialists 2,000,000 hectares of land for agricultural exploitation and deprived the Arabs of game reserves, pastures, fuel and building materials. The same law granted the right to con-

clude transactions, i.e., the purchase and sale of land, with the exception of the tribal lands, which could be surrendered only to the state. Since the tribes did not give up their lands voluntarily, a new measure known as cantonisation was introduced in 1861. It was announced that the tribal lands were only for use, not for ownership. In view of this, the tribes were ordered to return the "surplus land" to the state, which only after this recognised them as the owners of the remaining land. According to this decree, only those lands which the Arabs and Berbers had cultivated in the two years preceding 1861, as well as their pastures, were left in their possession. Out of 343,000 hectares affected by the "cantonisation" in 1861, 61,000 hectares were confiscated by the state.

"Cantonisation" aroused discontent in Algeria and by a *senatus-consulte*, signed on April 23, 1863, the French were compelled to acknowledge all land in the use of the tribes as the latter's property.

The decree pointed out that the right of common ownership could not be sold but it also proposed dividing common property first among the clans and tribes, then among individual families. This decree made it easier for the French colonisers to acquire land and gave the state the opportunity to take over part of the tribal lands. Thus, for example, in seven years alone (1863-70) out of 7,000,000 hectares of land that had been divided up, 1,000,000 hectares were confiscated by the colonisers.

How was the land that had been seized by the state used? A considerable part was either leased or granted to French settlers as part of the process of "formal colonisation". By 1871, the colonial settlers had been given 480,000 hectares of the best land. Ninety per cent of this land fell into the hands of the big proprietors, who owned over fifty hectares each. Since, however, the smaller proprietors, who possessed less than fifty hectares, frequently cultivated their land intensively (grapes, vegetables, and so on) they actually owned rich enterprises. The claim that the French colonisation was done by working folk was groundless. There were, of course, some French peasants among the colonial settlers, mainly rich farmers, but these were few, not more than 10,000 in all, and their share of the land was negligible.

Apart from the land that had been taken over during the process of "formal colonisation", huge tracts of land were

bought up by French colonisers from the local landowners. Under Napoleon III, the embezzlement of the land (mainly from the state fund) by the big French capitalist companies, which acted as concessionaires, acquired extensive proportions. Between 1851 and 1861, the big concessionaires received 70,000 hectares of land, out of which 20,000 hectares were appropriated by the *Compagnie Genevois* alone (i.e., over 250,000 hectares were handed out in this period as part of the process of "formal colonisation"). Between 1861 and 1871, the concessionaires seized 400,000 hectares (not counting the 116,000 hectares "presented" for purposes of "formal colonisation"). The following figures speak of the scale of operations. Between 1862 and 1863 alone 30 big concessionaires acquired 160,000 hectares of woodland; in 1865, the *Société Générale Algérienne* received 100,000 hectares and the *Société du Khabra et Makta*—25,000 hectares.

Thus, on the one hand, there was the process of concentrating the land in the hands of the French capitalist societies and big settlers. On the other hand, wide masses of the Algerian peasantry were being deprived of their lands; previously free members of peasant communes were being turned into enslaved *métayers* and brutally exploited farm labourers.

Does this mean that big changes took place in the mode of production, that a big capitalist economy came into being? By no means, although it would be incorrect to deny the beginnings of such a capitalist economy. Even in those years the use of hired labour developed together with grape cultivation. But up to 1870, the vine-growing areas were negligible and were restricted only to the region of *Metija*. In grain farming, which continued to be the main form of agriculture in Algeria, the use of hired labour in big production was an exception. Agriculture was still based on the small-scale production of the *fellaheen*. Significant changes, however, had taken place in the conditions of small-scale production.

Prior to the French conquest this was an economy of either free members of peasant communes or dependent feudal *métayers*. The majority of the free communers had large families. The economy was mainly of a natural character (although the landlords had acquired comparatively large quantities of marketable grain).

THE FINANCIAL ENSLAVEMENT OF TUNISIA AND ITS CONVERSION INTO A SEMI-COLONY

THE ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR TUNISIA.

The seizure of Algeria by the French in 1830 predetermined the fate of Tunisia. Occupying a strategic position on the Mediterranean Sea and bordering Algeria on the east, it naturally attracted the attention of the French colonialists, who had set about building a colonial empire in North Africa. The short-sighted Tunisian rulers, however, were not only unaware of the threat; they even rejoiced over the adversities that befell their age-old enemy—the Algerian dey. Taking advantage of the enmity between the Algerian and Tunisian feudal lords, France succeeded in getting the Tunisian bey to supply bread for the French army in Algeria.

To facilitate the coming seizure of Tunisia, France declared that Tunisia was a state in its own right and independent of Turkey and that she intended to defend Tunisia's independence. Mahmud II, the Turkish Sultan, was pursuing a policy of centralising the Ottoman Empire and trying to establish effective control by the central government over the remote provinces. He had decided, in particular, to strengthen the Porte's authority in its African domains. In 1835, the Turks occupied Tripoli, overthrew the ruling dynasty of janissary beys and turned the region into an ordinary province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1836, it was Tunisia's turn. The Turkish fleet was despatched to Tunisia, but France objected to the Turkish plans and sent her own fleet to meet that of the Turks. Confronted with the threat of war, the Turkish fleet retreated. Thus, the status-quo in Tunisia was preserved.

No sooner had the Turkish fleet left Tunisian waters than France attempted to invade the region. In 1837, French troops attacked Tunisian territory, pillaged several villages

Following the expropriation of the peasants and the seizure of communal land by the French capitalists, the number of free communers sharply decreased, but the number of enslaved *métayers* increased. The national economy began to acquire a commodity character. The exploitation of the *métayers* by the money-lenders was intensified. Usurers (*khammas*) were active everywhere. It is known, for example, that the Compagnie Genevois leased lands that it had seized to the *khammas*. The same went for the Société Algérienne, which, according to the decree, was obliged to lease part of its domains to the French settlers but, in fact, leased most of the land to the *khammas*. When the Société Algérienne was reorganised as the Compagnie Algérienne (1878) it was assigned 70,000 hectares, out of which 59,000 hectares were leased to the *khammas*, 6,000 were taken on lease by the settlers and only 5,000 hectares comprised the personal property of the company. Individual French settlers, especially in the grain-growing regions, also made extensive use of the *khammas* system.

The seizure of the land by the French colonisers, capitalists and concessionaires' societies, the expropriation of scores of thousands of Algerian peasants, their brutal exploitation as *métayers* and farm labourers, all this gave rise to fresh popular uprisings. In western Algeria in 1859, the Banu Snassen tribes revolted. In 1864, rebellion flared up among the tribes of Walid-sidi-Sheikh. Finally, in 1871, a great national liberation uprising began headed by Mokrani.

and burnt crops. Border disputes, which had arisen in the course of the Algerian-Turkish demarcation and also the question of tribute, which the Tunisian bey had formerly paid to Algeria, served as an excuse for this barbarous attack. Under pressure from England, however, the French troops were finally compelled to withdraw from Tunisian territory.

England, who had rather easily reconciled herself to the French occupation of Algeria, put up serious opposition to the French plans in Tunisia. This was due chiefly to Tunisia's strategic position. Her ports, Bizerta and Goletta, were situated on the narrow strait between the western and eastern Mediterranean. The British energetically set about fortifying their positions; they seized Malta and were reluctant to permit the establishment of French bases in that area. The conflict of 1837 exposed the tense Anglo-French rivalry over Tunisia, which continued for more than forty years.

The Anglo-French struggle for domination in Tunisia acquired various forms. First of all, the British and the French were competing for the Tunisian market. Secondly, they were competing for concessions on land, mines, the construction of communication routes, the means of communication, ports and other undertakings. Thirdly, they were competing for political influence over the Tunisian bey and his administration; among the bey's high officials were French and British agents. Finally, they were competing for financial control over Tunisia. It must be noted that this struggle for hegemony in Tunisia developed against a background of reforming activities by the Tunisian beys, which ultimately cleared the way for the European bankers, who planned the conquest and enslavement of Tunisia.

THE REFORMS IN TUNISIA. The threat of a French and Turkish conquest induced the Tunisian beys to modernise their country and in the first place the army. The chief reformer was Ahmed bey (1837-55), who pursued a policy of manoeuvre between the British and the French. An admirer of Napoleon and his strategies, this "enlightened despot" founded a military school, abolished slavery, purchased ships, cannon and equipment from abroad, built barracks, fortifications and palaces. The reorganisation of the army and the building programme required huge sums of money,

especially since the European military instructors and outfitters shamelessly robbed the bey. Apart from the great sums spent on the army, a considerable amount was wasted on the upkeep of the court. Moreover, the state treasury was plundered by the bey's courtiers and especially by Mustafa Khaznadar, who for forty years was the actual ruler of Tunisia. In order to defray expenses, the government raised taxes and was finally compelled to ask for loans.

Most of the money that was borrowed was squandered. Instead of being used for the development of Tunisia's productive forces, it was embezzled by the ruling clique, spent on extravagances and luxuries, on the construction of palaces, on the millions of presents which the beys gave to their favourites and on the grotesque Tunisian army. Mohammed Ali, the Egyptian Pasha, had always regarded a modern army as a serious weapon of political struggle, but his contemporary, Ahmed Bey, regarded it merely as a form of amusement. True, the army served as a means to suppress the popular uprisings, but in its former state it had also successfully coped with this task. In other words, the military reform was useless. The modernised army was incapable of doing anything apart from fighting against the unarmed people.

Huge sums of money were squandered aimlessly. From the French and British the Bey purchased guns that did not shoot, ammunition that did not explode and ships that sunk even before they got out to sea. In other words, he spent huge sums on spoiled goods that the British and French factory-owners could not dispose of elsewhere, on trash, discarded by the British and French armies. The burden of these expenses weighed heavily on the people, and this in turn aroused serious discontent in Tunisia. In 1840, a popular uprising took place in Tunis, in 1842, there was one in Goletta, followed by an uprising in Béja in 1843.

The French and British instructors and military advisers invited by the Bey to serve in his toy-like army and fleet spent much of their time spying and interfering in Tunisia's internal affairs. The representatives of France and England extolled the military reforms of the Bey, encouraged his reformatory itch to place Tunisia in the clutches of the European banks.

In 1856, at the end of the Eastern war, the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Mejid, issued a *hatti-humayun*, which granted a

number of rights and privileges to foreign capital. England and France demanded the same rights and guarantees from the Tunisian Bey. In 1857, Mohammed Bey (1855-59) issued the *Ahd El-Aman* (the Security Pact), which repeated the main stipulations of the *hatti-sherif Gulhane* of 1839 and the *hatti-humayun* of 1856. The pact proclaimed the equality of all subjects before the law irrespective of their religion, and also personal immunity and inviolability of property. In 1858, a municipal council was founded in Tunis and in 1861, during the reign of Mohammed es-Sadik Bey (1859-82), the Tunisian Constitution was promulgated, which proclaimed, in particular, the establishment of a consultative organ—the Supreme Council. Moreover, it envisaged the construction of railways, ports, telegraphs, and a reorganization of the tax system and the army.

Foreign businessmen were quick to take advantage of these reforms. The British received concessions for the construction of the first Tunisian railway between Tunis and Goletta; the French received concessions for the construction of a telegraph and for the restoration of the Zaghwan aqueduct. This meant that foreigners were granted the right to own land in Tunisia. On October 10, 1863, England imposed an agreement on Tunisia, the first clause of which pointed out that henceforward British subjects would be permitted to acquire immovable property of any kind in the Tunisian regency and to own it. The same rights applied to the French subjects on the strength of the Franco-Tunisian Treaty concluded as far back as 1824 and ensuring France the most favoured nation treatment. Later France secured more substantial legal guarantees and in 1871, achieved the publication of the Bey's decree, which granted French citizens the right to acquire land in Tunisia. The same rights were granted to Italian, Austrian and Prussian subjects.

THE FINANCIAL ENSLAVEMENT OF TUNISIA.
The penetration of foreign capital into Tunisia brought financial enslavement just as it was doing in Turkey and Egypt. Immediately after the Eastern war, the European banks began to impose unfair loans on Tunisia, which quickly entangled her in the net of financial dependence.

By 1862, the promissory debt of the Tunisian Bey had reached 28,000,000 francs. This was a considerable sum for

Tunisia and brought her to the verge of bankruptcy. Taking advantage of this, a consortium of French banks offered the Bey a loan of 35,000,000 francs. The Bey accepted the proposal and the agreement was signed on May 6, 1863. It turned out that out of the 35,000,000 francs about 10,000,000 (9,772,000 francs, to be exact) were deducted by the bankers and out of the remaining 25,000,000 about 20,000,000 francs were paid in the deliveries of old stocks. All that the Bey received was a mere 5,640,000 francs, which were immediately handed over to discharge the floating debt. For all this Tunisia undertook to repay within fifteen years 63,000,000 francs (i.e., the original sum of 35,000,000 and 28,000,000 in interest) plus an additional 13,000,000 for commission payments.

Far from curing her bankruptcy, Tunisia had merely fallen out of the frying pan into the fire. The French banks reaped the profits without a thought for the fate of the Tunisian people. How could Tunisia accept such harsh terms? Unfortunately, the Tunisian people did not ask that question. Everything was decided by the Bey and his ministers headed by Mustafa Khaznadar, who had been bribed by the French banks and on their behalf ruined his own country.

The situation in Tunisia grew worse day by day. The feudal yoke was supplemented by foreign enslavement. The reforms had not touched the core of Tunisian feudalism, which was fully preserved. The payment of foreign debts called for ever greater sums of money. In search of funds, the state doubled, and in some regions trebled, the poll-tax—*mejba*. In reply to this, in 1863, a popular uprising under the leadership of Ali ben Gadakhum broke out. All Tunisia rose in rebellion against the feudal clique, which had ruined the country in the interests of foreign capital. The uprising of 1863-64 was put down and the conditions of the people remained just as unbearable as they had been before. Up to nine-tenths of the Tunisian budget went on the payment of debts.

In search of a way out, the Bey once more turned to the foreign banks, from which he received a new loan of 25,000,000 francs in 1865. As security for the loan, the foreign usurers received access to the revenue of the state customs. This loan, like the previous one, turned out to be a swindle. Tunisia received hardly anything out of the

THE FINANCIAL ENSLAVEMENT OF EGYPT

25,000,000 francs. The banks retained a considerable sum for commission, emission, and so on; the rest was used to pay the interest on the previous debt. Only 3,500,000 francs were left for the Tunisian Government, but even this was not paid in cash but in "kind"—for 2,500,000 francs Tunisia received one frigate and for 1,000,000 francs the promise of cannons.

After the new loan, the situation became catastrophic. Plundering exceeded all bounds. To pay the foreign debt, the Tunisian treasury wrang everything it could out of the peasants and the handicraftsmen. The people were beaten, tortured and executed. To add to all this a terrible famine swept the region. People ate grass, roots and human flesh, an epidemic of cholera broke out and the people began fleeing by the thousands to neighbouring Tripolitania. Uprisings flared up in a number of localities. In such circumstances the Tunisian Government was compelled to stop the payment of foreign loans.

The Bey government went bankrupt in 1867, eight years before the same fate overcame Turkey and Egypt. Taking advantage of this, the European Powers established financial control over Tunisia. In 1869, an International Financial Commission was formed to control the income and expenditure of the Tunisian Government. Representatives of the French, Anglo-Maltese and Italian usurers participated in the work of the commission. France played the leading role. The over-all sum of the Tunisian debt was determined at 125,000,000 francs. Tunisia undertook to pay five per cent, or 6,250,000 francs per year, which was half of all state expenditure. The International Financial Commission took over control of all Tunisia's customs revenue. Should this turn out to be insufficient, the government was obliged to pay the deficit.

Tunisia had become a patrimony of the foreign banks, their semi-colony. But which group of capitalists would gain supremacy and turn it into its colony was not clear. Fierce rivalry developed between England and France, a struggle in which Italy was soon to take an active part.

FOREIGN LOANS. The tremendous expenditures connected with the construction of the Suez Canal and other projects forced the Egyptian Government to have recourse to foreign loans. These loans were granted to Egypt on the most outrageous terms.

The public debt was begun by Said Pasha. Since he had no right to contract foreign loans without the approval of the Porte, Said Pasha overcame the ban by issuing Treasury bonds, which were realised on the European exchange. Thus there came into being Egypt's so-called floating debt, which at the time of Said's death exceeded £ 6,000,000.

But Said went on to contract even larger loans. A fatal role here was played by the notorious financial manipulator Herman Oppenheim, who "fixed" the majority of Said's and Ismail's loans. Oppenheim, originally from Prussia, was considered a British subject and owned banks in Paris and Alexandria. He had close connection with the banking company of Frühling and Göschen in London and served the interests of the British.

In 1862, Oppenheim helped Said conclude the first Egyptian state loan which was needed to meet commitments connected with the construction of the Suez Canal. Because of what they termed the "difference in exchange value", the creditors actually paid out far less than the nominal sum of the loan, but insisted on repayment terms based on the whole amount.

In 1864, Oppenheim arranged a loan from Messrs. Frühling and Göschen for £5,700,000 of which the Egyptian Treasury actually received only £4,860,000, the remainder being once again withheld by the banks as a "difference in exchange value". Most of what Egypt did receive went to discharge

the floating debt. As a guarantee for the loan, Ismail gave up the state revenues from the three richest provinces of the Delta.

In 1865, Ismail contracted a "private" loan from the Anglo-Egyptian Bank. Of the nominal sum of £3,387,000 he received in cash only £2,750,000. Half of this was used to purchase estates and half to build sugar refineries.

In 1866, Ismail contracted several new loans. He borrowed money from Messrs. Frühling and Göschen to build railways. To obtain the loan, however, Egypt's existing railways had to be mortgaged. Out of the nominal sum of £3,000,000, the Egyptian Treasury received only £2,640,000.

In 1867, the Khedive concluded a "private" loan with the Imperial Ottoman Bank (Anglo-French) with a view to buying lands for the organisation of sugar-cane plantations. Out of £2,080,000 of the nominal sum, the Khedive received only £1,700,000.

In 1868, the Khedive contracted a loan with Oppenheim for £11,890,000, of which Egypt received only £7,195,000 in cash.

In 1870, the Khedive contracted a new "private" loan for £7,143,000 with the bankers of Bishofsgeim and Goldschmidt, but actually received only £5,000,000.

On June 11, 1873, the Khedive signed an agreement with Oppenheim for a huge loan of £32,000,000 to pay off the floating debt. Egypt received only £20,000,000 in cash and for this she undertook to pay Oppenheim £3,500,000 interest per annum, i.e., approximately 20 per cent of the actual sum received.

In a matter of eleven years, the British banks had contrived to saddle Egypt with a debt amounting to about £68,000,000, having paid out in cash only £46,000,000 and expropriated over £20,000,000 for "differences in exchange value" and commission. Meanwhile Egypt's floating debt had reached £26,000,000, on which she had to pay up to 15 per cent and even 25 per cent annual interest.

By 1876, Egypt's total foreign debt came to £94,000,000. What had the money been used for? Some apologists of imperialism have suggested that it was squandered on the extravagant whims of Ismail Pasha—on his palaces, harems, on luxury and ostentation. Others have asserted that Ismail began a country-wide campaign for the construction of railways, bridges, ports, telegraphs, factories and canals, without

taking into consideration the real state of Egypt's natural resources, and that it was this "speculative company promoting" that drowned Egypt in debt. It can indeed be stated that the Khedive overpaid huge sums to the European building firms. Thanks to the contractors, Egypt had to pay 325 million francs for railways that had actually cost only 75 million francs to build. The Egyptian Treasury had paid a European building firm over £2,500,000 for the Port of Alexandria, while the real cost was only £1,500,000. Other construction works had also cost Egypt two or three times their actual worth. The European building firms robbed the country shamelessly. The greater part of the funds expended on building, however, had been acquired without the help of the European banks. In the final analysis, the cost was borne by the Egyptian people. The British finance expert, Cave, asserted that the state revenue of Egypt for 1864-75 comprised £94,000,000, while expenditure, including construction, the expenses of the Khedive's court, bribes for the Turkish Sultan and his attendants, the cost of the Sudanese and Ethiopian wars, amounted to an over-all sum of £97,000,000. The entire real deficit for twelve years thus comprised only £3,000,000.

How was it that Egypt came to owe the European bankers nearly £100,000,000? The debt was made up of the following items: (1) £16,000,000 spent on the Suez Canal; (2) £22,000,000, which Egypt never actually received, went to the bankers as "differences in exchange value", commission, and so on, but was included in the nominal sum of the debt; (3) no less than £50,000,000 had been paid by Egypt up to 1876 as interest on the basic loans and promissory debts; (4) £5,000,000-6,000,000 spent on public works. Thus it can be seen what a small portion of the loan actually benefited Egypt.

The criminal intrigues of de Lesseps, Oppenheim, Frühling and others were responsible for the greater part of Egypt's debt. The Egyptian people, who had to bear the burden of the debt, received no return on the loans they were forced to pay back threefold.

MUKABALA. RUZNAMEH. The policy of the European bankers had a fatal effect on Egypt's financial position. The state railways, tax revenues and the estates of the Khe-

dive were mortgaged up to the hilt. The amount of interest Egypt had to pay her creditors increased every year. By 1875, it came to approximately £8,000,000 annually.

This meant annual tax increases. Within a short period of time the land tax had increased fourfold—from 40 to 160 piastres per feddan. Egypt's budget income grew from £2,000,000 in 1861 to £10,500,000 in 1875. Nevertheless, Egypt was forced to spend about 80 per cent of these funds to discharge interest and other commitments on the loans. There was not enough left to meet the current needs of the state and the Khedive was compelled to find new sources of income.

Ismail decided to resort to internal loans. In 1871, the first internal loan, *mukabala* (reimbursement), was contracted. By the law of *mukabala*, all landowners who for a period of 12 years from 1873 paid six times the amount of land tax to which they were liable, in regular instalments, thereby obtained remission of half the tax for ever after. This law was supported by the landlords and the richer farmers, who had just begun to emerge as a class and who, in exchange for future riches, immediately gave the Treasury approximately £7,000,000 and later over £8,000,000 bringing the total to £15,700,000 in the period between 1871 and 1878.

There was still not enough money, however, and in 1874, the Treasury was compelled to issue the second internal loan, called *ruznameh*, for £5,000,000. In spite of the fact that contribution to this loan was made compulsory, it did not justify the government's expectations and yielded the Treasury less than £2,000,000.

ENGLAND'S PURCHASE OF SHARES IN THE SUEZ CANAL. At the end of 1875, in order to meet the payments due on the foreign loan, Ismail decided to sell Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal. Proposals were made to England and France. While France hesitated, the British Government acted quickly and decisively. Without notifying Parliament or even the members of his cabinet, Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), the British Prime Minister, borrowed £4,000,000 from his friend, Rothschild, and bought on behalf of his government 176,000 shares in the Suez Canal. The transaction was made on November 25, 1875. The shares

passed into the hands of the British Government and on December 8, 1875, de Lesseps invited British representatives to take their seats on the Administrative Council of the General Company of the Suez Maritime Canal.

Egypt's interest in the canal, which had cost her £16,000,000 to build and had led to her being saddled with a debt of £100,000,000, that cost the Egyptian people £300,000,000 in principal and interest paid off to foreign bankers, was sold for only £4,000,000. Subsequently, the Suez Canal yielded its owners unusually high profits; the shares that had been purchased in 1875 for £4,000,000 were worth £35,000,000 by 1910.

But this was only the commercial side of the case. The political aspect of the deal was far more important. England, as we have seen, had tried to seize Egypt at the beginning of the 19th century and in 1840, made another attempt to place the country under her control. But each time she had encountered the resistance of the Egyptian people and that of her rival, France. French influence prevailed in Egypt. Right up to the eighties of the 19th century, with the exception of the years 1849-54, Mohammed Ali, Ibrahim, Said and Ismail were swayed by French policy. The Egyptians had even participated in the Mexican adventure of Napoleon III. During the time of de Lesseps, the Suez Canal became a key position of French capital. The French bankers held the greater part of the promissory debt. French specialists, professors and advisers predominated in Egyptian institutes, factories and educational establishments. Young Egyptians were sent to France to study. Khedive Ismail himself had graduated from the French military academy school at Saint Cyr.

In the seventies of the 19th century the British decided to effect a radical change in the situation. "The construction of the canal," wrote the British historian Young, "changed for the worse the relations between the British Empire and Egypt by shifting the main objective of British sea-power, and the main interest of British imperialism in the Near East from Constantinople to Cairo."¹ In the past the British had done everything they could to counteract French influence; now

¹ G. Young, *Egypt*, London, 1930, p. 73.

they adopted a new policy aimed at completely ousting France from Egypt.

"Until then," Young writes, "the British had been content to keep the French from dominating Cairo, as they had kept the Russians from dominating in Constantinople. But thereafter [after the opening of the Suez Canal—*U.L.*] it became of vital interest to them to control Cairo to the exclusion of other Powers. It was, indeed, some time before this new imperialist point of view penetrated our policy towards Egypt."¹

This "new point of view" had its roots in the new economic and political conditions in Europe after 1870, when capitalism had begun to enter into its last stage—the stage of monopoly capital, of imperialism. The transition was connected with the growing struggle for the division of the world, with the unprecedented activation of the capitalist Powers' colonial policy.

By that time the British had already taken over the control of Egyptian cotton exports. They were supreme on the Egyptian import market and had seized a number of concessions. The London bankers, Messrs. Frühling, Göschen, Bishofsgein and Oppenheim, had entangled Egypt in a net of ruinous loans. Nearly all the bonds of the Egyptian public debt were in their hands. In 1875, Disraeli bought Egypt's Suez Canal shares on behalf of the British Government. This was a fresh blow to French influence. Henceforth, the British Government became the biggest stockholder of the Suez Canal, which up to 1875 had been mainly a French company. True, the French capitalists still retained the greatest number of shares and seats on the Administrative Council of the General Company of the Suez Maritime Canal. The canal was still directed from Paris. But while the French shares had been divided among a large number of shareholders, the British Government alone, without the participation of any other shareholders, owned holdings which comprised approximately 45 per cent of the entire share capital.

Ismail's hopes that the "canal would be in Egypt, but not Egypt in the canal", quite obviously had not been realised. The British Government's acquisition of shares in the Suez Canal paved the way for the British occupation of Egypt.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

"Henceforth," wrote Sabri, "the politician and money-lender perform a common duty and their unification accelerates the ominous development of events."

EGYPT'S FINANCIAL BANKRUPTCY. In the autumn of 1875, the world exchange reacted to the bankruptcy of Turkey with a sharp decline in the exchange rate of all Egyptian securities. The capitalists of Europe predicted that the bankruptcy of the Porte would inevitably entail the bankruptcy of Egypt as well. At the end of 1875, the British Government forced Egypt to accept a special commission to inquire into her finances. This marked the beginning of foreign control over Egypt's finances. Not to be left behind her rival, France also immediately sent her own financial commission to Egypt.

On April 8, 1876, the Khedive suspended payment of his Treasury bills. The government declared itself bankrupt and the creditors immediately took advantage of this to impose real financial control on Egypt. On May 2, 1876, the Powers set up a Commission to Control the Khedival Debt, the staff of which included representatives from France, Austria and Italy. The members of the commission were called debt commissioners and had to ensure the timely payment of debts. England at first declined to appoint a British commissioner because her creditors could not come to an agreement with the French on the conditions for the consolidation of the Egyptian debt. The British bondholders had control of the bonds of the main Egyptian loans, while the French and other creditors' share consisted mainly of coupons of the floating debt.

On May 7, 1876, the Khedive issued a decree, consolidating the public debt of Egypt. All Egypt's basic loans and promissory debts were incorporated into a Consolidated Debt to be discharged over a period of 65 years at a rate of 7 per cent interest per annum. In exchange for bonds of the old basic loans the holders received the same number of bonds of the Consolidated Debt, while the holders of promissory notes received in addition a bonus of 25 per cent (100 units of the new bond were given for 80 units of the old). As a security for the Consolidated Debt, the land tax from the four richest provinces of the Delta was surrendered as well as the revenue from the custom houses of Cairo and

Alexandria, the tobacco excises and the revenue from the khedival Daira Sanieh estates. All these revenues came under the supervision of the Khedival Debt Commission.

In October 1876, a compromise between the British and French holders of Egyptian shares resulted in the despatch of a new Anglo-French financial commission to Egypt. Göschen, the Egyptian Government's biggest creditor, represented the interests of the British bankers, and Joubert—the interests of the French. On November 18, 1876, on the basis of the conclusions drawn by the Göschen-Joubert Commission, the Khedive issued a new decree, consolidating the Egyptian debt. The Consolidated Debt was split up into four separate parts: (1) the loans of 1864, 1865 and 1867, in which Göschen had a personal interest, formed the subject of a special arrangement with increased payment; (2) the personal debts of the Khedive also formed the subject of a separate arrangement known as Daira Sanieh and were defrayed by the revenues from the Khedive's estates on which the loans had been secured; (3) a 5 per cent preference stock, in security for which the revenues from the railways and from the Port of Alexandria were ceded. A special commission of two Englishmen, one Frenchman and two Egyptians was set up to administer the debts; (4) the other loans that remained after the division of the above-mentioned debts. They comprised the basic debt of £59,000,000 with a 7 per cent interest rate per annum. This debt remained under the control of the Debt Commission, which had been formed in May 1867 and was soon joined by Major Baring of Britain (later Lord Cromer). Colonial administrator, finance expert and relative of one of the richest bankers in London, Lord Cromer was the British banks' natural choice as their leading agent in Cairo. Before his appointment to Egypt, Baring had for four years been the private secretary to the viceroy of India. Six years later he became the absolute ruler of Egypt.

Göschen and Joubert also secured from the Khedive the appointment of a British official as the general controller of Egypt's revenues and a French official as the general controller of expenditure. This was termed Dual Control (Anglo-French) over Egypt's finances. A third official, an Englishman, was appointed director of the budget department in the Egyptian Ministry of Finance, a fourth, a British

general, was appointed director of Egypt's railways. This small group of foreign functionaries began to dictate its orders to the Egyptian people as though they owned the country. The Egyptian Minister of Finance, Ismail Sadik, who tried to protest against the decisions of the Göschen-Joubert Commission, drowned mysteriously in the Nile.

DUAL CONTROL. The foreign controllers and the debt commissioners made it their chief task to squeeze out of the Egyptian people the funds needed to meet the coupons on the ruinous loans.

In order to redeem the coupon of January 1877, the taxes levied on the population, especially on the fellaheen, were collected nine to twelve months in advance. The government sent punitive detachments to the villages to put these measures into practice. Taxes were extorted by torture, for which the notorious Egyptian *kurbash*, a whip with five lashes made of rhinoceros hide, was used. With the tax gatherers and punitive detachments came the local money-lenders, Copts and Greeks, who bought up the peasants' crops for next to nothing, and even that little the peasants immediately gave to the tax gatherers. These extraordinary measures enabled the Egyptian Government to pay the interest on its debts, but it stopped paying salaries to its own Egyptian functionaries and officers.

In the summer of 1877, there was a low Nile followed by a crop failure. Thousands of fellaheen died of hunger and disease. People ate grass and leaves; women and children went begging from village to village, but no one gave them bread. Even under such circumstances the foreign money-lenders managed to squeeze their spoils from the Egyptian countryside. In a statement of almost unparalleled cynicism the French Government declared: "The distress alleged to exist in Egypt is fictitious and the arguments based on the impoverishment of the country have been fabricated in order to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to excite humanitarian sympathy where no sympathy is deserved."¹ When the time came to pay for the debt, which fell due in April 1878, punitive detachments were once again sent to the Egyptian countryside, once again the *kurbash* was put to use and

¹ L. Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, Vol. I, London, 1908, p. 36.

once again the army of money-lenders descended on the villages like a swarm of locusts. They bought the growing wheat from the fellaheen for 50 piastres an *ardeb* when it was actually worth 120 piastres an *ardeb*. Great were the sufferings of the Egyptian people, but the coupon was paid for in full. The British and French bankers celebrated their victory.

At the beginning of 1878, the bankers demanded that Ismail should form a commission to inquire into the state of Egypt's finances. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the designer of the Suez Canal, was appointed President of the Commission, but he was merely a figurehead and took no active part in the proceedings. The real President was the Vice-President, Rivers Wilson, a British Treasury official. The other Vice-President was Riaz Pasha, a reactionary Egyptian working for the British. The debt commissioners were members of the Commission of Inquiry and among them was Major Baring.

The Commission of Inquiry immediately adopted an arrogant tone and it treated Khedive Ismail and his ministers as though they were on trial. It summoned the Minister of Justice, Sherif Pasha, to give testimony and, when he refused to attend and offered instead to present the evidence in written form, the Commission demanded his resignation. In its reports the Commission denounced the forms and methods of Egyptian administration and brought action against the Khedive. It held him personally responsible for the situation prevailing in Egypt and the state of her finances. The Commission of Inquiry decided to force the Khedive to accept a Civil List and to hand over his estates to the London banker, Rothschild, as a security for a new loan.

Finally, the Commission demanded that the Khedive relinquish his control over state affairs in favour of a "reliable" cabinet composed largely of foreigners.

THE FORMATION OF THE "EUROPEAN CABINET".

Obligated to agree to the demands of the Commission of Inquiry, the Khedive ceded his estates and, on August 28, 1878, appointed a new cabinet, consisting primarily of European officials. It was headed by the local Armenian comprador, Nubar Pasha, who was well known for his connections with the banks of London and Paris. According to Cromer, the Pasha "carried but little weight with the population, with

whom, moreover, owing to his ignorance of Arabic, he was unable to communicate in their own language. He could only rely on persuasion and on the support of two foreign governments."¹ In reality, the cabinet was run by Rivers Wilson, the effective President of the Commission of Inquiry, who occupied a key post in the Ministry of Finance. The commissioner of debts, the Frenchman Blignières, was appointed Minister of Public Works. The Austrian and Italian representatives were made controllers-general and assistants to the Minister of Finance. Riaz Pasha's subservience to Wilson and Baring was not forgotten and he was appointed Minister of the Interior.

This government, appropriately called the "European cabinet" by the Egyptians, was universally hated. The Europeans now controlled the whole of Egypt, as well as her finances. Deprived of any independence she might previously have possessed, Egypt was transformed into a colony of the Anglo-French bankers. In reply to the growing aggression of foreign capital there began to mature in Egypt a national liberation movement that was soon to bring about the overthrow of the "European cabinet".

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 72.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN EGYPT (1879-81)

GROWTH OF THE SPIRIT OF OPPOSITION. The domination of foreigners, the financial enslavement of Egypt, and the establishment of Dual Control and the "European cabinet", evoked considerable discontent among all classes of the Egyptian society. All of them, in one way or another, suffered from the tyranny imposed by the foreign money-lenders.

The first to suffer were the Egyptian fellaheen, who had to bear the excessive burden of the Egyptian debt. They paid four times more tax than before and in order to pay the tax collectors they had to sell their crops, even before they were harvested, to the money-lenders at a half or a third of their actual worth. During the tax-gathering operations, the fellaheen were humiliated, beaten and tortured. While they starved, scores of millions of francs, extorted with the help of the *kurbash*, poured into the coffers of the foreign banks. In 1879, Cairo was flooded with peasant petitioners, who came on foot to complain to the Khedive about the unbearable tyranny of the authorities.

The domination of foreign capital was also felt by the urban population of Egypt. The merchants and craftsmen were heavily taxed while trade came to a standstill and the market in handicraft wares dwindled.

Dissatisfaction penetrated into various strata of the ruling class. This applied especially to the Egyptian officers, who occupied middle commanding posts in the army. The various economy measures that had been introduced meant that the officers were not paid for months and their families went hungry while the representatives of the feudal nobility, the "Circassian" pashas and beys, retained their high salaries.

The government officials were also displeased because their salaries were held back. Signs of discontent could also be observed among the landlords, on whom the European money-lenders had decided to place part of the burden of the foreign debts. Khedive Ismail himself, the first landowner in Egypt, disapproved of the foreigners, especially of the "European cabinet", which had deprived him of his estates and left him only illusory power.

The spirit of opposition spread throughout Egypt; study groups and secret societies were formed. The first secret society to be formed by Egyptian officers came into being in 1876, after the unsuccessful Ethiopian war. It was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmed Arabi (1839-1911), a man of remarkable eloquence and profound devotion to the cause of the Egyptian people. Arabi's followers called themselves *wataneun* (Nationalists). At first they opposed Khedive Ismail and sought to achieve only national equality in the army; they campaigned only for their professional interests. Later their struggle acquired a national liberation character. They were the first to advance the slogan "Egypt for the Egyptians". They declared the Egyptians a nation, which had the right to exist as an independent state entity. They relied for support on the soldiers and the peasants.

The *wataneun* leaders were close to the Egyptian people. In his proclamations Arabi referred to himself as a "fellah" (peasant). He really was the son of a fellah from the village of Khariya-Ruzna in Lower Egypt. Many bourgeois historians have described Arabi as an ignoramus. Actually, he joined the army after having studied at El-Azhar and later continued to read a great deal. A person of considerable intellectual curiosity with a lively and receptive mind and a fervent patriot, he showed a great interest in the experience of the French revolution, the Napoleonic wars and the Italian national liberation movement. During Said's rule, Arabi quickly made a career for himself. He became Said's aide-de-camp, but under Ismail he fell into disgrace and was promoted only twelve years later, in 1875, during the Ethiopian war.

Arabi enjoyed well-deserved prestige and influence among the officers and soldiers of the Egyptian army, as did his closest associates, the *wataneun* officers, Ali er-Rubi, Abd el-Al, Ali and Mahmud Fahmi and others.

Besides these military leaders of the *wataneun* movement there was also a group of its ideologists. Among them was the erudite Sheikh Mohammed Abdu, a theologian who dreamt of "reforming Islam" by adapting it to the bourgeois conditions of life. There was the Syrian writer and journalist, Adeb Iskhak, who had settled in Egypt in 1876; the talented speaker and journalist, Abdullah Nedim and many other intellectuals, mostly teachers and students of El-Azhar, who had studied under the well-known religious and political figure, Jamal ed-Din el-Afghani (1839-1897).

The founder of the Pan-Islam movement, Jamal ed-Din el-Afghani, after wandering for a long time in the East, had settled in Cairo in 1871. A teacher at El-Azhar and an active participant in the social and political life of Egypt, he spoke out in favour of the reform of Islam and the unification of the Moslem peoples in the struggle against Europe. He called on Moslems to master the European sciences and technology, to beat the Europeans with their own weapons. His teachings, although very contradictory in essence, were warmly received in Egypt and greatly influenced the outlook of Egyptian intellectuals in the seventies of the 19th century. Arabi and his friends regarded themselves as the followers of Jamal ed-Din el-Afghani. In September 1879, Jamal ed-Din was banished from Egypt, but the *wataneun* leaders continued to feel his ideological influence.

At first the spirit of opposition was directed against Khedive Ismail, then against the "European cabinet". In 1877, it came to the surface. Egypt acquired its first opposition press. Adeb Iskhak and Selim Nakkash began to publish the magazine *Misr (Egypt)* and then the newspaper *At-Tigara (Trade)*, which carried articles by Jamal ed-Din el-Afghani and his associates against the Khedive and the foreign enslavement of Egypt.

In 1879, the spirit of opposition spread to the Chamber of Notables, which was composed primarily of landowners and members of the Moslem clergy. It was dominated by liberal landlords, who represented the moderate wing of the national liberation movement. They were under the influence of the kind of liberal and constitutional ideas advocated by Midhat Pasha and spoke out in favour of Egyptian independence, an Egyptian constitution, a parliament and a reliable government. When the regular session of the Chamber

of Notables opened on January 2, 1879, the delegates turned it into a platform, from which they criticised the "European cabinet". The Khedive, who had a personal account to settle with the "European cabinet", secretly supported these actions.

THE MILITARY DEMONSTRATION OF FEBRUARY 18, 1879. In February 1879, the "European cabinet" decided, as an economy, to discharge 2,500 officers from the army, to halve the salaries of the others and not to pay the arrears due. This meant starvation for the discharged officers and they decided to revolt against the "European cabinet". The soldiers of the Cairo garrison, most of whom were fellaheen in military uniform, supported their plans.

On February 18, 1879, a crowd of officers mobbed Nubar Pasha and Rivers Wilson on their way to their offices, dragged them out of their carriages and placed them under guard in the Ministry of Finance. Riaz Pasha was also taken there. The Khedive then arrived on the scene. At the demand of the British Consul, he commanded the officers to disperse and, on their refusal to do so, called in troops and ordered them to open fire. The troops, however, fired in the air and only by promising the officers that he would "satisfy their demands" was Ismail able to obtain the release of the "prisoners".

These events forced the government to make concessions. It rescinded the order on army dismissals and lower salaries and also refunded the officers' arrear of pay, another £400,000 being borrowed from Rothschild for this purpose. On March 9, 1879, Ismail dismissed Nubar Pasha and Ismail's eldest son, Tewfik, became the head of government. The foreigners, Wilson and de Balignières, retained their posts. At their demand, the authorities arrested the instigators of the demonstration, but soon released them. "Indeed, under the circumstances which then existed, it would have been difficult to have subjected them to any punishment without incurring serious risks,"¹ Cromer remarks.

The actions of the officers against the "European cabinet" encountered general support throughout Egypt. The Egyptians realised that a successful struggle could be waged

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 78.

against the European oppressors and with added persistence began to campaign for the ejection of the European ministers from the government.

WILSON'S FINANCIAL PLAN. In the meanwhile, the short-sighted British and French officials regarded the incident as closed. They would continue to rule Egypt as they had in the past. They stated to the Khedive that they were determined to act in concert in all that concerned Egypt and that they could not lend themselves to any modification in principle of the political and financial arrangements. It was to be clearly understood, they told the Khedive, that the resignation of Nubar Pasha had, in the eyes of both governments [British and French—*U.L.*], only importance so far as the question of persons was concerned, but that it could not imply a change of system. Having agreed to the resignation of Nubar Pasha, they demanded, nevertheless, that the Khedive should not on any account be allowed to attend cabinet meetings, and that Wilson and de Blignières be given the right of veto over any measure proposed by the government.

When Ismail accepted these demands, Wilson decided that all resistance had been quelled, and advanced his financial plan, the guiding principle of which was that to "demand sacrifices" from the creditors was wrong and that this could be expected only of the debtors. He proposed (1) that the Khedive's renunciation of his estates in favour of the Khedival Debt Commission be affirmed by law, (2) that the Khedive's Civil List be reduced to £300,000, (3) that the land tax on the peasants' lands (*kharaaj*) and landowners' (*ushr*) likewise be raised and (4) that the internal loans, *ruznameh* and *mukabala*, should be cancelled, thus robbing holders of the internal loans in the interests of foreign loanholders; and finally, that the interest on the Consolidated Debt and the Daira Sanieh Debt be reduced to 5 per cent, leaving the payment of the preferential debt on the previous terms.

The internal loans were to be liquidated in the crudest possible way. According to Wilson's scheme, the *ruznameh* was declared a tax, thus making the funds loaned to the Treasury by the Egyptians under this loan non-repayable. As for the *mukabala*, out of the £15,700,000 worth of bonds

which the Egyptians had contributed to the Treasury, Wilson acknowledged only £9,500,000 worth as genuine, and cancelled the rest. The Treasury undertook to reimburse the holders of the acknowledged bonds in annual payments of 1.5 per cent of the total *mukabala* over a period of 50 years, i.e., 75 per cent of the total debt would be discharged in that time. Wilson's plan envisaged only partial reimbursement of the capital paid to the state by the *mukabala* holders and stretched out the payment of the money over a period of fifty years. At the same time, it deprived the *mukabala* bondholders of all their privileges, and the *mukabala* holders now had to pay the land tax in full. This meant that they had to pay an additional sum of £1,150,000 annually, while the state paid them an annual sum of only £150,000 as reimbursement of the *mukabala*. This measure meant serious losses to nearly all the landowners and to a considerable section of the Egyptian peasants. The *mukabala* had been paid in full on 240,000 feddans of *kharaaj* land and on 480,000 feddans of *ushriya* land, i.e., on 15 per cent of all the land in Egypt. Moreover, the *mukabala* had been paid in part on 725,000 feddans of only *ushriya* land, apart from the numerous *kharaaj* land.

On March 28, 1879, Wilson forced the Khedive to sign the law of the *mukabala*. This measure aroused general indignation in Egypt, especially among the Egyptian landowners.

RESIGNATION OF THE "EUROPEAN CABINET". Protest meetings against the European ministers and their financial policies swept Egypt. The Khedive received petitions from all over the country, demanding the dismissal of the "European cabinet", the formation of a national government, the introduction of a constitutional system and the abolition of the law of the *mukabala*. Members of the Chamber of Notables, the *Ulema* and important functionaries and officers spoke out against the financial policy of the European ministers. The Chamber of Notables began to prepare its own financial plan to counterbalance Wilson's.

On April 7, 1879, the Khedive convened members of the diplomatic corps and Egyptian notables at his palace at Abdin. In this grand setting he declared that the discontent in Egypt had reached its climax and that the nation was calling for the establishment of a purely Egyptian cabinet,

which would be responsible to the Chamber of Notables. "As the head of the government and as an Egyptian," he said, "I consider it my sacred duty to heed the opinion of my country, to give full satisfaction to its lawful expectations." He then informed the assembly of the dismissal of the "European cabinet" and the formation of a new government of "genuine Egyptian elements", and promised to introduce the parliamentary system in Egypt. The "electoral system and the rights of the Chamber," Ismail declared, "will be regulated in accordance with national expectations." At the same time he announced his readiness to adopt the financial plan of the Chamber of Notables.

The manifesto of Khedive Ismail may be regarded as a contribution to national liberation. It was the first official formulation of the view that the Egyptians were a distinct nation. The new Egyptian government was national as well as parliamentary in character. It was headed by the liberal landowner, Sherif Pasha, who not so long previously had been the Minister of Justice, and who had won popularity in Egypt by refusing to appear before the Wilson Commission of Inquiry. In that period, at the dawn of the Egyptian national movement, some of the landowners under the leadership of Ismail Pasha and Sherif Pasha were still participating in the national liberation struggle and had even headed the struggle. On the other hand, the activities of the people were still very weak.

On April 22, 1879, the National Government published its financial plan. It confirmed all the coupons on the internal loans and temporarily reduced the interest on the Consolidated Debt to 5 per cent a year. As for the rest, the government pledged itself to honour the terms of the Göschen-Joubert settlement, which were expressed in the Decree of November 18, 1876. The National Government dismissed a number of European officials who had been in charge of various sections of the state administration, decided to bring up the strength of the army to 60,000 men and set to work to draw up the first Egyptian Constitution. By May 17, 1879, Sherif Pasha had submitted drafts of the Organic and Electoral laws to the Chamber of Notables. On June 8, they were ratified by the Chamber and sent to the Khedive for consideration. Before Ismail could sanction them, however, he was overthrown by the united efforts of the Powers.

THE DEPOSAL OF ISMAIL PASHA AND THE RESIGNATION OF SHERIF PASHA. While Khedive Ismail helped the foreign capitalists enslave Egypt by contracting one loan after another, they extolled him as an enlightened and progressive ruler. But no sooner did he openly oppose the tyranny of the European bankers than he became an "Oriental despot" to be got rid of at all costs.

Immediately after the dismissal of the European ministers and the publication of the new financial plan, the Powers began threatening to depose Ismail. On April 25, 1879, the British Foreign Secretary, Salisbury, wrote to the British Consul in Cairo: "But if he [the Khedive—*U.L.*] continues to ignore the obligations imposed upon him by his past acts and assurances and persists in declining the assistance of the European ministers whom the two Powers may place at his disposal, we must conclude that the disregard of engagements, which has marked his recent action, was the result of a settled plan and that he deliberately denounces all pretension to their friendship. In such a case, it will only remain for the two cabinets to reserve to themselves an entire liberty of appreciation and action in defending their interests in Egypt and seeking the arrangements best calculated to secure the good government and prosperity of the country."¹

The British Consul communicated this threat to Ismail. Ismail, however, displayed some firmness and refused to reinstate the European ministers. Diplomatic pressure was then used. England used Bismarck, who in his efforts to arouse Anglo-French differences and isolate France, willingly supported the solicitations of the British in Egypt. In May 1879, the German and Austrian governments unexpectedly protested against the actions of Ismail. The German creditors declared the April 22nd plan of financial regulation to be illegal and submitted the case to the Mixed Court. Early in June, the British and French governments entered a similar protest. In "private" communications, agents from various consulates urgently "advised" Ismail to abdicate and leave Egypt.

On June 19, 1879, England and France presented Ismail an ultimatum demanding his abdication. If Ismail abdicated voluntarily, the Powers promised to pay him a pension and transfer the throne to his son Tewfik. If the Khedive showed

¹ L. Cromer, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

signs of resistance, the case would be referred to the Turkish Sultan and Ismail would be deposed by force. The threat was backed by other Powers. The consuls of Germany, Austria, Russia and Italy gave similar "advice".

Ismail himself, not waiting for the Powers to transfer his case to Istanbul, submitted it to the consideration of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. This was a false step. Fearing conflict with the Powers, Abdul Hamid II hastened to execute their will and on June 26, 1879, sent a telegram to Ismail informing him of his deposal and the appointment of Tewfik as his successor.

"A crowd had collected in the streets of Cairo, but the whole transaction had been so expeditiously concluded that the mass of the population were unaware of the deposition of Ismail Pasha until they heard the guns of the citadel thundering in honour of his successor."¹

At first Ismail intended to resist, but he lacked the necessary self-control and persistence and on June 30 left Egypt for Italy. Not a single European diplomat attended his departure, but a popular demonstration was organised in his support. The Egyptian people did not like Ismail, rightly regarding him as one of those chiefly to blame for their misfortunes. At this moment, however, Ismail was a victim of the struggle against the foreign oppressors; he had attempted to head the national liberation struggle, and the people, forgetting his recent past, spontaneously expressed their approval of his attempt to establish national government, to conduct a policy independent of the European bankers.

The departure of Ismail Pasha sealed the fate of his associate, Sherif Pasha. Tewfik, a weak-willed and worthless individual and a mere puppet in the hands of the British, refused to sign the draft Constitution submitted by Sherif; on September 4, he restored Dual Financial Control and on September 21, 1879, dissolved the National Government. Riaz Pasha, a British protégé, became the new Prime Minister of Egypt. This marked the beginning of the period of reaction. According to the Egyptian historian, Sabri, "a regime of despotism, terror and espionage prevailed in Egypt".

THE MINISTRY OF RIAZ PASHA. REACTION. The ministry of Riaz Pasha was merely a screen to bar from view

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit. p 141.

the arbitrary rule of the Khedival Debt Commission and especially that of the British representative, Major Baring. Later, when he became Lord Cromer, Baring himself admitted that Riaz's "trust" in him was so great that he signed important state acts and documents approved by Baring without even reading them. Under pressure from the Powers, the Porte restricted the rights of the Egyptian Government. As early as August 7, 1879, it abolished the *firman* of 1873. Egypt was once again deprived of the right to conclude foreign loans without the Porte's approval. The strength of the Egyptian army was again restricted to 18,000 men.

The foreign controllers and the members of the Khedival Debt Commission became Egypt's real government. But they themselves were unable to guarantee the receipt of money needed to meet the payments on the next coupons. In spite of the violent acts of the punitive detachments which were sent to the countryside to collect the taxes, plundered poverty-stricken Egypt simply could not meet their demands. By the end of 1879, only two-thirds of the next coupon payments on the Consolidated Debt had been liquidated. No tribute at all was given to the Porte. "If there is no money for the payment of the tribute, all the worse for the Porte," the controllers declared.

Wilson's financial plan was put into operation in January 1880. The law of *mukabala* was repealed. An extra tax was levied on the *ushriya* lands. All the remaining taxes in kind were replaced by money taxes. New dates were fixed for the payment of the taxes. A salt monopoly that caused great hardship to the people was introduced. The revenues for 1880 were fixed at £8,500,000, out of which only half was allocated to meet the expenses of the Egyptian Government. The other half went to the foreign creditors. Even these measures, however, could not secure the sums demanded by the foreign money-lenders and the payment of the coupons on the Consolidated Debt was reduced to 4 per cent per annum.

In April 1880, a Liquidation Commission headed by Rivers Wilson was set up to solve the problem of the Egyptian debt. The commission comprised all the former members of the Commission of Inquiry of 1878 (except for de Lesseps), representing England, France, Italy and Austria, plus a delegate from Germany. On July 17, 1880, at the proposal of

the commission, a Law of Liquidation was promulgated, fixing the sum of the Egyptian debts at £98,000,000 and laying down a deadline for their payment, consolidating for this purpose a certain part of the state revenues of Egypt. The floating debt was divided into three parts: one part was paid to the creditors in full, the other, half in cash and half in bonds of the Preference Stock; the third part was paid on the basis of special agreements with individual creditors. "Its main defect," Lord Cromer, one of the compilers of the law, wrote later, "was that too large a proportion of revenue (66 per cent) was mortgaged to the loanholders, whilst the balance left at the disposal of the government was insufficient."¹

Once more the *kurbash* lashed the backs of the fellaheen and once more the Egyptian officers went without their salaries. Favouritism in the army flourished more than ever with "Circassians" being promoted to the commanding posts in preference to the Egyptians proper. The national liberation wave once again began to mount.

THE MILITARY COME TO THE FORE. In 1880, new forces appeared in the vanguard of the national movement. In addition to liberal landowners like Sherif Pasha, radical and democratic officers like Ahmed Arabi came to the leadership. True, between 1880 and 1881, there was no clear distinction between the two groups inside the national movement. Both Sherif and Arabi called themselves *wataneun*. In 1881, Sherif's followers, liberal landowners and merchants who resented the dominance of foreign capital, formed the National Party (Hizb El-Watan) with Mohammed Sultan Pasha as its president. Arabi's followers, radical officers and intellectuals who became associated with them, formed their own National Party in the same year. At first the two parties were not opposed to each other, but basic differences soon arose between them. Sherif and Mohammed Sultan favoured an agreement with the European capitalists, whereas Arabi and his followers called for a resolute struggle against them. Sherif and Mohammed Sultan stood for the establishment in Egypt of a moderate constitutional monarchy, which would ensure the domination of semi-feudal landowners, while

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 173.

Arabi and his followers stood for the liquidation of the Khedivate and the dominance of the Turco-Circassian feudal nobility, and the establishment of democratic forms of government. Sherif and Mohammed Sultan struggled against the agrarian claims of the Egyptian peasantry; Arabi and his followers supported these protests. With the further development of the popular movement Sherif and Mohammed Sultan moved into the reactionary camp and helped the British to conquer Egypt; Arabi and his followers landed up at the head of the popular movement and upheld Egypt's independence in the battles against the British.

In 1880-81, when both parties were still fighting against the reactionary cabinet of Riaz Pasha and the financial plans of Wilson and Baring, this deep-rooted difference had not yet come to the surface. Arabi and his followers still regarded Sherif Pasha as one of their own men, their advocate in the struggle for the national independence of Egypt, although Sherif himself had a lordly contempt for the "rebellious soldiery" and feared them at the same time.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONALISTS AGAINST THE CABINET OF RIAZ PASHA. In May 1880, a group of *wataneun* officers (Nationalists) submitted a protest to Othman Rifki, the Minister of War, against the non-payment of salaries and against sending soldiers to do forced labour on the khedival estates. The protest remained unanswered. On the contrary, Othman Rifki ostentatiously promoted a number of officers of the Turco-Circassian nobility in preference to Egyptian officers.

On January 15, 1881, Arabi Bey, the commander of the 4th Infantry Regiment, along with two other Nationalist colonels, Abd el-Al and Ali Fahmi, approached the Prime Minister, Riaz Pasha, and presented a new petition accusing the Minister of War of passing over distinguished Egyptian officers and giving preference to members of his own clique. Arabi demanded an inquiry into the latest promotions and the dismissal of Othman Rifki. Riaz accepted the petition and then asked the foreign controllers for advice. They counselled him to arrest those who had presented the petition. On February 1, 1881, the three colonels were summoned to the War Ministry, where everything had been prepared for dealing with them. No sooner had Arabi and

THE ARABI PASHA UPRISING

his comrades arrived at the Ministry than they were arrested and handed over to a waiting military tribunal. The carefully prepared drama, however, was frustrated. Scenting treachery, the soldiers and officers of the Cairo garrison hastened to the rescue of their leaders. Two regiments surrounded the Ministry of War. They were joined by another regiment quartered in the outskirts of Cairo. The soldiers broke into the courtroom and stopped the mock trial. War Minister Othman Rifki fled through the window. The "accused" were carried shoulder-high out of the Ministry and marched at the head of the 2,000 soldiers to the Khedive's palace to demand equality in the army and the immediate removal of Othman Rifki. The frightened Tewfik, seeing that resistance was out of the question, agreed to all their demands and the hated Minister of War was immediately dismissed. His place was taken by the well-known poet Mahmud Sami el-Barudi, a moderate Nationalist and constitutionalist, closely connected with Sherif Pasha. The soldiers and Nationalist officers warmly welcomed his appointment. Later Mahmud Sami was to justify their trust. As a loyal Nationalist, he soon broke away from Sherif Pasha's group and sided completely with Arabi.

Tewfik was compelled to make a reluctant declaration to the effect that "for the future every class of officer, whether Turk, Circassian, or Egyptian, would be treated on the same footing".¹ A special commission, including Arabi, was set up to inquire into the promotions that had been made by Othman Rifki.

However, although the Nationalist officers thought they had gained complete victory, the battle was only half won. With the odds in their favour, they confined themselves to purely professional demands and did not advance a single political claim, leaving power in the hands of Riaz and his entire reactionary camarilla, who preserved the prerogatives of the foreign controllers and in no way restricted the tyranny of Khedive Tewfik.

Reaction was quick to avail itself of the Nationalists' mistake. As soon as the excitement of the soldiers had died down, Khedive Tewfik dismissed Mahmud Sami el-Barudi and began preparing reprisals against the Nationalist leaders.

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 181.

THE REVOLT OF SEPTEMBER 1881. Early in September 1881, the situation in Egypt flared up into a crisis. The *wataneun* (Nationalist) officers were preparing new moves against the Riaz Pasha government. The Khedive, in his turn, had decided to get rid of all the revolutionary-minded regiments of the Cairo garrison at one blow. On September 9, 1881, he issued a decree transferring these regiments to the provinces. They were to be accompanied by Arabi, Ali Fahmi and the *wataneun* leaders. Besides being a disguised form of exile, this was an attempt to disperse the armed forces of the ripening national revolution, which had concentrated in Cairo.

Without further delay, the *wataneun* leaders decided to attack. They mutinied on September 9, 1881, the very day the khedival decree was issued. Led by Arabi himself, 2,500,000 soldiers of the Cairo garrison lined up on the square outside the Abidin Palace and presented the following demands to the Khedive: (1) the immediate dismissal of the Riaz cabinet, (2) a constitution, (3) an increase in the army.

These were not narrow professional demands, but political ones.

Tewfik was taken aback by the news of the armed uprising. He sent for Auckland Colvin, the British official who had succeeded Baring as Controller-General in Egypt after the latter's departure for India. Colvin suggested that the Khedive immediately bring what forces he could muster to the palace. Ignoring the frightened Khedive's objections to the effect that Arabi had cavalry and artillery and that they could shoot, the British Controller placed him in a carriage and they set off together to make the rounds of the Cairo barracks.

The journey accomplished nothing, except to convince them that not a single military unit supported the Khedive, that he had been deprived of all military support.

When he was fully aware of this fact, the Khedive returned to his palace. But Colvin took him over to the rebellious soldiers on the square and ordered him personally, without any military support, to arrest their leader Arabi.

"Act!" the Englishman said.

"We are between four fires," the fear-stricken Khedive replied.

"Have courage," the Englishman said.

"What can I do?" the Khedive asked. "We are between four fires. We shall be killed!"

While this exchange was going on Arabi came up and set forth the demands of the insurgents.

"The army has come here on the part of the Egyptian people to enforce their demands and will not retire until they have been conceded," Arabi said.

Since the Khedive had by now lost all self-control, Colvin allowed him to return to the palace and took over the negotiations himself. Colvin offered Arabi a compromise. Sherif Pasha would be appointed the new Prime Minister and Riaz would be dismissed. Regarding Arabi's other two claims, Colvin suggested that they should be left in abeyance until reference could be made to the Porte. Arabi agreed to these terms.

This again was only a partial victory. The reins of power had been handed to Sherif Pasha, an aristocrat who was extremely hostile to the popular movement. He objected to becoming Prime Minister "as the nominee of a mutinous army".¹ Under pressure from Britain and France he accepted the post, but only on the condition that the "rebellious" regiments be removed from Cairo. On September 13, hoping to restrain Sherif, Arabi convened the Chamber of Notables in Cairo. Still unaware of the class differences within the Egyptian national camp he hoped to find support among the Notables. He did not realise that Sherif merely shared the general fear of the popular movement common to all landowners.

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 187.

The Chamber of Notables supported Sherif against Arabi. Arabi was forced to agree to the withdrawal of the mutinous regiments from Cairo. When Sherif came to power, he preserved dual control. Britain and France, in turn, declared that they would support the Sherif government.

Nevertheless, the unquestionable result of the September revolt was that it enhanced the prestige of the *wataneun* (Nationalists) in Egypt. Before, Arabi had been the leader of a military group; now he had become the leader of the entire Egyptian people. A British historian wrote that within a few weeks Arabi had acquired considerable authority. All those who suffered from injustice referred their complaints to him. He acquired the reputation of a defender of the fellaheen from the tyranny of the Turkish ruling class. He was a friend of the fellaheen who served in the army. Why not become a friend of the fellaheen in the country as a whole? Soon his popularity became widespread among the village sheikhs and then among the fellaheen themselves.

Throughout the ages the fellah had not dared to raise his voice against the tyrannical yoke of his lord. But now, Arabi, the son of a village sheikh, loudly voiced the complaints of the fellaheen soldiers, defended their rights before the country's authorities and did so with success. The Egyptians began to realise that the situation in the army differed little from the country's general predicament. Arabi became their idol. They appealed to this prophet, who was one of their own, who inspired them with hopes of freedom from eternal slavery, and who encouraged them to rise and resist, something the fellaheen had hitherto never dared dream of.

THE WATANEUN STRUGGLE AGAINST SHERIF PASHA. In reply to the September revolt, the European Powers prepared for armed intervention. Anglo-French differences, however, considerably delayed these plans. France opposed Britain's separatist activities and insisted on joint action. In September 1881, at the time of the revolt in Cairo, the French Foreign Minister, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, proposed to Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, that they should establish "dual" Anglo-French military control over Egypt. Britain rejected this plan (as well as the Italian plan for the joint intervention of the six Powers). France, in turn, rejected the plan for Turkish

intervention, which was backed by Germany and served the interests of the British. Britain was thus forced to join France in promising Egypt that they would exert influence on the Porte "with the aim of preventing the occupation of Egypt by the Ottoman army". Even the despatch of two Porte representatives to Egypt aroused objections on the part of Britain and France, who in a note dated October 6, 1881, informed the Sultan that they had "learnt with surprise and regret of his decision to send envoys to Egypt".¹ This note was confirmed by the despatch to Alexandria of an Anglo-French force of two warships, which were recalled only after the departure from Egypt of the Turkish envoys (on October 20, 1881).

Taking advantage of the arrival of the Anglo-French force, Sherif Pasha decided to suppress the revolutionary regiments. A few days after the September revolt, Colvin had proposed (1) to disperse the revolutionary units among the provincial garrisons, (2) to use the moderate landowners, and Notables, against the revolutionary officers, (3) to support the demands of the Notables in as much as they would not oppose British financial control and financial plans.

This was, in fact, the programme that the Sherif Pasha government adopted. In October 1881, on Sherif Pasha's orders, the regiments of Arabi and Abd el-Al were withdrawn from Cairo, one to Damietta and the other to Tel-El-Kebir. The withdrawal of the regiments, however, had the very opposite result from what had been expected. Arabi's departure from Cairo sparked off a mighty popular demonstration against the government of Sherif Pasha. Scores of thousands of Cairo citizens came out to bid farewell to Arabi and his soldiers, openly expressing their solidarity with them. The regiments were greeted with enthusiasm wherever they went. Arabi's progress through the provinces was a march of triumph and British officials were forced to report with regret: "Arabi is the real ruler of the country."

Under such circumstances Arabi had no intention of remaining in the provinces. Using his wife's illness as a pretext, he returned to Cairo, where he continued the struggle against the government of Sherif Pasha. Nor did the

Powers succeed in "dispersing" the revolutionary units; even after the relief of the units, the soldiers and officers of the Cairo garrison continued to support Arabi.

Arabi openly opposed the tyranny of the khedival camarilla and the Turco-Circassian nobility. He declared that the khedival dynasty was as oppressive as the government of the Mamelukes had been. "There is no immunity of person or property," he said. "The Egyptians are imprisoned, exiled, strangled, drowned in the Nile, starved and robbed. The most ignorant Turk is preferred to the best Egyptian!"¹

Taking into account Arabi's influence, Britain, who had failed to reach agreement with France on the kind of intervention required, decided to change her tactics. The British representatives in Egypt made an attempt to achieve a settlement with the *wataneun*. On November 1, 1881, Auckland Colvin, the British finance controller in Egypt, received a delegation of Egyptian Nationalists headed by Arabi. On November 15, a despatch, which Lord Granville had sent on November 4, 1881, to Malet, the British diplomatic agent in Cairo, was published in Egypt. In the despatch Lord Granville declared that Britain was not seeking a biased government in Egypt. Speaking against the formation of a government based on the support of a foreign Power or a foreign diplomatic agent in Egypt, he stressed that the aspiration of the Nationalists for liberation corresponded to British national traditions and that England would not undermine them. Nevertheless, Granville left a diplomatic loophole for intervention, when he added "the only circumstance which would force Her Majesty's Government to depart from the course of conduct which he [Granville] had mentioned would be the occurrence in Egypt of a state of anarchy".²

The matter, however, did not progress further than preliminary contacts. In December 1881, the British Government received a secret memorandum from Auckland Colvin warning them that the Egyptian Nationalists were threatening not only the Khedive, but also the positions of France and Britain. Colvin maintained that there were two dangers to be guarded against in the situation in Egypt: (1) Egypt's

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 197.

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 209.

² L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 203.

refusal to meet her financial obligations, (2) Egypt's refusal to let the Europeans interfere in her administration.

In light of this, Britain decided not to remove the question of intervention from the agenda and diplomatic preparations for intervention continued. Moreover, in the face of the growing Egyptian national liberation movement, Britain agreed to a deal with France.

On December 14, 1881, Gambetta, the French Prime Minister, requested Britain to work out a common course of action in Egypt. "Both governments," he said, "must be closely united; their union must be completely manifest." Granville accepted Gambetta's proposal and agreed to send a joint Anglo-French note.

In the meanwhile, Sherif Pasha decided to convene the Chamber of Notables in order to deprive the army of the character which it had arrogated to itself at the last moment. He said the Chamber of Notables would become a representative body, on which the Khedive and his government would be able to lean for popular support against "military dictation".

Wishing to make the Chamber as reactionary as possible, Sherif refused to introduce the very constitution which he himself had drawn up two years before. While Arabi and the *wataneun* insisted that Sherif's constitution be put into effect, Sherif himself preserved the Electoral Law of 1866, by which the members of the Chamber were elected at provincial meetings of the nobility.

The Chamber was convened on December 26, 1881, and there were indications that it would justify Sherif's hopes. It was composed of moderate landowners. Its president, Mohammed Sultan Pasha, was a close friend of Sherif Pasha. The session of the Chamber began by expressing its loyalty to the Khedive. According to Malet, the British Consul-General in Cairo, "the Khedive spoke with much satisfaction of the apparently moderate tendencies of the delegates".¹

No sooner had the Chamber turned to the question of its functions, however, than the idyllic picture was spoiled. The Chamber declared its right to vote on the Egyptian Budget or, at least, that part of it which was allocated for the main-

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 224.

tenance of the Egyptian Government. This "encroachment" on the rights of the Financial Control immediately evoked protests from the Powers.

On January 8, 1882, Britain and France communicated a joint note to Egypt. It read as follows: "... The English and French Governments consider the maintenance of His Highness on the throne on the terms laid down by the Sultan's *Firman*s, and officially recognised by the two Governments as alone being able to guarantee, for the present and future, the good order and development of general prosperity in Egypt, in which France and Great Britain are equally interested. The two Governments being closely associated in the resolve to guard by their united efforts against all cause of complication, internal or external, which might menace the order of things established in Egypt, do not doubt that the assurance publicly given of their formal intentions in this respect will tend to avert the dangers to which the government of the Khedive might be exposed, and which would certainly find England and France united to oppose them."¹

This note evoked general indignation in Egypt and even temporarily brought the Notables and the *wataneun* together.

On February 1, 1882, the British and French consuls informed Sherif Pasha "that the Chamber could not vote on the Budget without infringing the Decree establishing the Dual Control, and that an innovation of the nature proposed by the Chamber could not be introduced without the assent of the English and French governments."²

Sherif accepted the Powers' note. He proposed in the Chamber that negotiations should be started with Britain and France, but the Chamber indignantly retorted that its right to vote the Budget was not for discussion with foreign Powers. At the Chamber's demand, the Sherif Pasha's cabinet tendered its resignation. On February 5, 1882, a new cabinet was formed, which was dominated by the *wataneun*. Mahmud Sami el-Barudi, who had been War Minister in the government of Sherif Pasha became Prime Minister. Arabi Bey, the leader of the *wataneun*, was appointed War Minister in his place.

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 223.

² Ibid., p. 242.

THE MAHMUD SAMI-ARABI GOVERNMENT (FEBRUARY-MAY 1882). On February 7, 1882, immediately upon coming to power, the new government promulgated the Organic Law, which had been compiled by the Chamber of Notables and guaranteed its rights, thereby actually putting an end to Dual Control. De Blignière, the French Controller, demonstratively left Egypt as a sign of protest. The government of Mahmud Sami-Arabi went even further and set about compiling a new and more democratic Electoral Law; it also prepared a number of progressive draft laws, especially laws abolishing the *corvée*, setting up an agricultural bank and reforming the Mixed Courts. The government prohibited the use of the *kurbash* and began an energetic struggle against official abuse of privilege, especially against the foreign advisers and experts who practised bribery and embezzlement on an extensive scale.

The formation of a new government brought about a political awakening among the Egyptian people. The *mudirs* (governors), who had been appointed by the former cabinets, lost all authority in the province. In Lower Egypt, especially in the region of Zagazig, an agrarian-peasant movement was beginning to gain momentum. Peasant detachments attacked and looted the landowners' estates. Appealing to the people at Zagazig, the *wataneun* agitators told them that the acres held by their landlords belonged to the fellaheen by right. Everywhere the peasants demanded the abolition of usurious debts and the return of the mortgaged land. Moreover, they demanded the liquidation of the Public Debt, the curtailment of taxes and the renewal of the law of *mukabala*.

The growth of the agrarian movement drove to the Right many liberal landowners who, along with the *wataneun*, had participated in the national cabinet.

Already in May 1882, Sultan Pasha, the leader of the National Party, told the British Consul that "in overthrowing Sherif Pasha, the Chamber had acted under pressure from Arabi, and that the very deputies who had then insisted on the course taken, finding that they had been deceived, were now anxious to overthrow the Ministry".¹

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 265.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE KHEDIVE. The development of the agrarian-peasant movement activated those sections of the feudal class which from the very outset had adopted a hostile attitude towards the government of Sami-Arabi. These sections rallied round the Khedive and the court camarilla. The "Circassian" officers were employed as shock detachments of feudal reaction and a terrorist conspiracy against Arabi's life and that of his associates ripened in their midst. When the plot was exposed on April 11, 1882, some 50 terrorists from among the "Circassian" officers, including the former Minister of War, Othman Rifki, were tried by a court-martial. The sentence, however, was extremely mild, the conspirators being degraded and exiled to the Sudan. The main plotters, Khedive Tewfik and Sherif Pasha, were not even summoned to court. The verdict merely contained a reference to the instigatory role played by the former Khedive Ismail. Nevertheless, at the suggestion of the British and French consuls, on May 9, 1882, the Khedive commuted the sentence to exile from Cairo to the provinces. This was a challenge to the *wataneun* and the government likewise and the *wataneun* interpreted it as a signal for open struggle.

The *wataneun* decided to get rid of the Khedive. With this in view, they summoned the Chamber of Notables on May 13. Arabi demanded Tewfik's deposal and an end to the dynasty of Mohammed Ali. The Chamber, however, vacillated. The delegates sympathised with the Khedive, but Arabi was the real ruler of Egypt and the Notables, fearing the soldiers, did not venture to support the Khedive openly. They therefore took an intermediary stand and attempted to reconcile the Khedive with the *wataneun*.

The Khedive declared the convention of the Chamber illegal and demanded that it be dissolved immediately. Mahmud Sami resigned in protest. It might have seemed this was exactly what the Khedive and Britain, who was backing him, had been working for. But quite unexpectedly they found themselves in difficulties. None of the Khedive's agents dared to form a government while the army was still in the hands of the *wataneun*. The *wataneun* declared they would not resign until the Chamber of Notables demanded it, and the Chamber hesitated to make such a demand. On

May 16, the Khedive was forced to accede and keep Mahmud Sami in office.

On May 20, 1882, an Anglo-French squadron arrived in Alexandria and on the day before, May 19, the British Consul Malet had received instructions "to advise the Khedive to take advantage of a favourable moment, such, as, for instance, the arrival of the fleets, to dismiss the present ministry and to form a new cabinet under Sherif Pasha or any other person inspiring the same confidence".¹

On May 25, 1882, Britain and France officially demanded from the Khedive: (1) the temporary retirement from Egypt of Arabi Pasha; (2) the retirement into the interior of Egypt of Ali Pasha Fahmi and Abd el-Al; (3) the resignation of the ministry of Mahmud Sami el-Barudi. The Khedive accepted this ultimatum and announced the dismissal of the cabinet.

On learning of the dismissal, the officers of the Alexandria garrison sent a telegram to the Khedive on May 27, saying "they would not accept the resignation of Arabi Pasha and that they allowed twelve hours to His Highness to consider, after which delay they would no longer be responsible for public tranquility".² This was a threat to rise.

The fear-stricken Khedive appealed for Sultan Pasha's mediation. At a meeting in Cairo on May 27, Sultan Pasha called the *wataneun* to obedience. The *wataneun*, in turn, demanded the deposal of the Khedive, a traitor, who had openly collaborated with the foreign Powers as their agent. "The only thing left for the Khedive to do was to pack his suitcase and move into Shepherd Hotel like any other foreigner," said Mustafa Fahmi, the Foreign Minister. A wave of meetings and demonstrations swept Egypt. The demonstrators demanded the Khedive's deposal and the reinstatement of Arabi and other *wataneun* ministers.

Once again convinced of his helplessness, the Khedive gave in, but agreed to reinstate only Arabi as minister. This manoeuvre, however, failed. Arabi became the sole absolute minister in Egypt. The Powers and the Khedive were again defeated. They had reached a deadlock. On May 30, France proposed the convention of an international conference to

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 271.

² L. Cromer, op. cit., p. 276.

discuss the Egyptian question. Britain fell back on the plan of Turkish intervention and without France's knowledge advised the Khedive to appeal to the Sultan for help.

THE DERVISH MISSION. At the Khedive's request, the Turkish Sultan despatched his envoys, Dervish Pasha and Sheikh es-Said, to Cairo to settle the conflict between the Khedive and Arabi in a spirit of reconciliation. Both envoys, who arrived in Egypt on June 7, 1882, were immediately bribed. The Khedive gave them a sum of several thousand pounds and the British purchased Dervish's small estate at a fabulous price. Thereupon Dervish suggested to Arabi that he should go to Istanbul, promising him a high post in the central government of the Ottoman Empire. Arabi, however, replied: "I cannot strive for power. The authority which I enjoy now was not usurped by me. The people invested me with it and I ought to be with the people and lend their complaints an attentive ear."

The Dervish mission was a failure.

DISTURBANCES IN ALEXANDRIA. Several days after the May events, the British Consul, Malet, warned that a collision might at any moment occur between the Moslems and the Christians; in this case foreign intervention might become a necessity. The hint was immediately taken by Khedive Tewfik, who decided to provoke disorder in Alexandria to hasten armed intervention.

There was no difficulty in stirring up disorder. The Egyptians hated the foreign money-lenders, profiteers and compradores, who comprised the "pick" of the European population of Alexandria. The arrival of foreign warships in Alexandria had only deepened this hate. The atmosphere was so tense that the slightest brawl would be enough to spark off clashes in the city.

On June 11, 1882, a Maltese, who worked as a lackey for the British Consul, hired an Arab cabman and set off for a pub; when they reached it, the cabman demanded the fare. Instead of paying, the Maltese treated him to abuse. A fight broke out and the Maltese killed the Arab. Some suspiciously looking Europeans surrounded the Maltese and opened fire on the excited crowd of Arabs who had gathered. The next to arrive were Bedouins from the neighbour-

ing desert, who had been specially hired by the Khedive to participate in the disorders. Their despatch to Alexandria was well timed. Soon the entire city was involved in the slaughter in which some 50 Europeans and 140 Egyptians were killed.

Arabi, however, managed to stop the rioting which had broken out and expose the provocation, depriving the instigators of an excuse for intervention.

After the trouble in Alexandria, the division of forces inside Egypt became more clearly delineated. On June 13, Khedive Tewfik fled from revolutionary Cairo to Alexandria under the protection of the British fleet. Together with him fled the most reactionary top statesmen of Egypt—Nubar, Riaz, Sherif and Sultan. The British Consul, Malet, the Turkish envoy Dervish Pasha and many representatives of the Egyptian feudal-bureaucratic nobility also came to Alexandria, where, on June 20, 1882, a government directly responsible to the Khedive was formed under Ragheb Pasha. Alexandria became the centre of the Anglo-Khedral alignment. In Cairo power was in the hands of the *wataneun* and Arabi, who was still listed as the Khedive's Minister of War.

Thousands of foreigners fled from Egypt in fear of the people's wrath. They were followed by the local landowners and money-lenders. At the end of June, the British agent in Cairo reported the mass flight of Europeans, Turks and "honourable Arabs". Arabi's only reaction to this was to order the confiscation of the property of Egyptian emigrés who had left the country of their own accord.

THE CONSTANTINOPLÉ CONFERENCE. In the summer of 1882, the threat of British intervention loomed large on the Egyptian horizon. The French Chamber of Deputies had denounced the colonial policy of Jules Ferry and in January 1882, the new French Government, under de Freycinet, rejected plans for joint Anglo-French intervention. This was just what British diplomacy had been waiting for. Confronted by the Triple Alliance, France could not afford to aggravate her relations with Britain because of Egypt. At the same time, the last thing she wanted was for Britain to take over Egypt single-handed.

De Freycinet felt the only way out was to summon an international conference on the Egyptian Question. Under

the existing circumstances, he reasoned, the best thing would be to preserve Egypt's independence and keep her from falling into Britain's hands. He was even ready to support Arabi. As de Freycinet saw it, the conference was to settle pressing problems and hamper British intervention.

The Powers backed France's initiative. The conference on the Egyptian Question opened at Constantinople on June 23, 1882. It was attended by Russia, Austria, Germany, Britain, France and Italy. Turkey refused to participate in the conference, regarding it as a violation of her sovereign rights.

At France's proposal, the Powers taking part in the conference undertook "not to seek any territorial acquisitions in Egypt, nor concessions with exceptional privileges or commercial advantages for their subjects". Another resolution was passed to the effect that while the conference was in session, the Powers were to refrain from any unilateral activity in Egypt. But Lord Dufferin, the British representative, suggested the reservation, "If there is no *force majeure*", which was added to the resolution. This provision brought to naught the decisions of the conference.

All Britain had to do was to create a *force majeure* and then confront the Powers with the accomplished fact.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. The conflict over the Alexandria coastal fortifications was used as a *force majeure*. The fortifications, which had been built during the reign of Mohammed Ali, were completely out of date and of little use for defence, especially against a squadron of British battleships. They were, moreover, in a bad state of repair. After the arrival of foreign fleets in Alexandria the Egyptians, on Arabi's orders, set about repairing the coastal forts. In response to a demand from Britain, the Porte ordered the cessation of all repair work on the fortifications. In July, however, the repair work was resumed and England immediately used this as an excuse for intervention.

On July 6, 1882, Admiral Seymour, who commanded the British squadron in Egypt, presented an ultimatum to the head of the Alexandria garrison and demanded that he stop the fortification works. The Egyptians replied that in face of the external threat they had the right to defend their

borders and to set up any erections they liked on their own territory. The reply, however, stressed that the Egyptians were merely carrying out repair work; they would not erect any new fortifications, they would not install any new batteries, and so on. On July 10, 1882, Admiral Seymour submitted a second ultimatum calling for the surrender of Egypt's coastal fortifications within twenty-four hours. Having received a resolute refusal, he launched military operations. On July 11, 1882, British ships bombarded Alexandria and reduced the city to a heap of ruins.

Richards, a British Member of Parliament, characterised Admiral Seymour's actions in the following way: "I find," he said, "a man prowling about my house with obvious felonious purposes. I hasten to get locks and bars, and to barricade my windows. He says that this is an insult and threat to him and he batters down my doors, and declares he does so only as an act of strict self-defence."¹

On July 12, 1882, Arabi ordered his troops to withdraw from the burning city. Thousands of Alexandria inhabitants left with them. Four days later, the British landing party occupied the deserted city.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN WAR OF 1882. The bombardment of Alexandria marked the beginning of the Anglo-Egyptian war of 1882. On July 27, the House of Commons voted credits for a British expedition to Egypt. The command of the British expeditionary corps was entrusted to Sir Garnet Wolseley.

The Khedive and his functionaries, who had defected to the British, remained in Alexandria and sat out the bombardments in their country villas and palaces, having received timely warning from Seymour.

As soon as Arabi quitted Alexandria, the Khedive ordered him to cease the military actions against the British at once. Arabi refused and in an appeal to the Egyptian people announced that "an irreconcilable war existed between the Egyptians and the English and all those who proved traitors to their country would ... be subjected to the severest punishment in accordance with martial law..."²

¹ Theodore Rothstein, *Egypt's Ruin*, London, 1910, pp. 214-15.

² L. Cromer, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

On July 22, the Khedive declared Arabi an outlaw and formally dismissed him from the post of Minister of War. In reply Arabi charged the Khedive with treachery.

"The Khedive is close to the British," Arabi said in an address to the people on July 25, 1882, "and whatever he says is in the interests of the British. The Khedive is sacrificing the interests of his country and the people. ... As for us, we shall not abandon the people as long as we are alive."

Without further delay, Arabi set about organising the defence. Thousands of peasants and urban dwellers volunteered for the army. The fellaheen donated their meagre savings with the utmost willingness, enabling Arabi to purchase enough arms to supply all the volunteers. By autumn Arabi expected to have at least 100,000 trained men under arms.

New organs of revolutionary power, the Emergency Council and the Military Council, were formed in Cairo in place of the government of Ragheb Pasha, which had remained at Alexandria and which the *wataneun* had declared a traitor government. The Military Council was composed of *wataneun* generals and officers. The Emergency Council was made up partly of *wataneun* and partly of the *Ulema*, sheikhs and notables who had remained in Cairo. The latter continued to vacillate between Arabi and the Khedive. Some of them later fled to Alexandria while others remained in Cairo, demoralising the rear of the national army. Arabi applied revolutionary terror to the traitors. Approximately 1,000 Cairo notables who were shown to have connections with the Khedive's secret service were arrested.

The outbreak of hostilities in Egypt displeased the Powers. As a sign of protest, Russia recalled her delegates from the Constantinople Conference. Germany and Austria granted Britain freedom of action provided she acted at her own risk and not on instructions from Europe. There was a divergence of views in France. Gambetta, the advocate of French colonial expansion in Africa, insisted on joint intervention with Britain. Clemenceau, who considered preparations for revenge against Germany to be the primary aim of French foreign policy, was against participating in the Egyptian adventure. De Freycinet took an intermediary stand. His proposal was to despatch French troops to Egypt,

but to limit their duty to the "protection" of the Suez Canal. The Chamber of Deputies, however, refused to vote credits for a campaign against Egypt and, on July 29, 1882, de Freycinet resigned. Duclerc, who succeeded de Freycinet as Prime Minister, shared Clemenceau's objection to France's interference in the Egyptian Question and virtually granted Britain freedom of action.

To hamper British intervention in Egypt, however, the Powers who had attended the Constantinople Conference decided to organise a Turkish intervention. As early as July 6, 1882, they had suggested to the Sultan that he despatch troops to Egypt under certain conditions (preservation of the status quo, non-interference in Egypt's internal affairs and restriction of the period of occupation to three months). On July 20, the Sultan consented to these conditions and despatched his representatives to the international conference. On July 26, Turkey announced her readiness to send troops to Egypt. Britain replied that while she accepted Turkey's co-operation, she would continue the operations she had already begun. Actually, Britain did everything in her power to avoid "Turkey's co-operation". Lord Dufferin, British Ambassador to Constantinople, dragged out the talks on an Anglo-Turkish Military Convention for a month and a half, proposing one set of terms after another. Only on September 13, 1882, the day of the battle at Tel-El-Kebir, which ended in the victory of the British and their occupation of Cairo, did Granville (the British Foreign Secretary), allow Dufferin to sign the Anglo-Turkish Military Convention. Later, however, he telegraphed to Lord Dufferin that he "presumed that, the emergency having passed, His Majesty and Sultan would not now consider it necessary to send troops to Egypt".¹ The Anglo-Turkish talks were broken off and the Turkish intervention did not take place.

A month before this, the Powers, convinced that the Constantinople Conference was powerless to prevent British intervention in Egypt and therefore useless, decided to close it on August 14, 1882. British diplomacy thereby managed to ensure that the intervention was effected only by British troops and that they alone occupied Egypt.

¹ L. Cromer, *op cit.*, p. 320.

What happened on the military side? The British could attack Egypt from the direction of the Mediterranean Sea in the north or from the direction of the Suez Canal in the east. The northern route was blocked by swamps and in the passages between the swamps Arabi had set up strong defences. A British attempt to break through at Kafr Ed-Dawar (near Alexandria) ended in failure.

The situation was less favourable as far as the defence of Egypt's eastern boundaries was concerned. True, the British forces would have had to disembark at the Suez Canal Zone, and this would have violated the principle of the canal's neutrality adopted by the Powers and Turkey. Moreover, the British would have had to cross the desert. But the Egyptians had amassed their best troops in the Delta. To protect the right flank of the Egyptian army, the chief of staff, engineer Mahmud Fahmi, proposed putting the Suez Canal out of operation and closing the fresh-water canal. These two measures would have secured Egypt's eastern boundaries and would have made it possible for the Egyptians to hold out against the enemy for a long time. Ferdinand de Lesseps, however, the Suez Canal's chief engineer, objected to Mahmud Fahmi's plan. Anxious to maintain the Company's high dividends, he insisted that the canal should function regularly. He gave his word of honour to Arabi not to permit the landing of British troops in the Canal Zone, and Arabi, trusting de Lesseps, rescinded the measures which Mahmud Fahmi had contemplated. By so doing, Arabi committed a grave military and political mistake.

Wolseley had, in fact, decided to attack from the east, thus outflanking the Mediterranean line of the Egyptian fortifications. On August 2, the British occupied Suez without firing a single shot. Early in August, they provoked an engagement near Alexandria to deceive Arabi as to the direction of the main attack. Despite de Lesseps' assurances, on August 20, the British landed their troops at Port-Said and Ismailia. The Nile valley was thus exposed in the east, where the worst units of the Egyptian army stood guard. Most of these were poorly trained recruits and Bedouin irregulars. By the time the British offensive began, the Bedouin army had already been corrupted by Sultan Pasha, who, on the instructions of the British, had penetrated into the Bedouin regions and bribed a number of sheikhs.

For three weeks the British prepared for the decisive engagement. On September 13, 1882, after a night's march, they unexpectedly attacked the Egyptian positions near Tel-El-Kebir. It was all over in a matter of twenty or thirty minutes. The Bedouins took to their heels without offering any serious resistance. Arabi rushed to the battlefield to rally the fleeing troops and appealed to the Bedouins to continue fighting. The Bedouin sheikhs, however, only flung stones at him.

Realising that further persuasion was useless, Arabi immediately left for Cairo, where, at a session of the Emergency Council, he insisted on continuing the struggle and fortifying Cairo without delay. He was backed by Abd el-Al, Abdullah Nedim and Mahmud Sami, who suggested flooding the region around Cairo. The landowners in the Emergency Council, however, voted in favour of surrender and Arabi committed his second mistake by giving in to the Council's decision. The Egyptian national army, whose best units were deployed in the north, was still intact. The enemy had occupied only Alexandria and the Suez Canal Zone; the remainder of Egypt's territory was still in Egyptian hands. Resistance was possible, but none was offered. The Egyptian army was defeated not by British arms, but by the treachery of the Bedouin sheikhs and the Cairo Notables as well as by the vacillation of Arabi Pasha himself, who at a critical moment had not dared to assume dictatorial powers and had failed to dissolve the Emergency Council, which had defected to the enemy.

THE VICTORY OF REACTION. In the evening of September 14, the Anglo-Indian cavalry approached Cairo and Arabi surrendered to the British. The troops at Kafr Ed-Dawar, Aboukir and Damietta also lay down their arms. On September 24, 1882, Khedive Tewfik and his "ministers" arrived in the capital. The imprisoned counter-revolutionaries were released and the reactionaries celebrated their victory.

The conquerors disarmed and disbanded the Egyptian army. Punitive detachments were thrown against the units that continued to resist. An indemnity of £9,000,000 was imposed on the Egyptian people. A special commission under Lord Dufferin, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, ar-

rived in Cairo to supervise the reprisals against those who had taken part in the struggle for independence. In December 1882, Arabi and his associates were sentenced to death but, realising that Arabi's execution might entail a fresh uprising, Dufferin commuted the sentence to perpetual exile to Ceylon. Six leaders of the rebellion were exiled along with Arabi. Scores of *wataneun* fled from Egypt. Many of the rebels were treated as criminals by the British and tortured by British interrogators. Court-martials sentenced some of them to death and exiled others to remote oases.

In his report Lord Dufferin wrote that what the enslaved people needed was an iron hand, not a constitutional regime. In accordance with this principle Lord Dufferin established a regime of colonial despotism and arbitrary rule in Egypt. Major Baring (Lord Cromer), whom the British appointed absolute ruler of Egypt in 1883, was a worthy representative of this regime.

EGYPT UNDER BRITISH RULE (1882-1914)

THE QUESTION OF THE TERM OF BRITISH OCCUPATION. A few days after the British had entered Cairo, Duclerc, the Prime Minister of France, asked Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, about his government's intentions with regard to Egypt. Granville replied that the occupation was of a temporary nature and would end as soon as Egypt's affairs had been straightened out. British statesmen made frequent public declarations to the effect that the evacuation of British troops from Egypt would take place as soon as order had been restored. A case in point was Prime Minister Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons in 1884, that the question of the evacuation of British troops from Egypt was a matter of honour for Britain.

Britain had not annexed Egypt since such a step might have led to a serious international crisis. She realised that France would be opposed to annexation and that France would have Russia's backing in this question. Turkey would also be opposed to annexation, although, truth to tell, Britain would have paid little enough attention to Turkey had it not been for France's and Russia's stand on the Egyptian Question.

In 1884, the French demanded of Granville the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt. Granville promised to do so by the beginning of 1888.

In 1885, under pressure from France, Britain began talks in Constantinople on the evacuation of her troops from Egypt. The British dragged out the negotiations for as long as possible and proposed the despatch to Egypt of two emissaries, one British and one Turkish. An Anglo-Turkish agreement was not drafted until 1887. The British undertook to evacuate Egypt three years from the time of the agreement's coming into force, if within this period no new

internal or external threat to Egypt's security had arisen. This reservation made the entire agreement unusually precarious. Even so, Britain further demanded that the agreement should guarantee her the right to reoccupation, if any internal or external threat should again arise. The Sultan categorically objected to the draft agreement.

What was the attitude of the Powers to the draft agreement? In 1882, while preparing for a war against France and Russia, Germany had knocked together an imperialist bloc known as the Triple Alliance, which, besides herself, included Austria-Hungary and Italy. On the other hand, the German threat had brought about a French-Russian rapprochement. Britain tried to play the role of arbitrator between those two blocs pursuing what became known as a policy of "splendid isolation". She joined neither of the blocs and maintained the role of arbitrator in order to dominate European politics. Her sympathies, however, were with the Triple Alliance. Britain took a stand of friendly neutrality towards the countries of the Triple Alliance and one of hostile neutrality towards the Franco-Russian bloc. The main feature of Britain's relations with France at the time were the contradictions in Africa, while Britain's relations with Russia were largely determined by the contradictions in the Middle East. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy supported the British occupation of Egypt, which Britain highly appreciated. On the other hand, France and Russia backed the Sultan and demanded the evacuation of British troops from Egypt. Under these circumstances the Sultan rejected the British plan.

No agreement was reached and the British army remained in Egypt.

Egypt was still regarded as part of the Ottoman Empire and the British continued to give assurances of their intention to evacuate Egypt some time in the near future.

In January 1888, a British statesman told the French diplomat, de Laboulaye, that only the Egyptian Question divided them, but that they were mistaken in France if they thought the British wanted to stay in Egypt for ever. He added that there was no politician in England who would include the permanent occupation of Egypt in his programme. He said the British intended to leave, but could do so only after establishing definite order.

Such was the British stand on the Egyptian Question. Technically they meant to evacuate Egypt, but practically they did everything in their power to stay where they were. After 1887, French and Turkish diplomats repeatedly broached the subject of the evacuation of British troops from Egypt. The British responded with all sorts of verbal assertions, but stayed on. It was not until 1904, that a far-reaching change occurred.

On April 8, 1904, Britain and France concluded a number of agreements which marked the beginning of the Anglo-French Entente. Among these, the principal agreement was the Anglo-French Declaration on Egypt and Morocco, which consisted of public and secret clauses. The public part of the Declaration stated: "His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt [i.e., Egypt remains a part of the Ottoman Empire, under British occupation —U.L.].

"The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner."¹ Thus France granted Britain freedom of action in Egypt, in exchange for which she received freedom of action in Morocco.

The secret clauses of the Declaration envisaged the possibility of changing the British policy on Egypt, i.e., the possibility of annexing Egypt in one form or another. Moreover, a pious stipulation was made to the effect that this would happen only if Britain were compelled to do so by force of circumstances. Naturally, they could always create the circumstances themselves.

In 1904, the Anglo-French differences over the occupation of Egypt were settled. Simultaneously, other Anglo-French contradictions over the Egyptian Public Debt and the regime of the Suez Canal were also settled.

THE SUEZ CANAL REGIME. For twenty years the question of the Suez Canal regime was a source of conflict between Britain and France. Fearing that the occupation of Egypt would threaten the freedom of navigation in the

¹ L. Cromer, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 391.

Suez Canal, France insisted on the formation of a body of international control. On her initiative, in 1885, an international commission was founded to work out measures to secure the free use of the Suez Canal. After a prolonged and stubborn struggle, the commission worked out a draft Convention to guarantee free navigation in the canal. On October 29, 1888, the Convention was signed in Constantinople by the representatives of France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Holland and Turkey.

The Constantinople Convention of 1888 stipulated that "the Suez Maritime Canal should always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war without distinction of flag". According to the Convention, warships could not linger in the Canal Zone more than twenty-four hours. Britain was thereby deprived of the opportunity to keep her fleet within the limits of the Suez Canal. Furthermore, the Convention prohibited the construction of fortifications, the stationing of troops and the setting up of ammunition depots in the Canal Zone, which also affected Britain's interests.

The British Government opposed the Convention of 1888 and did all it could to hamper its practical implementation. And when she eventually signed the Convention, Britain formulated a reservation, which rendered her signature completely invalid and amounted to a refusal to join the Convention. Only in 1904, along with the general adjustment of Anglo-French relations was the reservation removed from the text of the Convention, and only then did Britain actually join the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and agree to put it in force.

Summing up this brief review of Egypt's position in the international political situation, it must be noted that in 1906, Britain annexed the Sinai Peninsula to the territory of Egypt and occupied it. This evoked futile objections on the part of the Porte, and since France no longer interfered in these matters, Britain acquired a zone for the defence of the Suez Canal and a springboard for an attack against Palestine in the coming world war.

THE QUESTION OF EGYPT'S FINANCES. On September 20, 1882, immediately after the British troops had entered Cairo, Britain notified France that Dual Control

over Egypt's finances had ended. Since she was out to establish her complete domination over Egypt, Britain did not wish to permit the presence of French finance controllers alongside the British authorities. Instead she offered France the presidency of the Commission of the Public Debt. This the French declined, saying that "it was not consistent with the dignity of France to accept as an equivalent for the abolition of Control, a position which was simply that of cashier".¹

Having taken over Egypt, the British set about turning her into a cotton base for British industry. This called for the wide-scale construction of irrigation canals, which Britain was quite willing to realise at Egypt's expense. Moreover, the British pressed Egypt for the payment of the indemnity (compensation to the British for losses incurred during the military operations in Alexandria). Finally they could not balance the Egyptian budget without a deficit. To solve these problems, the British drew up a plan of financial measures, the main points of which were the following:

- (1) the abrogation of the law on the liquidation of a part of the assigned and non-assigned revenue; the transfer of the surplus on the assigned revenues to the Egyptian budget,
- (2) the partial and temporary reduction of payment on former loans,
- (3) a new loan of £9,000,000 for Egypt at an interest rate of 3 per cent per annum,
- (4) the right to sell the state and khedival estates,
- (5) the right to tax foreign residents in Egypt.

Britain could not carry out this plan without the approval of all Egypt's creditors. France, however, categorically objected to the measures contemplated by the British. Britain then proposed an international conference in London on the Egyptian Public Debt. The conference, which lasted from July to September 1884, yielded no results. Only after further prolonged talks, in March 1885, did the French agree to adopt the British plan on the condition that the new loan would have an international guarantee, i.e., if the French were given the right to participate in the control over the loan.

¹ L. Cromer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 340.

An international convention on the Egyptian Public Debt was signed in London, on March 18, 1885, and Britain's demands were satisfied. On the insistence of France, however, the following provision was added to the convention: if Britain in the course of three years does not reach a balance in the Egyptian budget, the supervision of Egypt's finances will pass into the control of the international commission.

This stipulation was a serious threat to the British and they did everything they could to put Egypt's finances in order. They carried out a currency reform (1885); they eliminated the difference between the *ushriya* and *kharaaj* lands and raised taxes; they economised in a number of branches of government administration at Egypt's expense, particularly by cutting expenditure on public education. The proportion of indirect taxes increased sharply. The result was that by 1888, the British had balanced Egypt's budget and had deprived France of an excuse to interfere in Egypt's financial affairs.

Having strengthened Egypt's financial position, in 1890, the British converted the Egyptian Public Debt and reduced the interest rates on the state debts. When the agreement on the Entente was signed in 1904, France agreed to the conversion of the debt and supported other measures taken by the British authorities in Egypt, such as the liquidation of foreign control over Egypt's custom houses and railways, the revenues from which had been used to pay off the debt; the suspension of the practice of dividing the Egyptian budget into two parts; the modification of the functions of the *Caisse de la Dette*, and so on.

In 1898, the British founded the National Bank of Egypt. In spite of its name, the bank was not national, but private, and not Egyptian, but British. Unlike the other British banks in Egypt, however, the National Bank was empowered with the functions of a central bank of issue. It issued the Egyptian banknotes and looked after all the Egyptian Government's cash.

The British financial policy in Egypt safeguarded the interests of the European banks. Revenues from the Egyptian Public Debt flowed regularly into their coffers. The aggregate sum of the debt was stabilised at a level of about £100,000,000. The foreign creditors received £4,500,000 annually as payment on the debt. Moreover, Egypt paid

the Porte between £600,000 and £700,000 tribute annually. This tribute formed a guarantee for one of the Turkish loans and also profited the European money-lenders. In all, Egypt paid the foreign bankers over £5,000,000 annually, which comprised at first 50 and later 30 per cent of the Egyptian budget.

BRITISH ECONOMIC POLICY IN EGYPT. The economic policy pursued by the British banks and their representatives in Egypt reflected the attempt of British finance capital, on the one hand, to exploit Egypt by purely usurious means and, on the other, to turn her into a cotton base for British industry. This can be seen by the economic measures and the trends of foreign capital investments during the period of British occupation.

The new capital investments were relatively small in the first years of the occupation. Between 1883 and 1897, they comprised (excluding the General Company of the Suez Maritime Canal) £E6,600,000. Then they rose sharply. During the financial boom of 1897-1907, which preceded the international economic crisis of 1907, foreign capital investments in Egypt comprised the colossal sum of £E73,500,000. After the crisis, they were again curtailed and in 1907-14, dwindled to £E13,000,000.

The proportion of industrial investment was insignificant. In 1883-97 it accounted for 29 per cent of the total sum and in the boom years (1897-1907) even less—9.3 per cent. What happened to these huge sums of foreign capital? They were invested mainly in commerce, in banks, mortgage banks and land companies and concessionary enterprises in the public utilities. According to the figures given for 1914, out of £E210,000,000 (the total sum of foreign capital investments in Egypt), 166,300,000 or 79 per cent was accounted for by non-productive investments (public debt, mortgage and banks), 26,500,000, or 12.6 per cent, by transport and trade and only 10,500,000 or a mere 5 per cent by industry and construction.

Foreign capital in Egypt was of an openly usurious character and did not promote the development of Egypt's productive forces. Cotton-growing was the only branch of the Egyptian economy that interested the British capitalists and the occupation authorities. During the British occupation,

the entire economic life of Egypt was geared to one aim—the production of raw cotton for British industry.

With a view to developing cotton-growing, the British authorities carried out wide-scale irrigation works. In the period between 1890 and 1914, several dams and irrigation networks were built, in particular, the old Aswan Dam (1902), which after additional building in 1912, made it possible to store up to 2,300,000,000 cubic metres of water. The system of year-round irrigation was expanded in Lower Egypt and also applied in Central Egypt. As a result, the area of land under cultivation rose from 4,472,000 feddans in 1877 to 5,503,000 feddans in 1913.

Cotton production was virtually monopolised by British capital.

The main cotton producer was the Egyptian fellah. Most of the cotton was cultivated on small plots of land which were tilled by the fellaheen, but only an insignificant share of the land belonged to them. In 1914, 2,397,000 feddans, i.e., 44 per cent of the entire area of the privately-owned land, belonged to 12,500 landlords, while only 1,954,000 feddans or 35.8 per cent fell to the share of 1,491,000 peasants (who owned up to ten feddans). The process of parceling out the peasants' land rapidly gained momentum. Within twenty years (1894-1913), the number of peasants who owned less than five feddans increased threefold.

The majority of the cotton plantations of Egypt were controlled either directly or indirectly by foreign capital. In 1910, the foreigners owned 700,000 feddans or 13 per cent of the entire area of the privately-owned lands. The foreigners, however, controlled not only the land which belonged directly to them. They also controlled, indirectly, through mortgage, 27 per cent of the land which had been hypothecated in mortgage banks and companies.

The irrigation system was the key factor of British domination in the cotton industry. The chief dams and the main canals were built at the expense of the Egyptian people, but were controlled by the British irrigation inspectors. A ramified network of peripheral canals and small irrigation ditches which supplied water to the fields branched out from the main canals. The peripheral irrigation network had been built by private British irrigation companies which charged the cotton-growing Egyptian fellaheen large sums

for their use. Not only was the land and water under British control, but also most of the primary cotton-processing and cotton-cleaning industry of Egypt.

Cotton was exported by railway, by boat along the rivers and canals, and so on. The steamship lines which transported the cotton from the interior of Egypt to Alexandria were also British owned. The main railways belonged to the Egyptian state, but were in the hands of the British inspectors. Moreover, the British and some French companies had built a number of peripheral narrow-gauge railways and shipped cotton from the interior to the main roads and from there to Alexandria. The entire cotton trade, both internal and external, was also in the hands of the British. Their banks in Egypt had special cotton departments which granted credits for home and foreign trade. The cotton buying was done by local merchants, they were all agents of their respective British banks and export companies. The exporting of cotton was handled almost entirely by British firms. Cotton was transported from Egypt to Britain by British steamship lines. The Alexandria cotton exchange was under British control. In other words, the entire mechanism of the cotton industry, from the cultivation of the cotton to its processing and export, was concentrated in the hands of the British capitalists.

Egypt was turned into a one-crop country. The area under cotton increased from 495,000 feddans in 1879 to 1,723,000 feddans in 1913. Within this period, the proportion of land under cotton grew from 11.5 to 22.5 per cent in spite of the significant over-all growth of the sowing areas. Between 1910 and 1914, cotton yielded 43 per cent of the total value of agricultural output. Cotton export increased from 3,500,000 cantars in 1884 to 7,400,000 cantars in 1913 and accounted for an average of 85 per cent of the value of Egyptian exports.

The British authorities developed cotton cultivation and strangled all the other branches of agriculture. Between 1879 and 1913, wheat decreased from 20.6 to 16.9 per cent and barley, from 11.1 to 4.8 per cent. At the beginning of the 20th century, Egypt began to import grain and flour. The area under sugar cane and flax was also reduced. In 1883, the cultivation of tobacco was forbidden in Egypt so that the entire area could be switched over to cotton cul-

tivation. The tobacco mills of Egypt began to work on raw products imported from Turkey and the Balkans.

England stifled the development of Egyptian industry. The cotton-cleaning and, to some extent, the mining industries were the only exception. The industrial processing of cotton, separating the fibres from the seeds, was carried out on the spot for the sake of economy, but all the other stages of cotton processing were done in Britain. Egypt, who grew the best cotton in the world, who occupied second or third place in the world in cotton production, Egypt, the land of the cotton crop, did not have a single cotton mill and exported all her cotton abroad, mainly to Britain. The cotton was processed in other countries and entered the Egyptian market as a ready-made product. Egypt met one-third of the requirements of the British industry in raw cotton.

Power engineering plays an important part in the industrialisation of any country. There were no coal fields in Egypt and in such circumstances water power was of vital importance. The Egyptian dams offered numerous opportunities for building hydroelectric power stations. As early as 1902, a project had been drawn up for the construction of a power station on the site of the old Aswan Dam, but it got no further than the paper stage. Keeping Egypt as an agrarian and raw material appendage of the metropolitan country, Britain neglected Egypt's industrial development, which she regarded as unprofitable for herself.

THE STATE STRUCTURE OF EGYPT (1882-1914).

In 1882, Egypt became a British colony, but no changes took place in her international legal status until 1914. Because of the contradictions between the imperialists, Britain hesitated to announce the annexation of Egypt or the establishment of a protectorate over the country. Formally, Egypt was still regarded as part of the Ottoman Empire and Britain merely acted as a "temporary occupation Power".

The former organs of power headed by the Khedive were retained in Egypt and the reins of government were held by Tewfik till 1892. After his death, he was succeeded by his son, Abbas II Hilmi, who ruled Egypt from 1892 to 1914. Under Khedive Abbas a cabinet of six ministers was formed. On May 1, 1883, the Khedive promulgated the Organic Law, establishing two Houses of Parliament in Egypt: a

Legislative Council and a General Assembly. The Legislative Council was composed of thirty members. Of these, fourteen were appointed, while sixteen were elected by the Provincial Councils. The General Assembly was composed of eighty-two members and included all the ministers, the thirty members of the Legislative Council and, in addition, forty-six delegates who were elected on the basis of an extremely high property qualification. Both Houses met once in two years. They had no legislative initiative and discussed only bills introduced by the government. Their decisions had no binding force. The assent of the General Assembly was required only for the introduction of direct taxes. In all other matters, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly were powerless.

The cabinet and the Khedive himself were in the same position. Actually, all power in Egypt was in the hands of a British administrator. He had no high-sounding title and was merely regarded as the diplomatic representative of Britain, her consul-general, or general agent, but all real authority was concentrated in his hands. Backed by the British army of occupation, he wielded absolute power over Egypt. From 1883 to 1907, the Consul-General was Major Baring, who had been a British commissioner in the *Caisse de la Dette* (Commission of the Public Debt) and had now received the title of Lord Cromer. The colonial laws he had introduced, known as the Cromer regime, signified complete impotence for the Egyptian Government and no rights whatever for the Egyptian people. He established in Egypt a dictatorship of British finance capital and ruthlessly suppressed the Egyptian national liberation movement.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. MOHAMMED ABDU. ABD ER-RAHMAN EL-KAWAKEBI. MUSTAFA KAMIL. After the defeat of the Arabi revolt in the eighties, there was no organised national movement in Egypt. The core of the movement had been dispersed or driven underground. Emergency courts meted out punishment on captured guerillas from detachments still operating in Egypt. In the nineties, however, the national organisations and societies in Egypt reappeared and the ideologists of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie renewed their activities.

In those years, the Egyptian bourgeoisie did not believe

in the possibility of a mass popular movement, considering that any movement of the kind would be suppressed by Britain. Moreover, some sections of the Egyptian bourgeoisie even denounced the struggle against the British invaders, regarding their activities as a "blessing" for Egypt and her future. They felt their main task was to struggle for reforms and for the alteration of the internal structure of Egyptian life.

The most brilliant advocates of these moods were Mohammed Abdu and his followers, who laid the foundations of Moslem reform in Egypt. Abdu was born in 1849 in a peasant family and later received his education at El-Azhar. In 1872, he became friends with Jamal ed-Din el-Afghani, who greatly influenced him. Abdu was banished from Egypt for his part in the Arabi revolt and lived in Beirut, Paris and Tunis. In 1889, he returned to Egypt and in 1899, with the backing of the British authorities, he was appointed the Mufti (expounder of the canon law) of Egypt, thereby occupying the highest religious post in the land. Abdu died in 1905. His teachings were propagated by the magazine *El-Manâr* (*Beacon*), which was founded by Ridah Pasha in 1898 and had become the principal organ of Moslem reform.

Abdu and the Moslem reformers fought against the political and ideological supremacy of the feudal lords and the conservative Moslem clergy connected with them. Abdu and his followers accused them of "corrupting" Islam and held them responsible for Egypt's backwardness and enslavement. They called for the revival of Islam, which they portrayed as a return to the original and true religion. Actually, they favoured the adaptation of Islam to bourgeois relations. In his capacity as Mufti, Abdu passed a *fatwa* (a formal pronouncement made by the appropriate theological authority on matters involving the interpretation of the canon law) authorising the lending of money on interest. He advocated the adoption of Western, capitalist, civilisation and the diffusion of enlightenment and technical knowledge in the Arab countries. Genuine Islam, he felt, was not incompatible with science. He called for the acknowledgement of elementary bourgeois rights and privileges on the basis of the principles of Islam, which he regarded as a democratic religion.

The activities of Abdu and the Moslem reformers exer-

Egyptian independence, particularly when his tactics of utilising the Anglo-French contradictions had proved ineffective. The operations in Fashoda had deeply discouraged him and he wrote to his French friends that he was disappointed in France, who, instead of defending Egypt's independence, had chosen to compromise with Britain.

In 1898, Mustafa Kamil opened a national school in Cairo and in 1900, he took over the newspaper *El-Liwa (Banner)* in which he began to criticise not only British policy in Egypt, but also that of the imperialist Powers as a whole. He attacked British policy in South Africa, French policy in Morocco and German policy in China. At this stage, he tried to make friends with the Khedive, Abbas II Hilmi.

The Khedive was the same age as Mustafa Kamil. Abbas II had ascended to the khedival throne at the age of eighteen and, despite his youth, endeavoured to pursue an independent policy, which entailed many conflicts with the British. In 1893, no sooner had Abbas succeeded to power than he decided to appoint Mustafa Fahmi Pasha to the ministerial post he had held in Arabi's cabinet. Lord Cromer protested against the Khedive's decision and had a pro-British candidate appointed to the post. A fresh conflict arose in 1894, when Abbas II Hilmi objected to Kitchener's appointment to the post of *sirdar* (commander-in-chief). The objections were ignored and Kitchener was made *sirdar*, but relations with the British had been spoiled.

In 1904, Abbas II Hilmi became close friends with Mustafa Kamil and supported his activities. In the same year this induced Lord Cromer to order a search to be made of the Khedive's palace, where the police hoped to find all kinds of illegal literature and material compromising Mustafa Kamil.

Besides making friends with the Khedive, Mustafa Kamil placed hopes on his friendship with the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid. He reasoned that should France betray him, and should he find himself in need of outside support, he could depend on Turkey and her allies in Europe—Germany and Austria-Hungary. Mustafa Kamil did not call for Egypt's full independence, but fought for her reincorporation in the Ottoman Empire, in light of which he propagated the doctrines of Pan Islamism. In 1904, the Sultan awarded him the title of pasha. This policy of rapprochement with the Sultan yielded no further results.

THE DENSHAWAI INCIDENT (JUNE 13, 1906). Up till 1905, Mustafa Kamil Pasha confined his activities to propaganda, enlightenment and various forms of diplomatic negotiations. There was no mass national movement in Egypt at the time. This came into being only in 1906 in connection with the general international trend of the era, the era of the awakening of the Asian continent, when under the influence of the Russian revolution (1905-07), a number of bourgeois-democratic movements arose in the East, including Egypt.

The Denshawai incident spurred the development of the Egyptian national liberation movement. Denshawai is a small village near the city of Tanta in the Nile Delta. One hot day, on June 13, 1906, a party of British officers set out for the village to shoot pigeons. As often happens in such cases, the officers trampled the crops underfoot and the indignant fellaheen asked them to leave. In reply the Englishmen opened fire, wounding several peasants, and started a fight, in which the peasants used their wooden staffs. One of the British officers was slightly hurt and it was decided to send him to the railway station. The temperature that day was 42°C and the officer died of a sunstroke on the way. The cause of his death was confirmed by a doctor. Nevertheless, the Denshawai peasants were charged with the murder of British officer. They were arrested and tried. Four of them were sentenced to death by hanging, nine to penal servitude and the others were flogged at the foot of the gallows.

The Denshawai execution had a serious effect on Egypt. Demonstrations and protest meetings swept the country. The Egyptian press was full of indignant articles and poems were written in honour of the Denshawai martyrs. People everywhere demanded an amnesty for the peasants who had been sent to prison.

The Denshawai incident was so scandalous and had such international repercussions that in the end the British were forced to agree to a compromise. In 1907, the Denshawai peasants were pardoned. Lord Cromer summoned Mustafa Kamil, whom he had described as "England's worst enemy", and asked him to recommend someone from among his friends for the new ministry. One of the many named by Mustafa Kamil was Saad Zaghlul, the future president of

the Wafd Party. Saad Zaghlul (born in 1860), a member of the Arabi movement and a qualified lawyer, practised at the bar and later served on the bench. In 1906, Cromer appointed him Minister of Education.

In April 1907, Cromer resigned. The new British resident in Egypt was Sir Eldon Gorst, who had served under Cromer as an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the British mission, i.e., the civil servant who is charged with the supervision of the local national movement. Unlike Lord Cromer, who had lived in Egypt for twenty-five years without learning Arabic or establishing relations in the Egyptian society, Gorst had been obliged by the very nature of his work to acquire a knowledge of the language and Egyptian contacts.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN 1907-08. THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS. Eldon Gorst decided to begin by splitting the ranks of the Egyptian national movement. On his initiative, in 1907, a group of Egyptian anglophiles founded the Hizb El-Islah (Party of Reform), which was comprised of Egyptian dignitaries, bureaucrats and intellectuals, who favoured co-operation with the British. The party was backed by the British mission and it controlled the biggest Egyptian newspapers, *El-Mukattam*, *El-Ahram*, and others.

In 1907, to counterpoise the Party of Reform, Mustafa Kamil founded his own political party which, as Arabi's had been, was called Hizb El-Watan (National Party). The Party's first congress was held on December 7, 1907, and was attended by 1,017 delegates, representing petty-bourgeois democratic elements of the national liberation movement.

The Hizb El-Umma (People's Party), which was founded in 1906 and represented the bourgeois and feudal elements of the national movement, occupied an intermediary position between the two other parties.

Workers' trade unions and the political parties arose simultaneously in Egypt. The first attempt to form a trade union had been made in 1899 during a strike of the tobacco workers, but had failed. In October 1908, the Nationalists set up a trade union of manual workers, which opened branches in various towns of Egypt and headed the workers'

movement. By 1911, there were already eleven trade unions in the land with an over-all membership of over 7,000.

The death of Mustafa Kamil was a severe blow to the national liberation movement. His health had been undermined by the increased pressure of his political activities after the Denshawai incident. He had travelled tirelessly about Egypt, addressing several meetings a day. Simultaneously, he published a newspaper, wrote proclamations and supervised the work of the party. The result was that he contracted tuberculosis and died in February 1908, at the age of thirty-four. His funeral became a huge anti-imperialist demonstration. Tens of thousands of people followed his coffin. Soon after his death, however, the popular movement began to wane.

The Turkish revolution of 1908 and the restoration of the Constitution of 1876 was widely welcomed in Egypt and revived the movement for a time. Fresh demonstrations against British imperialism broke out in Egypt. All the political parties of Egypt demanded a constitution and insisted that the Legislative Council and the General Assembly be replaced by real representative institutions. The Hizb El-Watan Party led the constitutional movement. The party was connected with the Young Turks and took its cue from them. Although the other parties also demanded a constitution, they opposed the Young Turks.

The weakness of the constitutional movement lay in the fact that it developed during the decline of the mass national liberation movement. The political parties had channelled the movement into a legal struggle for constitutional reforms. Even the petty-bourgeois democratic party, Hizb El-Watan, restricted its work to propaganda, enlightenment and the organisation of intellectual study groups.

THE PERIOD OF REACTION (1909-14). Taking advantage of the decline of the mass movement in Egypt, the British mission adopted a hostile attitude towards the Nationalists. As early as in 1907, the reactionary Copt, Butrus Ghali, the president of the Denshawai court, became the Prime Minister of Egypt. He was an obedient tool of British policy and took violent measures against the national liberation movement. The emergency laws of 1909 which were directed especially against the Nationalists provided the

“legal” basis for mass persecutions. The Law of March 25, 1909, on the press, virtually deprived the Egyptian papers of all opportunity to criticise the British authorities. The Law of July 4, 1909, on suspicious persons, permitted the authorities to exile without trial or investigation anyone suspected of sympathy with nationalism.

The emergency laws of 1909 caused panic among the Nationalists and some of them emigrated in order to continue their activities. Two congresses of the Hizb El-Watan Party were held abroad, one in Geneva (1909) and one in Brussels (1910). The rest of the Nationalists remained in Egypt and went underground.

During their underground activities, the Nationalists lost contact with the masses and switched over to tactics of individual terror. On February 20, 1910, one of the Nationalist terrorists, Ibrahim Wardani, assassinated the Prime Minister, Butrus Ghali, and although Wardani's associates declared him a national hero, although poems were written in his honour and meetings were organised, this terrorist act, far from changing things, actually enabled the British authorities to step up their reprisals. Wardani was executed. Working on the Indian pattern, Gorst used the assassination to whip up hostility between the Copts and Moslems, by turning the incident into a question of strife between the two religious communities.

In 1911, Eldon Gorst died. He was succeeded by General Kitchener, the conqueror of the Sudan and South Africa and later (in 1914) Britain's War Minister. Kitchener continued Gorst's policy in Egypt.

He tried to come to an agreement with the bourgeois and landlord circles of the Nationalists and, as a means to that end, in 1913, he reformed the Egyptian Constitution. Instead of the former two Houses of Parliament, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, a one-house Legislative Assembly, composed mainly of elected members (seventeen appointed and sixty-six elected), was formed. The Legislative Assembly, however, had the same restricted functions as the former Houses established by the Organic Law of 1883. Saad Zaghlul, who was later to play an important part in the history of the national liberation movement in Egypt, was elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.

THE MAHDI STATE IN THE EAST SUDAN

EUROPEAN PENETRATION INTO THE EAST SUDAN. After the death of Mohammed Ali, the East Sudan remained under Egyptian rule. Power was wielded by the Turco-Egyptian pashas and beys. They seized huge estates, established monopolies on Sudan's main export items and robbed the people by excessive taxation. The slave trade was practised extensively, although in 1857 the ruler of Egypt, Mohammed Said, had officially declared its abolishment. Whole regions in the Sudan were becoming the domains of the big slave traders.

In the seventies, to the yoke of the Turco-Egyptian pashas and slave-traders was added that of the European colonialists.

The seventies and eighties of the 19th century were marked by the colonial annexation of Africa. In a mere decade or two the European Powers had divided almost the entire African continent between themselves.

Naturally, the Europeans also coveted the East Sudan with its natural resources and its extremely profitable trade in tropical goods. Another reason why they wanted to take over the East Sudan was because it offered an important means for penetrating into Central Africa. The Nile was a natural route leading into the interior. Moreover, the occupation of the Sudan was closely linked with the Egyptian question. Any Power which gained control over the flow of the Nile in the Sudan would automatically dominate Egypt.

How was the division of Africa accomplished? Individual European adventurers acted as the vanguard of the capitalist Powers in Africa.

South-West Africa was seized single-handedly by the German adventurer and trader Lüderitz. East Africa was ruled

by the German conquistador Peters. Nigeria was conquered by a handful of enterprising Britishers, who founded the Nigerian Company. The Congo was seized by the explorer Stanley, who was backed by the King of Belgium, Leopold II. If their schemes failed, they were forgotten. If they succeeded, their governments took them under their wing, despatched a fleet or army to their "domains" and declared the captured land their colony.

The initiative came from individual enterprising colonial profit-seekers. The picture was the same in the Sudan. In the seventies, not a single European state undertook operations in the Sudan in its own name. The direct struggle between the Powers began in the Sudan after 1881, following the British occupation of Egypt.

How did the adventurers penetrate into the Sudan? They took advantage of the desire of the Egyptian Khedive Ismail, which was prompted by his cotton policy, to gain possession of the entire Nile Basin. Ismail was setting up cotton plantations in Egypt and expanding the irrigation system. He realised, however, that he could keep the Egyptian irrigation system fully supplied only by laying hands on the Nile Basin and all its tributaries. Hence, Ismail's wars in Ethiopia and in Equatorial Africa. The Khedive's aggressive policy attracted a number of European adventurers. The first of these was the Englishman Samuel Baker. In 1869, Ismail gave Baker the administration of the Equatorial Province of Sudan and the city of Lado, which he came to regard as his own private domain. His seizure of the ivory trade, which passed through the province, yielded him considerable profits. From here he undertook a series of campaigns against the regions south of the Sudan—Lake Albert and Unioro—and added them to his territory. Altogether he operated in this area for five years.

In 1874, Baker was succeeded by another Englishman—General Gordon. On becoming Governor of the Equatorial Province, Gordon continued Baker's expeditions, reached Lake Victoria, sent a mission to the ruler of Uganda and took over the entire region of the White Nile sources. He was accompanied by a large group of European explorers, the Italian, Romolo Gessi, the German, Eduard Schnitzer (Emin Pasha), the Frenchman, Linan de Belfont, the American, Long, and others.

Simultaneously with the expansion in the region of the White Nile, competition began for possession of the Blue Nile sources, i.e., for Ethiopia. In 1874, the Swiss, Munstenger, left the port of Massawa (now Eritrea), which was in the hands of the Egyptians, and set out for the Ethiopian interior. He managed to seize Keren and penetrate into the eastern part of Ethiopia, in the region of Harrar, which he added to the Egyptian domains. In 1875, the Egyptians took over the cities of Zeila and Berbera (in present-day Northern Somalia).

In 1875-76, Egyptian forces under the Dane, Anderup, penetrated into the mountainous regions of Ethiopia and occupied Adua. But the Ethiopians repelled their attacks and the Egyptian-Ethiopian War of 1874-76 ended less successfully for the Egyptians than the war in the Equatorial Province. They were forced out of the Ethiopian interior and retained only certain coastal districts.

Simultaneously Egypt expanded in a third direction, towards Darfur. The region of Darfur, which was situated in the western part of the Sudan, had been an independent sultanate till 1874, when the Egyptians launched their campaign, entrusting Zobeir, the ruler of Bahr El-Ghazal, with the task of conquest. Zobeir carried out his assignment and was afterwards summoned to Cairo, where he was awarded the title of pasha and accorded all sorts of honours. He was not allowed to return to Sudan, however, and a European was sent to Darfur to take his place. This evoked big uprisings in Darfur and Bahr El-Ghazal, led by the Sultan of Darfur and Suleiman, Zobeir Pasha's son. The actions of the two feudal lords lacked co-ordination, however, and Gordon Pasha, who worked on behalf of the Egyptian authorities, put down both uprisings.

In 1877, General Gordon was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan. He kept the German, Eduard Schnitzer, as Governor of the Equatorial Province, and appointed his European collaborators as governors of the other provinces. The Italian, Romolo Gessi, who had defeated Suleiman ibn Zobeir, became Governor of Kordofan, the Austrian, Slatin Pasha, became governor of Darfur; the Englishman, Lup-ton, became the ruler of Bahr El-Ghazal and the German, Gigler, became Gordon's immediate assistant. In this way, Sudan, though formally under the control of the Egyptians,

became the property of a handful of extremely enterprising and greedy international adventurers. They levied such heavy taxes on the people (both in cash and in kind) and robbed the population to such an extent that a wave of uprisings against the Europeans and European-Egyptian rule soon swept the Sudan.

THE UPRISINGS OF THE MAHDISTS. In 1881, a popular uprising flared up against European rule. It was headed by the roving Dervish monk, Mohammed Ahmed, who declared himself the Mahdi, i.e., the Messiah.

Mohammed Ahmed was born in 1843 on an island in the Nile near Dongola. His father was a carpenter. His brothers were engaged in the same trade. With his father and brothers, Mohammed Ahmed had roamed the Nile Valley and the Sudan since childhood and was thoroughly familiar with the ways and manners of the people. After his father's death, Mohammed Ahmed entered the Moslem brotherhood of Samaniya in the city of Berber in the northern part of the Sudan to study theology. After graduating from the *madrasah* (collegiate mosque), he became a mendicant Dervish, until he finally settled on the large Abba Island, south of Khartoum on the White Nile, where his brothers were engaged in various crafts. The island became a centre, from which wandering Dervishes spread his teachings to all corners of the Sudan. His disciples advocated asceticism. They held the Turks, Egyptians and Europeans jointly responsible for the corruption of morals in the Sudan. They described the Turks and Egyptians as false Moslems and apostates and called on the people to restore the former purity of early Islam, to restore universal equality and fraternity, to share out property, estates and land on an equal basis and to confiscate the landed estates from the Turco-Egyptians and the Sudanese feudal lords. They also called for an uprising to end European plunder and the tyranny of the Turco-Egyptian pashas. "Better a thousand graves than to pay a single dirham (Arabic coin) of the tax," they would say.

Thus, Mohammed Ahmed's preaching, though based on moral and religious postulates, called for national liberation and class struggle, and was a product of the entire economic and political situation in the Sudan.

In August 1881, during Ramadan, Mohammed Ahmed proclaimed himself Mahdi, the Messiah, and summoned the Sudanese people to rebel. The situation was ripe for an uprising. A political crisis was brewing in Egypt. The Powers and Egypt herself were preoccupied and there was a real opportunity for decisive action in the Sudan.

The outbreak of the uprising has been described by witnesses and contemporaries as follows. In August 1881, an official of the Egyptian Government arrived on Abba Island from Khartoum. He presented himself to Mohammed Ahmed and told the Mahdi that he was charged with planning opposition to the government, and that he must go to Khartoum to justify himself before the ruler of the country. Mohammed Ahmed replied that by the grace of God and the Prophet he himself was the master of the country and that he would never go to Khartoum to make excuses to anyone. The official left for Khartoum but, soon after his departure, a punitive expedition consisting of two companies and armed with only one cannon arrived on Abba Island. The complement of the expedition indicated that the Mohammed Ahmed movement was not being taken very seriously. The mahdists completely destroyed the expedition.

After the defeat of the expedition, Mohammed Ahmed decided to cross over to Kordofan together with his followers. In Kordofan the ranks of his detachment were swelled by numerous new supporters and became a rebel army many thousand strong.

Who were the Mahdi's followers? What were the driving forces of the mahdist uprising? Most of his followers were peasants, nomads, slaves and artisans. The Mahdi's right-hand man, Abdullah, related that while the poor flocked to them in crowds they were shunned by the wealthy, whose concern for their property, for that earthly filth prevented them from enjoying and partaking of the true bliss of heaven.

Mahdi urged his followers to wage a holy war. Like the Prophet Mohammed, he called them his *ansars* (helpers), and promised eternal bliss for those who fell in battle and four-fifths of the captured booty for the survivors.

Slatin Pasha, who left a detailed account of the uprising, wrote that for over 60 years the Sudan had belonged to the

Turks and Egyptians. True, during this period there had been cases when some tribes had refused to pay tribute, for which they had been punished, but nobody had yet dared to rebel against the country's authorities or declare actual war on them. But now a beggar, an unknown *fakir* (hermit) with a handful of hungry, poorly armed adherents had appeared and was winning one victory after another.

When the Mahdi pitched camp in the mountains of Kordofan, the poor came flocking to him from all over the Sudan, bringing with them their wives and children. Here they formed guerilla detachments, chose their leaders and ambushed government posts, tax-gatherers and armed detachments which had been sent out to collect the taxes. Slatin Pasha wrote that the poor hoped the revolt would improve their conditions. Throughout the country tax-gatherers, government officials and armed posts were attacked and either wiped out or forced to turn back.

The national element played an important part in the Mahdi uprising. Slatin Pasha wrote in this connection that their vanity was flattered by the fact that a Sudanese had become the Mahdi, and that, consequently, the Sudan would be ruled by one of their own people, and not by foreigners.

For the most part the Sudanese feudal lords and rich slave traders were hostile to the uprising. The preaching of the equal sharing of property and land was deeply opposed to their interests. But they often had to reckon with the insurgent forces. None of them were consistent in their support of the Mahdi, but some of them either compromised with him or tried to work themselves into his favour to prevent the redistribution of their property or to use the Mahdi for their own ends.

Soon all of Kordofan had joined the Mahdi and several European and Egyptian punitive expeditions were repelled.

In the autumn of 1881, Gieger, who was now the Governor of Kordofan, sent an expedition against the Mahdi under the command of Said Mohammed Pasha. The expedition, however, did not achieve its goal and its commander, fearing defeat, turned back.

In December 1881, the Governor of Fashoda, Rashid Bey, despatched a fresh expedition under the German Bergchoff to fight the Mahdi in Kordofan. This expedition was utterly defeated.

In March 1882, a 6,000-strong expeditionary corps from Khartoum under Yusef Pasha Shelali set out for Kordofan. In June of the same year it was completely destroyed.

In September 1882, the mahdists besieged El-Obeid, the capital of Kordofan. The city fell on the 18th of February, 1883, culminating the conquest of Kordofan. From here the uprising spread to all the other regions of the Sudan.

1883 was a year of decisive victories for the mahdists. In the spring of the same year, a large Anglo-Egyptian force, under the British general, Hicks, arrived in Kordofan. After operating in the area for eight months, it was utterly defeated. The insurgents employed scorched earth tactics in their fight against Hicks. They drove away the cattle, burnt settlements and filled up the wells. In a battle north of El-Obeid, on November 5, 1883, Hicks's exhausted army was finally routed and General Hicks himself was killed. Some of his men went over to the insurgents. It must be admitted that Hicks's detachment included many of the Egyptian soldiers who only a year ago (1882) had served in Arabi's army against the British. As a form of punishment, they had been despatched to the Sudan. From the political point of view, this force was unfit for punitive operations and Cromer himself described how these soldiers exclaimed in battle: "Oh Effendina Arabi! If you only knew the position Tewfik has placed us in!"¹—and threw down their arms.

In August 1883, the uprising spread to the Red Sea provinces, where the mahdists inflicted a series of defeats on the Anglo-Egyptian forces led by General Baker. By the close of 1883, all the provinces of Sudan were in the hands of the insurgents. In December 1883, Slatin Pasha, the Governor of Darfur, gave up further resistance. At the outset of 1884, Lupton, the Governor of Bahr El-Ghazal, surrendered. Thus the entire country, both east and west of the Nile, was controlled by the Mahdi, except for a narrow strip of land in the Nile valley that remained under Anglo-Egyptian rule. Here the position was hopeless because the Mahdists could at any moment cut off the valley and disrupt communications with Egypt.

Meanwhile, the British authorities in Egypt resorted to the following manoeuvre. Since the uprising was directed

¹ Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London, 1908, Vol. I, p. 354.

against Egyptian domination, they decided to declare the Sudan independent of Egypt, but to appoint the Englishman, Gordon, Governor-General of the Sudan. In other words, they wanted to come to an understanding with the Mahdi and, with his support, rule the Sudan as a British colony.

On February 18, 1884, Gordon and his aide Stewart arrived in Khartoum, where he began to conduct this new policy. He proclaimed the Sudan independent of Egypt, wisely keeping for himself the post of Governor-General, and appointed the Mahdi Sultan of Kordofan. Furthermore, Gordon abolished all the arrears of the past and pardoned the imprisoned defaulters. A huge number of peasants had been imprisoned for not paying their taxes. Gordon released them. He felt that by so doing he could achieve a compromise with the Mahdi, but the mahdists saw through his trick. They had no intention of letting the Sudan pass under British control and in March 1884, replied to Gordon's proposals by besieging Khartoum.

In the fall of 1884, a 7,000-strong army under General Wolseley, the conqueror of Egypt, set out to Gordon's rescue, but failed to reach Khartoum. On January 23, 1885, all resistance stopped in beleaguered Khartoum and the mahdists occupied the city. Gordon was killed during the assault, as were the other Englishmen with him. Wolseley and his army withdrew to Egypt. In the remaining months of 1885, the mahdists completed the conquest of the Nile valley.

Thus within a period of four years the Mahdi State, which embraced the whole of the eastern Sudan (with the exception of a small region north of Dongola and the Equatorial Province), was formed.

THE INTERNAL SYSTEM OF THE MAHDI STATE.
The Mahdi died soon after the conquest of Khartoum and leadership passed to his right-hand man, Abdullah, who had adopted the title of caliph.

This newly arisen state, which in spite of everything, continued to exist for 13 years, right up to 1898, was an armed camp besieged on all sides by the enemy and continuously blockaded. The chief task of the Mahdi State was the organisation of defence. As a means to this end, Caliph Abdullah built primitive arsenals, factories and dockyards.

He also repaired ships left behind by the Egyptians and even set up a printing shop. He used captured Europeans as experts for the organisation of the army and the war industry. Among the Europeans in his service were Slatin, Romolo Gessi and Lupton. Slatin openly describes the acts of sabotage they resorted to, their negligence, and how they dragged out the ship repairs, ruined the equipment at the war factories and so on.

Surrounded on all sides by hostile forces (not to mention the enemy within), the state always had to use terror against the traitors. This was the second most important function of Abdullah and the Mahdi State.

At first the state had certain democratic features. The army consisted of peasants, nomads and slaves. Many of its commanders were men of humble birth. Taxes were considerably reduced and the officers and functionaries of the state adhered to an ascetic way of life. The chief *cadi* (judge) of the Mahdi State received forty talers a month, i.e., the average wage of an artisan. Other officials received from twenty to thirty talers a month.

The mahdists were against individual wealth and aspired to universal equality. Marauders and robbers were strictly punished. The Mahdi forbade his followers to ride horses and called on all true believers to please Allah by going about on foot. Orders were given to hand over articles of gold and jewels to the *Beit El-Mal* (Treasury), which supervised the economic life of the Sudan. Only one sheep could be slaughtered for a wedding feast and bride money (*kalim*) was reduced to ten talers for a girl and five talers for a widow.

Despite all its levelling, democratic tendencies, this movement, basically peasant in nature, did not lead to the liquidation of the existing feudal relations in the Sudan. The natural laws characteristic of many peasant movements had their effect. Many peasant movements are known to history. They have usually ended in defeat because of their spontaneous character, because they have lacked a clear-cut programme, a clear understanding of their aims, carefully thought out tactics, and the like. The peasant movement in the Sudan was victorious, but it was unable to liquidate the feudal relations against which it had fought.

Engels clearly stressed this aspect of Sudanese mahdism.

He spoke of it in connection with the religious popular movements in Africa in the Middle Ages. He regarded these movements as conflicts between the poor nomads and the rich townspeople. "The townspeople," he wrote, "grow rich, luxurious and lax in the observation of the 'law' (the canon law—*U.L.*). The Bedouins, poor and hence of strict morals, contemplate with envy and covetousness these riches and pleasures. Then they unite under a prophet, a Mahdi, to chastise the apostates and restore the observation of the ritual and the true faith and to appropriate in recompense the treasures of the renegades. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the renegades were: a new purge of the faith is required, a new Mahdi arises and the game starts again from the beginning. That is what happened from the conquest campaigns of the African Almoravids and Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum who so successfully thwarted the English. . . . All these movements are clothed in religion but they have their source in economic causes; and yet, even when they are victorious, they allow the old economic conditions to persist untouched. So the old situation remains unchanged and the collision recurs periodically."¹

This is the key to the comprehension of the Mahdi State, where everything remained as of old. Much less than a hundred years were to elapse before the feudal degeneration of the leaders of the movement took place. Feudal degeneration developed extremely rapidly and, five years after the occupation of Khartoum, the same chief justice who had originally led the life of an ascetic and monk was the owner of vast estates and a multitude of slaves. It is characteristic that the Mahdi State did not do away with slave-holding. A number of measures to restrict the slave trade were adopted and that was all. The trade in male slaves was forbidden. Captive males were not sold, but were used for work on the estates of the caliph and his associates. The caliph gave the prisoners away as slaves to other tribes on which he depended. But the trade in female slaves continued and slave ownership itself as an institution was preserved. The mahdists did not grant freedom to the slaves, although they had taken part in the mahdist movement in hope of

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Moscow, 1966, p. 282.

liberation. This gave rise to a number of slave uprisings against the Mahdi State.

As long as the mahdists waged victorious wars during the uprising, the moral and political upsurge furthered the cohesion of the tribes but, after victory, signs of discord appeared in their ranks. Some tribes, especially those of Kordofan, where Caliph Abdullah came from, were in a privileged position, while others, especially those of the Nile valley, where Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed came from, were worse off. Most of the booty was usually handed over to the Kordofan tribes. The Nile tribes were displeased and waged a struggle against their privileged counterparts.

The Mahdi's relatives, the sherifs, provoked a rebellion in Khartoum. This was an uprising of the democratic elements in the movement against the degenerate feudal leaders. This was an uprising of the tribes of the Nile valley and also of carpenters and the sailors of the Sudanese Nile Fleet.

Weakened internally by the intertribal and class struggle, the Mahdi State had to meet continuous attacks by its external enemies.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE POWERS AGAINST THE MAHDI STATE. The Mahdi State had to wage a persistent struggle against its external enemies. The fight against the Anglo-Egyptian army, which was still holding the regions of Suakin and Wadi-Halfa, went on from 1885 to 1886. Between 1887 and 1889, the mahdists fought the Ethiopian Negus (sovereign) in the east and the Darfur Sultan in the west. In 1891, they had to fight the Anglo-Egyptian army on the Red Sea coast and the insurgents in Kordofan and Darfur.

In 1896, the struggle of the Mahdi State against the European Powers entered the crucial stage.

Having conquered Egypt, the British began to expand the cotton plantations; in the nineties, work began on the construction of a big reservoir near Aswan. In light of this, the British decided to gain a foothold in the region of the Nile sources and annihilate the Mahdi State at all costs.

France also sought possession of the Nile sources and the Anglo-French contest in the partition of Africa reached a

new pitch of intensity. On the one hand, the French wanted to fortify their position in Ethiopia (i.e., the region of the Blue Nile sources), where they had acquired considerable influence over the new Negus, Menelik. On the other hand, while gaining a foothold in the West and Central Sudan, they also intended to spread their influence to the East Sudan, i.e., to the region of the White Nile sources. The French expansion in East and West Africa forced the British to speed up their campaign against the Sudan.

The British planned to use other powers in their fight against the French. They supported the Italians in the struggle against French expansion in Ethiopia. Italy, a weak state at the time, offered no threat to Britain, who readily exploited Italian-French differences to prevent French expansion in Ethiopia. She also encouraged Belgian expansion (from the direction of the Congo) to counterpoise that of the French in the region of the White Nile sources.

Between 1893 and 1894, the Italians, having gained a foothold in Eritrea (on the Red Sea coast), invaded the Sudan and took over Kassala.

In 1895, the Italians started a war against Ethiopia, which evoked a big upsurge of patriotic feelings in the area. The people rallied their forces to repel the Italians and defeated them near Adua on March 1, 1896. Ethiopia was helped in this war by France and Russia, particularly by France, who after the war, strengthened her influence in that region.

In 1894, Britain concluded an agreement with Belgium on the division of the spheres of influence in the upper reaches of the White Nile. Britain leased the Equatorial Province of the Sudan, the Lado Enclave, to the Belgian "Association of the Congo". This region was owned by the Belgians till 1910, when it was reincorporated in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Having received this region on lease, in 1894, the Belgians invaded the Mahdi State and thus the Mahdi State, which was already fighting the Italians in the east, had to fight the Belgians in the south.

After the Battle of Adua, France decided to use her fortified position in Ethiopia to organise a campaign against the Sudan. In the meanwhile, France had received concessions for the construction of a railway from Jibuti to Addis-Ababa. The railway was to be extended beyond the confines

of Ethiopia so it would cross the entire African continent from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. Simultaneously, Colonel Marchand, the French Commander in Africa, was instructed to thrust forward with his army from the Central Sudan to the upper reaches of the Nile. In March 1896, Britain, in turn, decided to despatch an Anglo-Egyptian expedition under Kitchener to the East Sudan.

Thus in 1896, Britain and France were operating directly against the Mahdi State. Britain proceeded with her troops from the north, under the command of Kitchener, and France from the west under the command of Marchand.

On July 10, 1898, Marchand reached Fashoda and stopped here. On September 2, 1898, Kitchener marched on Omdurman, the capital of the Mahdi State, which was situated opposite Khartoum, on the other side of the Nile. Here a decisive battle took place between the Anglo-Egyptian forces and the mahdists. In this battle Kitchener used a new weapon, the machine-gun. The mahdists, armed with outdated rifles, spears and daggers, advanced in a solid body, defying death, and Kitchener mowed them down with machine-gun fire. Over 20,000 mahdists perished in the fighting. This was the complete defeat of the mahdist army, the remnants of which retreated westwards, into Kordofan. Kitchener did not pursue them for the time being, but quickly moved his troops to the south and on September 19, 1898, he advanced on Fashoda (now Kodok).

FASHODA. In Fashoda the British found themselves face to face with the French. This event led to the famous international Fashoda Crisis. Lenin wrote in his chronicle of events that Britain was "on the verge of war with France."¹ Later France invented a story to the effect that she had expected help from Menelik, the Ethiopian Negus. Despite his promises, however, the Negus had not sent reinforcements and France was compelled to order Marchand to retreat.

Matters, however, had been decided not by the balance of forces in Africa, but on an international scale. In the meanwhile, Britain had been negotiating an alliance with Germany, and France, fearing a war on two fronts, did not

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 39, p. 686.

venture to act against Britain. After lengthy talks, on November 4, 1898, the French government ordered Marchand to retreat from Fashoda. The Fashoda conflict ended in France's capitulation.

Several months later, in March 1899, an agreement was concluded between Britain and France on the delimitation of spheres of influence in Africa, according to which the East Sudan passed completely under the British sphere of influence. The agreement put an end to the age-old struggle between Britain and France over the partition of Africa. Anglo-French contradictions had reached their climax in Fashoda.

The Fashoda events marked the beginning of a rapprochement between Britain and France, which led to the Treaty of the Entente. The emergence of a new rival (Germany) was another reason for the rapprochement.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM. After Britain had gained a foothold in the East Sudan, it only remained to find a valid excuse for the conquest of the country. This involved considerable difficulties since East Sudan formally belonged to Egypt and, consequently, to Turkey, for Egypt was still a part of the Ottoman Empire and a direct conquest might entail a whole series of international complications. Britain legalised the seizure by means of the so-called Anglo-Egyptian condominium.

On January 19, 1899, an agreement was signed in Cairo by Lord Cromer, for Great Britain, and by Butrus Ghali, for Egypt. In the Preamble to the Agreement the reason given for the condominium was that Egypt had lost the Sudan in consequence of her misrule. The Egyptian Government "consented" to give Britain access to the administration of the country in return for the aid she had rendered with regard to the Sudan.

According to this agreement, the supreme authority in the Sudan was the governor-general, who wielded absolute civil, military, legislative and executive power. The governor-general was nominated by the British Government and appointed by a khedival decree. His dismissal also had to be sanctioned by the British Government. No Egyptian laws could be instituted on the territory of the East Sudan without the permission of the governor-general. He received

the consuls of the foreign Powers in the Sudan and had the right to reject their candidacies.

What part did Egypt play in the administration of the Sudan? Apart from the British forces, Egypt also kept a battalion in the Sudan. A number of second-rate official posts were given to the Egyptians. Egypt had to bear the entire financial burden of the occupation and engaged to give the Sudanese administration £750,000 sterling annually for the occupation expenses of the Sudan and for administration of the country, which was no small sum, especially for the Egyptian budget.

British governors were placed at the head of all the provinces of the Sudan. The only exception was Darfur in the westernmost part of the country, where power remained in the hands of the local sultans who had pledged vassal loyalty to the British colonial government. The Darfur sultanate existed till 1916, when a sultan instigated an anti-British uprising, after which it was abolished and Darfur became a province of the Sudan directly subordinate to the British Governor.

In 1899, the Sudan was officially renamed the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Having established this joint regime, Britain set about wiping out the last remnants of the Mahdi forces, which had retreated to the steppes of Kordofan.

In November 1899, Kitchener despatched his troops to Kordofan and on November 25 routed the remnants of the mahdists at Jedid, Caliph Abdullah himself being killed in the battle. El-Obeid, the capital of the mahdists, fell on December 17, 1899. The uprising was defeated, although isolated mahdist detachments continued to offer resistance in various parts of Sudan for some time to come.

The British had great difficulty in exercising control over the Sudan. From 1900 till 1927, not a single year passed in the Sudan without an uprising, none of which, however, embraced more than separate regions or separate tribes. They were all of a local and isolated character and, accordingly, doomed to failure.

ALGERIA IN 1870-1914

REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION IN ALGERIA. The Paris Commune had an immediate impact on Algeria, a long-suffering land oppressed both by Bonaparte militarists and the big bourgeoisie. The uprising of the Paris Communards was closely linked with the revolutionary events in Algeria of 1870-71, and coincided with the big national liberation uprising of 1871. This coincidence was not accidental. The collapse of the Second Empire showed the Algerian Arabs and Berbers just how weak and corrupt the French bourgeois state had become. They seized up the situation and launched another attempt to shake off the hated foreign rule.

The course of events in these turbulent years was somewhat complex. The first news of the events in France, of the French army's capitulation and surrender of the Emperor, and of the proclamation of a republic on September 4, 1870, reached Algeria on the same night. The Arabs and Berbers, who comprised the main bulk of the population (2,100,000), were still unprepared for immediate action and the first reaction to the events in Paris came from the French population of Algeria, which numbered approximately 270,000.

The social make-up of the French population of Algeria was not uniform. Groups of French workers and intellectuals had come into being in the midst of the French bourgeoisie and colonists. All sections of the French population of Algeria, with the exception of a handful of bankers and concessionaires, were against the Bonaparte regime. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of bankers and concessionaires lived in Paris, not in Algeria. Why were the local French colonists and bourgeoisie opposed to the regime of the Second Empire? The reason lay in the struggle for the monopolistic exploitation of Algeria, for the seizure of her

natural resources. Napoleon III had been handing out concessions to the big metropolitan bourgeoisie and Parisian financiers and openly cheating the Algerian group of French capitalists out of their share. The whole system of the French colonial rule in Algeria was designed primarily to serve the interests of the big Parisian concessionaires.

The local bourgeoisie could take no direct part in Algeria's administration, and in 1852, was even deprived of the right to send its deputies to the French Parliament (a right which it had been granted in 1848 under the Second Republic). The post of governor-general was usually given to high ranking French militarists such as Marshal Pelissier, Marshal MacMahon and others and the colonists' and French bourgeoisie's discontent was directed mainly against the "dictatorship of the epaulettes". These circles demanded that the "military regime" be abolished, that Algeria's administration be entrusted to the local French bourgeoisie and that a settlers' colony on the American model (with complete expulsion and extermination of the native population) should be set up in Algeria. Some colonists even maintained that Algeria (not Arab Algeria, of course, but a French Algeria with its native population completely enslaved) should secede from France altogether.

Most of the French colonists were Orleanists or legitimists, i.e., they favoured the preservation of the monarchy, but with the possibility of changing the dynasty. The others were so-called moderate Republicans.

These bourgeois colonists decided to take advantage of Napoleon III's overthrow by seizing power in Algeria. They were afraid to get rid of the Governor-General Duroc, an appointee of the Second Empire, but they did secure the replacement of several Bonaparte officials by liberal Republicans. The representatives of this group filled nearly all the key posts in the local administration.

Apart from this group, however, the Revolution of 1871 brought democratic emigré circles on to the political scene. It must be borne in mind that Algeria served as a place of exile for all the opposition elements in France. Between 1848 and 1849, 20,500 Parisian workers, participants of the July uprising of 1848, had been banished to Algeria. After the Bonaparte coup of December 2, 1851, 9,530 active Republicans, mainly petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, were

sent there. The exiles lived a hard life and many of them died of poverty, disease and the heat.

These French Democrats naturally had no intention of being left out of political events. On September 5, 1870, thousands of French workers and petty-bourgeois democrats organised a mass demonstration, pulled the imperial eagles down from all the buildings and hoisted a pole topped by a Phrygian cap, the symbol of the Revolution, in the courtyard of the governor-general. Democratic organisations were set up—defence committees, the Republican Association of Algeria, the national guards and municipalities.

Defence committees were formed in all the French-populated cities of Algeria. They were headed by the Algiers Defence Committee, which was supervised by bourgeois Republicans and petty-bourgeois democrats. The committee demanded that it be given a part in the administration of the colony, that the institutions be purged of Bonapartist elements, and that the military regime be abolished. The native population was not represented on any of these committees. The bourgeois Republicans, however, sabotaged the defence committees' attempts to establish control over the prefects and sub-prefects. The leader of the Republican bourgeoisie—the prefect of Algiers, Warnier—left the old mechanism of power untouched and even secured the removal of working-class representatives from the defence committees.

The Republican Association of Algeria was a political organisation of revolutionary workers and petty-bourgeois democrats with branches in all the cities of Algeria. It organised general meetings and published newspapers. The organisation was comprised of workers, members of the Algerian section of the International (not Marxists, but mainly Proudhonists). The Republican Association felt that all power in Algeria should be vested in the elective municipalities—communes, and that Algeria should be a federation of such municipalities—communes. It goes without saying that in both the Republican Association and in the communes contemplated by the Association the hopes of the Arab-Berber population were completely ignored. The petty-bourgeois democrats and Proudhonists were chauvinists like the big French bourgeoisie.

True, individual Arabs as well as Jews and Europeans of non-French origin were admitted to the Association. Although the members of the Republican Association admitted Arabs to their ranks, however, at best they remained indifferent to the native population's struggle for national liberation. As for the followers of Proudhon with their "national nihilism", they were apt to regard the conversion of all Arabs into French as the solution to the national question. In October 1870, the newspaper *Algérie Française*, which was connected with the Republican Association of Algeria, defined the tasks of the national guards, which had been formed with the active participation of the Association members, in the following way: 1) struggle against the external enemy, 2) struggle for an independent Republic in Algeria if the monarchy were restored in France, 3) struggle against local popular uprisings.

The national guards, whose commanders were elected by the people, were made subordinate to the defence committees and to the elective municipalities, in which the petty-bourgeois Democratic Party had a majority. Its leader was the lawyer Romuald Vuiermoz, who in the early days of the Revolution had been elected the head of the Republican Defence Committee and the mayor of Algiers.

THE ALGERIAN COMMUNE. On October 24, 1870, General Walsin-Esterhazy, a monarchist who had stained his reputation by bloody reprisals against the workers of Oran in September 1870, was appointed the interim governor-general of Algeria. After the new governor-general's arrival (on October 28, 1870), the European workers of Algeria along with the Arab poor besieged the governor's palace. The general relinquished his post and escaped to safety in a warship, while the workers, with the help of the national guards, seized his palace. Prefect Warnier also resigned. The workers and 4,000 national guardsmen began preparations for an assault on the Admiralty, the last bulwark of the counter-revolution, which was defended by only 200 sailors. Vuiermoz, however, who had entered into negotiations with the admiral, foiled the attackers and thereby helped preserve the bastion of reaction.

When news reached Algeria on the 30th of October, 1870, that Metz had surrendered and Marshal Bazaine had capit-

ulated, fresh demonstrations were held in Algiers, Oran and other towns, to demand the use of revolutionary terror against the traitors. On November 7, the Republican Association of Algeria required that the entire administration of Algeria be handed over to the Republican defence committees. In keeping with the Association's decision, however, on the next day the Algerian municipality and the Defence Committee met to elect Vuiermoz the interim Extraordinary Commissioner of Algeria, i.e., ruler of the country. The meeting proclaimed "the commune the primordial basis of all democracy" and announced that the whole country would be a federation of communes.

This outburst, however, led to nothing. Having branded the decision of the Algerian commune as an "illegal act of usurpation", the French Government appointed the reactionary Charles de Buzer as its Extraordinary Civil Commissioner in Algeria (with the rights of governor). Vuiermoz immediately ceded power to him (November 11, 1870). At de Buzer's demand the national guards were placed under his control and all revolutionary elements were removed from the command. Thus, disrupted by small bourgeois conciliators, the movement began to decline.

What caused the failure of the democratic elements? Of course one may speak of Vuiermoz's treachery, but that is beside the point. The narrow democratic strata did not have the solid backing of the masses, certainly not of the native population. This was the reason why the colonial bourgeoisie was later able to suppress all attempts by the Algerian commune to regain power and control of the national guards.

The promulgation of the Paris Commune in March 1871 occasioned a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Algeria. Demonstrations were held throughout the country under the slogans "Long Live Paris! Down with Versailles!" The revolutionary press published detailed reports on the activities of the Paris Commune. The Republican Association of Algeria sent delegates to France. On their arrival in the capital, men like Alexandre Lambert joined the Paris Commune and became its active builders and defenders. The question of taking over power was once again raised in the Republican Association. But this time, under the influence of the petty-bourgeois conciliators, the Association declined all further struggle.

This decision was prompted by the outbreak of an Arab-Berber insurrection. The French petty-bourgeois democrats and even the proletariat in Algeria did not understand the revolutionary significance of the Arab national liberation movement. The French revolutionaries' chief mistake was their neglect of the national question. They forgot that victory over the counter-revolutionary French bourgeoisie in Algeria could be won only in alliance with the native population. They did not realise that a people who oppresses others cannot be free itself, and that they themselves had a vital interest in Algeria's national emancipation.

When, consequently, a massive liberation uprising of the native population flared up in Algeria in March 1871, the local Frenchmen with their Great Power prejudices sowed considerable strife and disorder in the working-class movement. As for Vuiermoz and the other petty-bourgeois leaders, their kow-towing to French reaction became more marked as their fear of the Arab uprising grew. In April 1871, a new French governor-general by the name of Gueydon, an ardent monarchist and clerical, who had been instructed by the Versailles leaders to put down the uprising, arrived in Algeria. Taking advantage of the cowardice of the petty-bourgeois politicians and their fear of the "Arab danger", Gueydon had no trouble in disbanding the Algerian municipality and the national guards.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION UPRISING OF 1871.
Colonial oppression brought economic ruin to the Algerian villages. Between 1868 and 1870 a terrible famine raged in the land. People ate grass and frequent cases of cannibalism were recorded. Cholera, the handmaid of famine, took toll of thousands of lives. Algeria's native population which in 1866 had numbered 2,652,000 fell by 1872 to only 2,125,000. Over 500,000 (i.e., a nearly fifth of the entire population) had perished from hunger, disease and from the atrocities of the French punitive expeditions.

Year in and year out uprisings had flared up in various regions of the country. These uprisings, however, had been local and quite often of a spontaneous character; the struggle had not been organised on a national scale and was easily suppressed by the French authorities.

Towards the close of 1870, however, the situation changed. New horizons opened up for the Arab Algerians. They were aware that France had displayed military weakness in the war of 1870-71 and that the French generals had proved ineffective. They knew about the Sedan catastrophe, about the fall of Metz and about the class struggle in France and among the Algerian French population. The Arabs realised the time had come for a decisive struggle. Their representatives in the urban centres, especially in Algiers, actively supported the French workers. Since July 1870, the villages and nomadic regions had been in a state of ferment.

Resentment increased when the people learned of the plan to transfer power in Algeria from the generals and Parisian bankers to the big French colonists, who had brutally oppressed the native population. These were the immediate and real oppressors and the Algerian peasants especially hated them. A decree issued at the end of 1870 granting the Algerian Jews the full rights of French citizens evoked considerable discontent, only stressing as it did the people's complete lack of rights. Moreover, reports of the impending transfer of refugees from Alsace-Lorraine to Algeria and of France paying indemnities to the Prussians deeply affected the Algerian peasants, who connected both events with new expropriations and taxes.

The Arab and Berber tribal uprising headed by Mohammed el-Mokrani, the ruler of the Kabyle region of Medjana (near Setif), began on March 14, 1871. A descendent of the old feudal nobility, Mokrani could not reconcile himself to the fact that from an almost independent ruler, France had turned him into a mere civil servant. Nor could he forget that France had reduced the size of his land and his revenues, countermanded his orders and forced him to accept her agents as his assistants. Mokrani had thirty tribes under his control and could muster 25,000 men.

The peasants and nomads, however, were the main force of the uprising, not the feudalists who had joined Mokrani. On April 8, 1871, the religious fraternity of Rahmaniya, which exercised influence over approximately 250 tribes, i.e., about 600,000 peasants and nomads (nearly a third of Algeria's native population), took action. The brotherhood had over 100,000 men at its disposal. Its agitators went

round the villages, bazaars and nomad camps, summoning the people to a holy war against the enemy.

After the religious brotherhood of Rahmaniya had joined the uprising, all of eastern Algeria became the scene of a great war of liberation. Mokrani's plan, which he submitted to the insurgent leaders' military council, did not call for the expulsion of the French from Algeria. It merely proposed forcing them to make concessions to the Arab and Kabyle chieftains. This plan, however, was not endorsed and it was decided to fight for the complete expulsion of the French from Algeria. Against Mokrani's advice, the insurgents took the French fortress of Bordj bou Arreridj (in Kabylia) by storm. In the course of later battles between April and May, the insurgents gained one victory after another and liberated almost the entire eastern part of the country from the French. After a mere ten months they already had 340 battles to their credit. Mokrani was killed in battle in May 1871. His place was taken by his brother, Ahmed Bu Mezrag.

The insurgents won one victory after another, while the Paris Communards held out heroically against the onslaught of the Versaillists, thereby making it impossible for the Thiers government to despatch troops to Algeria. But when the Versaillists, having routed the Communards, brought up the size of the occupation army to 85,000 men, the situation changed. By July 1871, the main forces of the uprising had been defeated and the leaders of the religious brotherhood of Rahmaniya under Sheikh Haddad surrendered. The French punitive detachments burnt villages, drove away the cattle, destroyed wells and murdered women and children. The guerillas of Kabylia, however, courageously continued the unequal fight for another six months. After their resistance had been broken, Ahmed Bu Mezrag withdrew to the south, where he fought the last rear-guard actions of the uprising. In January 1872, the last two centres of resistance, the oases of Tuggurt and Wargla, fell. Ahmed Bu Mezrag was taken prisoner and the uprising was suppressed.

The Versaillists cynically admitted that they had dealt with the Algerian insurgents in the "Parisian manner". Thousands were executed, thrown into prison or exiled to New Caledonia to do penal servitude. The rebellious tribes

paid 36,000,000 francs indemnities and 500,000 hectares of their best land were confiscated. To save the rest they had to pay the conquerors another 27,000,000 francs.

The Paris Communards and Algerian peasants had a common enemy—the French bourgeoisie. They fought this enemy simultaneously, but were unable to combine their forces in united action, thus making it easier for the French bourgeoisie to defeat both the one and the other.

ALGERIA UNDER THE FRENCH IMPERIALIST YOKE. The defeat of the 1871 uprising marked a turning point after which the French felt quite secure in Algeria. The nomad uprisings in the towns of Aures (1879) and the Walid-sidi-Sheikh uprisings in western Algeria (1881) were the Algerian people's last armed outburst in their struggle for freedom. Under the Third Republic, there could no longer be any question of large popular uprisings in a land crushed and enslaved by force of arms. Colonial exploitation and the imperialist plundering of Algeria reached their highest pitch.

The invaders' main policy was, as usual, seizure of the land. According to the law of 1873, which introduced the French land legislation in Algeria, all clan and communal lands were liable to forced partition and became private property. According to this law, any member of a commune could demand the conversion of his allotment from the collective ownership by the clan and tribe into private freehold. By destroying the commune, the law made it easier for the money-lenders and the rich colonists to buy the land. Another law, passed in 1887, further facilitated the transfer of peasant communal property to the hands of the European colonists since it renewed the division of the tribal lands between the clans and the households and also allowed the Europeans to buy the communal lands even before they had been made private property.

All these measures left the Arab peasants at the mercy of ruthless European swindlers and money-lenders. During the seventies of the 19th century the French colonists acquired 400,000 hectares of land which had been confiscated from the Arabs, and in the next forty years they acquired another 500,000 hectares. By 1917, the French owned 55 per cent of all the country's registered land.

Moreover, French colonisation still gave priority to large estates. Only 10 per cent of the colonised land fund went to the small and middle colonists, while the remaining 90 per cent went to the big colonists (about 10,000 persons). Viniculture continued to develop rapidly. A considerable part of the land which had been expropriated from the Arabs was set aside for this purpose and developed under a capitalist-type economy. The rest of the colonists' land was split up into small plots and leased out to the Arab *métayers* on the basis of the onerous *khammasat*.

The French "civilisers'" barbarous policy of seizing the land ruined the Arab peasants' farms. In their attempts to suppress the rebellious tribes, the conquerors destroyed wells, turning the blooming oases into a desert. The best pastures were taken over by the colonists. Forced into Algeria's barren and rugged hinterland, the nomads could find no fodder for their flocks, which perished from hunger and thirst, from the summer heat and the winter cold.

Algeria's rich deposits of iron ore and phosphorite were seized by French companies.

The exploitation of the iron-ore deposits, which had been discovered prior to 1871, was carried out at first on a relatively small scale. In 1879, 438,000 tons of ore were mined. But by 1913, after the deposits had been handed over in the form of concessions to Messrs. Schneider & Kreso and several other metallurgical companies, the extraction of ore had risen to 1,230,000 tons. Phosphorite deposits were discovered in 1873 on the Algerian-Tunisian border. Their exploitation was taken over by four French joint-stock companies. Some 967,000 tons of phosphorite were extracted in 1913. Copper and zinc mines were also put into operation.

A new feature in the exploitation of Algeria after 1871 was the participation of monopolies connected with the French banks. Several banks were set up on the territory of Algeria. The biggest was the *Compagnie Algérienne*, which also controlled the *Banque d'Algérie* of issue, the land bank *Crédit Foncier d'Algérie* and others.

In the seventies, in view of the growing demands of internal and foreign trade and also for military and strategic purposes, work was launched on the construction of railways. In 1870, the line from Constantine to Philippville was completed, in 1871, the Algiers-Oran line, and in 1875,

three lines—Bône-Tebessa, Bône-La Calle and Algiers-Constantine—were built in one year. In 1881, the Oran railway was built, which penetrated deep into the interior in the south. All told, 2,030 kilometres of track had been laid in Algeria by 1885.

In overseas trade the situation retained the trends of 1830-70. The increase in foreign trade in 1871-1914 was a sign of Algeria's growing importance as a market and a raw material base for French industry. The following table of Algeria's imports and exports speaks for itself (annual average in million francs):

	Imports	Exports
1871-1880	180.0	172.4
1881-1890	255.8	158.6
1891-1900	270.3	250.8
1914	527.0	375.0

Algeria imported mainly industrial goods from France. In 1874, out of 270,000,000 francs of the overall value of Algeria's imports from France, 90,000,000 francs, i.e., one-third, were accounted for by cloth and 22,000,000 by machines, metalware and other articles. This meant that the very means of creating a national manufacturing industry in Algeria was undermined and the country was doomed to play the part of an agrarian and raw material appendage of the French capitalist economy.

Nevertheless, the construction of roads, ports and various other projects, the use of hired labour in agriculture and in transport as well as the emergence of a number of small enterprises of local significance (mainly for processing agricultural produce) contributed to the formation and development of the local proletariat. Originally, these were almost exclusively French or European by birth. In the seventies, these were printers, railway workers, builders, miners, and the like. Gradually, however, Arab workers were taken on at the docks, in construction and in agriculture (somewhat later in the mining industry). The absence of exact statistical data makes it rather difficult to determine the number of workers in Algeria in the seventies and nineties of the 19th century. All that can be said is that they were relatively small in number.

The Algerian working class did not play a significant part in the social and political life of the country at the time. The only exception was 1870, when the French workers took an active part in the movement of the Algerian commune, and 1871, when the Arab agricultural workers fought together with other participants in the Algerian national liberation uprising. For many years there were no workers' organisations in Algeria. They came into being later than in France and were comprised mainly of Frenchmen. As a rule, these organisations adopted a paternal and assimilative attitude towards the Arabs and Berbers. In essence, the working-class movement in Algeria first arose as a social factor only after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

The numerous differences between the French and Algerian workers stood in the way of working class unity in Algeria. Most of the Algerians did not know French at the time, which in itself prevented the establishment of contacts with the European proletariat. The Europeans enjoyed certain privileges. They received higher wages and were given lighter and "cleaner" work. Moreover, they also had political rights, which the Algerian workers did not. The French colonial administration and the local French bourgeoisie always tried to use these factors to set the Algerian and French workers against each other, to split the ranks of the proletariat in Algeria.

The alpha and omega of the French colonial policy in Algeria was support for the privileged French minority and oppression of the rightless Arab-Berber majority. The whole Algerian population was divided into "citizens" (the French) and "subjects" (the Algerians). The "citizens" elected their deputies to the French Parliament, the municipalities and, beginning with 1898, to the Financial Delegations, a body of autonomous administration, which dealt with the local Algerian budget. One of the delegations was comprised of French colonists, one of non-colonist Frenchmen and one (the smallest and partly appointed by the governor-general) of native feudal leaders, who were the obedient tools of the colonialists. Many of the feudalists received French citizenship, ranks and decorations in return for having betrayed the people's national interests.

As for the "subjects", they were deprived of the right to

vote and had to obey the arbitrary rule of the French officials and officers without demur. The "citizens" paid the same taxes as in France, while the "subjects" were heavily taxed by the colonial authorities. The "citizens" were tried according to French laws, whereas a strict "native code" was drawn up for the "subjects". The colonial authorities could throw them into prison without trial, flog them, banish them to remote regions in the Sahara and confiscate their property. "Subjects" were not allowed to put out newspapers in their native tongue, to form their own political parties or trade unions or to assemble without the permission of the authorities. For the slightest misdemeanour against the laws laid down by the French, collective fines were imposed on whole villages, tribes and regions. Even worse were the conditions of the "subjects" in the southern part of Algeria, which had remained under the administration of the War Ministry, and in which power was wielded by French militarists. Here the "subjects" were watched over exclusively by "Arab bureaus" headed by "native affairs" officers.

THE ALGERIAN ARABS' DEMANDS. In reply to the land plunder, the brutal exploitation and the tyranny of the colonial authorities, the native Algerians waged a persistent struggle throughout the last quarter of the 19th century and during the 20th century for the abolition of the shameful "native code" and for the democratisation of the country's political system.

National organisations came into being in Algeria for the first time at the beginning of the 20th century, in connection with the general upsurge of the bourgeois-democratic liberation movements in the East in the period of the Asian people's awakening. They encountered almost no support among the masses, however, not only because of the working class' weakness, but also because of the national bourgeoisie which had only begun to develop at the time, and was restricting its activities almost exclusively to trade. Most of the local intelligentsia was connected with the bourgeoisie and had been almost completely assimilated, or in any case, considerably Frenchified. Algeria's first national organisations did not strive for independence. They merely demanded equality between Algerian Arabs and French and the abolition of the "native code". They also

demanded that Algerians should have the rights of French citizens, or, at most, Algeria should become autonomous through the creation of local bodies of self-government with broad representation of the native population.

The most moderate movement was that of the *Musulfranks* (short for Moslem-French), who, having adopted the French language and having received a French education, pressed for equality within the framework of the French colonial empire. They formed the Franco-Native Union and others of its kind, but they lacked any definite form of organisation. Of a more resolute nature were the demands of the Maghreb Union and the Algerian and Tunisian Liberation Committee, which pressed for Algeria's autonomy in the name of what they called the Maghreb nation. There was also a small group of feudal lords who placed their hopes on the Turkish Sultan. Pan-Islamic propaganda spread among all these elements, but it evoked no serious response from the masses.

In 1912, in Algeria, there were isolated outbursts against the colonial regime, mainly in the form of protests in the press and passive civil disobedience. Owing to their restricted and cliquish nature, however, these outbursts did nothing to shake French supremacy in Algeria or bring about any serious changes.

THE SEIZURE OF TUNISIA BY FRENCH IMPERIALISM

ITALY'S CLAIMS. Tunisia was the first Arab country to be made a colony during the period of imperialism. It was seized by France in 1881, i.e., a year before the British conquest of Egypt. The French bourgeoisie, however, had little by little been preparing for the take-over throughout several decades of fierce struggle against its rivals in colonial plunder. For a long time Britain had been its chief rival. In the seventies of the 19th century, however, a new actor appeared on the Tunisian scene—Italy.

No sooner had Italy emerged as a national state than she began to grow into an imperialist power with an enormous colonial appetite. According to Bismarck, Italy had the appetite of a jackal, only with rotten teeth. Italy was a small, weak beast of prey, ousted at every step by stronger beasts. In Tunisia, however, she achieved a certain degree of success by availing herself of Britain's support. The Italians managed to secure a lead-mining concession in Jebel-Recas, to forestall France in obtaining a telegraph concession, and to buy the concession for the Tunis-Goletta railway from Britain. The Italian colonisation of Tunisia and the founding of agricultural settlements there also began in the seventies.

Taking advantage of France's defeat in the war against Prussia, in 1871, Italy attempted to impose an agreement on Tunisia, which envisaged special privileges for the Italian residents. The Bey decided to resist. The Italians then began to prepare a naval expedition against Tunisia and only a joint British, French and Turkish demarche forced them temporarily to relinquish their plans.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE TUNISIAN TAKE-OVER. France opposed Italy's claims and kept Tunisia for

herself. In fierce competition with rival firms, French investors seized lands and concessions. They obtained concessions for the construction of a railway from Tunis to the Algerian border, for lead extraction, for the construction of a port in Tunis, and so on. The French Société Marseilles bought the huge estate of Enfida, covering about 90,000 hectares, i.e., nearly 350 square miles, which was intended to be a kind of French strong point inside Tunisia.

French capitalists became more and more persistent in demanding Tunisia's complete conversion from a semi-colony into a French colony. The practical aspect of Tunisia's annexation was raised at the Berlin Congress in 1878. Actually, what took place at the congress was that the Ottoman Empire was divided between the Powers, and France claimed her share.

France agreed to recognise the British and Austrian conquests (Cyprus and Bosnia, Herzegovina), and also Russia's expansion in the Balkans, under the condition that she be given the appropriate compensation, which she was. The compensation was not reflected in the Treaty of Berlin, but France received the Powers' unofficial permission to seize Tunisia. Addressing Waddington, the French representative, Bismarck declared that the fruit was ripe and all they had to do was pluck it. Germany was especially insistent in encouraging French expansion in Tunisia, since Bismarck felt this would bring a double advantage to Germany. In the first place, it would distract France from plans of revanche in Europe. Once she got tied up in African affairs, France would be forced to abandon her preparations for a European war. In the second place, the French clashed with Britain and Italy over the African question. This played into Bismarck's hands, for while France remained hostile towards Britain she could not fight in Europe, and an offended Italy would be compelled to seek support in Germany and Austria-Hungary.

In 1878, however, Britain did not bother to object to French expansion in Tunisia. Britain, Salisbury declared, had no special interests in Tunisia which could make her regard the legitimate and increasing French influence with apprehension or mistrust. At the time, Britain was preparing to take over Egypt and had no objections to giving up Tunisia to pay for this acquisition and for Cyprus.

Turkey and Italy were France's sole enemies in Tunisia, but these France could afford to ignore.

THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE. The actual seizure of Tunisia was carried out three years later, in 1881. As usual, a border incident was provoked and the French advanced into Tunisia under the pretext of maintaining order. A 30,000-strong French army crossed the Algeria-Tunisian border on April 12, 1881. A few days later, 8,000 troops disembarked at Bizerta and advanced rapidly on the capital. On May 12, the French army surrounded Kasr-Said, the Bey's palace in Bardo (a suburb in Tunis) and forced the Bey to sign a treaty which became known as the Treaty of Kasr-Said (the name of the palace) or the Treaty of Bardo (the name of the place where it was signed).

The word "protectorate" was not used in the Bardo Treaty but, in effect, this was an agreement on Tunisia's colonial enslavement. According to this treaty, the Bey assented to Tunisia's occupation by French troops under the pretext of "restoring order and security on the border and coast". France took upon herself the conduct of Tunisia's foreign relations and guaranteed to carry out the agreements concluded between the Tunisian Government and the European Powers. France also obtained the right of regulating Tunisia's financial organisation in such a way as to ensure the payment of the public debt and guarantee the rights of Tunisia's creditors. To supervise the implementation of the treaty, France appointed a minister-resident who became the sole negotiator between the French Government and the Tunisian authorities. Finally, France pledged her aid to the Tunisian Bey should he, personally, or his dynasty be threatened.

All the Powers, except Turkey and Italy, recognised the French seizure of Tunisia. The Italian and Turkish governments protested, but in vain. The Turks declared that the Tunisian Bey was a Turkish functionary and, as such, was not competent to conclude international agreements. The Turkish Sultan continued to regard himself as the Tunisian sovereign right up to World War I and only on the basis of international legal agreements concluded after the war did he give up his rights to Tunisia.

The Tunisian people were the only ones who offered any real resistance to the French. Soon after the conclusion of

the Bardo Treaty, a fresh uprising flared up in Tunisia and for a long time the French had to fight for every inch of land. The insurgents lacked clear-cut political organisation. They were led by representatives of a religious brotherhood whose actions were guided by the medieval slogans of the crusades. The struggle lasted for several months and on July 15, 1881, after a ten-day bombardment, the French captured Sfax. In October, they occupied Kairouan and on November 19, Gafsa. It was not until November 30, 1881, that the French, having occupied Gabès, finally managed to suppress the uprising and take over the entire country.

Having conquered Tunisia, the French set about creating a colonial state and legal superstructure to ensure the domination of French monopoly capital there. On June 9, 1881, in elaboration of the Bardo Treaty, the Bey had signed a decree making the French representative the sole official intermediary in Tunisia's mutual relations with other Powers. The Bey had thus formally declined all independence in foreign affairs. On June 8, 1883, a Franco-Tunisian Convention was signed in La Marsa, depriving him of independence in domestic affairs as well. It was in this convention that the word "protectorate" first appeared in print. The La Marsa Convention confirmed the Treaty of 1881 and compelled the Bey to put into effect any administrative, legal and financial reforms which the French Government might deem useful. The convention fixed the sum of the basic debt (125,000,000 francs) and the floating debt (17,000,000 francs). France herself undertook to satisfy the creditors' claims. On October 2, 1884, the International Finance Commission was dissolved and all Tunisia's financial affairs passed into the French resident-general's control. According to a decree issued by the President of France on November 10, 1884, the resident-general was empowered to ratify and implement "all the decrees issued by His Highness the Bey". On June 23, 1885, the resident-general was invested with "the full authority of the Republic" within Tunisia's boundaries. All the French ground and naval forces in Tunisia were placed under his control as well as all the administrative bodies supervising the affairs both of the European and local Tunisian population.

In the provinces, the resident-general exercised his authority through the agency of the French civil controllers,

which was set up on October 4, 1884. The civil controllers were subordinate to the resident-general and could be appointed and dismissed only with his approval. The entire country, with the exception of the southern territories, which had been placed under the immediate control of the French military, was divided into thirteen districts of civil control. Each district was comprised of one or several *kaidats* (administrative and territorial divisions) headed by *kaid*s, local Tunisian officials, who were appointed by the Bey on the orders of the French authorities. Formally, the *kaid*s were responsible to the Bey government. Actually, they were wholly dependent on the French civil controllers, who, according to the circular of July 22, 1887, had the right to "supervise the native chiefs' administrative activities and to give them orders either orally or through correspondence".

In this way, by a series of decrees, a colonial state and legal superstructure which ensured the French monopolies' dictatorship and served their interests was set up in the first years of the protectorate. In effect, the French resident-general wielded absolute power. Although the Tunisian feudal state had not been destroyed (herein lies the difference between a protectorate and an ordinary colony), it was turned into an auxiliary apparatus of foreign power. At the head stood the French resident-general and under him, powerful administrative bosses, all of them French, who supervised each separate branch of state administration. The Bey remained on the throne, but he no longer exercised any power, having no right to issue decrees or orders without the French resident-general's approval. True, he retained two ministers (the First Minister and the Minister of the Pen) and several departments, but these were controlled by French advisers. All the state revenues were handled by the French resident-general. As a reward for having betrayed Tunisia's national interests, the Bey received 1,250,000 francs annually for the upkeep of his family, court and government.

ITALY AND THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE. France had taken over Tunisia in the teeth of vehement but futile protests from Italy. But Italy had no intention of renouncing her claims. In spite of everything, the Italian

Government continued to send its agents to Tunisia and to encourage Italian colonisation. Italian farmers and merchants settled in Tunisia and Italian firms and land societies appeared. Driven by need, many Italians emigrated to Tunisia in search of work and formed a rapidly growing colony there.

On the foreign scene, Italy concluded a whole series of treaties and agreements against France and French colonial expansion in North Africa. In reply to the establishment of a French protectorate over Tunisia, on May 20, 1882, Italy signed the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. In 1887 and 1891, she concluded the Madrid agreements with Spain against French claims in Maghreb, to which Austria-Hungary also adhered.

At the end of the 19th century, however, Italy began to reconsider her foreign policy and agreed to a compromise with France on colonial questions. In 1896, she recognised the French protectorate over Tunisia, having received a number of advantages for herself. According to the agreement of 1896, France recognised the Italian residents' special position in Tunisia. The Italians received the right to settle in Tunisia, to buy real estate and to build their own schools and hospitals.

The Italians' numerical superiority and their fairly important positions in Tunisia was a constant source of anxiety to the French colonialists, who did all they could to limit Italian immigration and assimilate the Italian immigrants. Nevertheless, up till 1931, the Italian population invariably outnumbered the French in Tunisia, a fact which was widely used by Italian nationalistic propaganda and diplomacy.

TUNISIA UNDER THE FRENCH IMPERIALIST YOKE. The French protectorate cleared the way for unrestricted exploitation of the Tunisian people and the plunder of their national resources by the French monopolies. People came to Tunisia in search of easy profit, seizing lands, concessions and contracts.

Land plunder in Tunisia was as widespread as in Algeria, but developed faster. The colonial authorities did all they could to encourage and even organise French colonisation. In the very first years of the protectorate, a number of

decrees were issued ensuring the mass expropriation of the Arab lands. Already by July 1, 1885, a land law was promulgated, introducing land immatriculation according to the Torrens system, which entailed the public examination of land tenure rights by a special Land Tribunal. It also entailed the registration of the land with the annulment of the rights which had been declared null and void. Immatriculation offered scope for legalised land seizure and for the "protection" of the French colonists' rights against the former owners' claims. The French land legislation was applied to the immatriculated lands and the banks readily handed out loans on the security of the immatriculated lands.

The French bought most of the land privately without any direct help from the authorities ("unofficial colonisation"). However, the communal lands belonging to the tribes and especially the *waqfs* (inalienable property dedicated to pious aims) could not pass to new owners. To put an end to this and to make it easier for the French to buy any land they wanted, new laws passed in the protectorate (the decrees of 1885, 1898 and 1905) permitted long-term leases and the exchange and purchase of the *waqf* land. In this way, although *waqf* land tenure was not abolished, the French colonists were given ample opportunity to buy this land.

In 1892, the protectorate government began the process of official colonisation, as already practised in Algeria. Official colonisation may be described as the twofold redistribution of land tenure. At first the colonial authorities confiscated the land from the Arab proprietors, concentrated it in their own hands, and then sold it for next to nothing to the French colonists. A special colonisation fund was set up in 1897 for the purchase of land for colonisation purposes. In 1898, the public *waqf* administration was obliged to allot up to 2,000 hectares annually to the state "in fairly large plots suitable for cultivation". The decrees of 1890, 1896 and 1903 on the woodland and the "dead lands" (*marwat*) abolished collective tribal landownership without even acknowledging the Tunisian tribes' rights of ownership over their communal land. The Tunisian nomads and semi-nomads became mere users of land they had formerly owned. At the same time, part of the communal land

was confiscated from the tribes under the pretext of its being "excess land", and handed over to the colonisation fund.

A small group of French businessmen and speculators grew fabulously rich on the mass expropriation and sale of land "in the Algerian manner", which ruined the Tunisian peasantry and deprived it of its property. French land-ownership in Tunisia increased from 107,000 hectares in 1881 to 443,000 hectares in 1892 and 882,000 hectares in 1912. Moreover, by 1912, 135,000 hectares were owned by the Italians and other Europeans. Unlike Algeria, in Tunisia there were no small colonists except for the Italians, who, as a rule, owned small farms. French colonisation was openly speculative in character. "Many hectares, but few people", as Jean Jaures described it. The French colonists and joint-stock companies bought huge estates and then resold them to other colonists or even to Tunisians. Large tracts of land accrued to capitalist companies such as the Société Franco-Africaine, Compagnie de Phosphate et de Chemin de Fer de Gafsa, Société de Ferme Française and Omniom Immobilière Tunisienne. Among the "colonists" there were Parisian bankers, capitalists and concessionaires who had never seen Tunisia and who managed their estates through their agents or through dummies. Huge latifundiums were purchased by generals who had participated in Tunisia's conquest and by diplomats who had helped establish a protectorate over Tunisia. It was enough for a bourgeois newspaper to expose these laws and the editor would be given an estate in Tunisia to keep him quiet. It was enough for the deputies and senators to demand that the abuses practised in Tunisia be investigated and the members of the investigating Parliamentary Commission were also provided with estates and, naturally, the Commission proved these claims to be groundless. This was how many bourgeois statesmen, deputies, senators and newspaper editors acquired large estates in Tunisia.

Under this type of colonisation most of the colonised land was leased to the big Tunisian leaseholders, who administered their estates by traditional feudal methods. On the colonists' land as well as on the Tunisian feudalists' estates such forms of exploitation as the *khammasat*, *métayage*, and *mugaras*, were widespread. Capitalist production relations developed extremely slowly. True, individual

colonists attempted to organise farms with the use of hired labour for growing grain and other agricultural produce. Prior to World War I, these farms, except in the sphere of viniculture and wine-making, were not extensively developed. Hired immigrant workers (mainly from Italy) were employed in wine-making. In 1913, vineyards covered an area of 17,942 hectares and approximately 300,000 gallons of wine were produced.

Having seized Tunisia, the French monopolies turned it into a market for French industry and a raw material base. The influx of French goods dealt a severe blow to Tunisian craft production. In the first twenty-five years of the protectorate's existence, the number of artisans in Tunis dropped from between six and seven thousand to a mere two thousand. The only branch of the Tunisian economy that developed rapidly under the French protectorate was mining. Lead ore began to be exported in the very first years of occupation. In 1899, the *Compagnie de Phosphate et de Chemin de Fer de Gafsa* launched the commercial exploitation of the phosphorite deposits that had been discovered in 1885. The mining and export of iron-ore was begun in 1908.

The mining of ore and phosphorite was carried out by several French companies which were closely linked with the monopoly capital of the metropolis. Relatively large capital investments were also made by Germans, Italians and Belgians. As for the national bourgeoisie, it had no hand whatsoever in the exploitation of Tunisia's mines. Forced into the background by its financial and technical weakness, the national bourgeoisie owned mainly small enterprises, most of which were engaged in processing agricultural produce.

Railways were built in Tunisia to meet the needs of colonisation and the mining industry. Within a relatively short time Tunisia's railway lines increased in length from 224 kilometres in 1881 to 1,375 kilometres in 1909. Ports and highways were also built.

The gradual growth of the colonists' capitalist farming, of railway and port construction, the development of the mining industry and transport contributed to the emergence and formation of the Tunisian working class. The workers were very badly off. Legislation to protect them was non-

existent. The organisation of labour at nearly all the factories was typically colonial in nature. Foreign workers and administrative staff received a "colonial bonus" and enjoyed a number of rights that placed them in a privileged position in comparison to the local workers. The Tunisian workers had no trade union organisations. Politically they remained under the influence of the national bourgeoisie and backed its anti-imperialist demands.

The native population was deprived of all rights. The French filled all the more or less important posts in the state apparatus. Colonial bureaucratic tyranny, racial discrimination and national oppression prevailed throughout the country. The Constitution of 1861 had lost all meaning and was not renewed. What political and civil rights the Tunisians had once possessed were flagrantly violated by the colonial administration. The Decree on the Press issued on October 14, 1884, forbade newspapers on pain of strict punishment to criticise "His Highness the Bey, the princes of his dynasty and the religious cults". It also forbade them to criticise "the French Republic's rights and authority in Tunisia". The Decree of September 15, 1888, stipulated that "no association could be formed other than with the government's permission". According to the Decree of March 13, 1905, meetings could be held "freely" only on the condition that they were not for the purpose of discussing political or religious questions.

For a long time there were no representative institutions in Tunisia. It was only in 1891 that the Consultative Conference (a quasi-representative body of Tunisia's French population) was formed. It consisted of representatives of French economic organisations (the chambers of commerce and agriculture). Some were appointed by the government, others were elected. Only the French colonists had the right to vote during the elections to the Consultative Conference. In 1907, however, sixteen Tunisian delegates appointed by the protectorate government were admitted. In 1910, the Consultative Conference was divided into two sections—French and native—like the Algerian Finance Delegations.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT. THE YOUNG TUNISIANS. Colonisation, national oppression and the absence of political rights evoked widespread dis-

content in Tunisia, affecting the national bourgeoisie, some feudal circles and also the working class and peasantry. Even at the end of the 19th century, there had been peasant disturbances in Tunisia and the first Young Tunisian organisations and societies had been formed to oppose the protectorate and bring about Tunisia's national revival.

The upsurge of the national movement in Tunisia coincided with the general awakening of Asia. The year 1905 marked the formation of the Republican Party which included the French petty-bourgeois democrats and the Tunisian nationalist intellectuals. Soon the Party split and the Arab nationalists, headed by Abd al-Aziz Taalbi, withdrew from its ranks and in 1909, joined the Tunisian Party (*Hizb Tunisi*), which had been formed in 1907 by Ali Bash Hamba and Beshir Sfar. The split had been caused by differences over the question of nationalities. The Republican Party favoured the assimilation of Tunisians and restricted itself to demands for equality, while the Tunisian Party advocated large-scale constitutional reforms and, in the final analysis, independence. The Tunisian Party advanced the slogan of the "Algerian-Tunisian Nation" and strove to secure statehood for this nation.

In 1911, the Tunisian Party carried out an extensive political campaign in connection with Italian aggression in Tripolitania. The Tunisians collected money and medicines. In various towns there were clashes between the Arabs and Europeans, which in some places grew into big demonstrations. The culminating point was the Jallaz incident of November 7 and 8, 1911. Jallaz was a Moslem cemetery in Tunis. The local authorities' decision to immatriculate the cemetery led to a protest demonstration of several thousand, which was shot down by French troops and police.

In February 1912, a group of Tunisians demanded that the Tramway Company put an end to the discrimination of the Arabs, that it hire them on an equal basis with the Europeans and give them equal pay for equal work. When the administration refused to comply with these demands, the urban population launched a boycott. The affair began to take a serious turn. The frightened authorities declared a state of siege in Tunisia, closed down a number of newspapers, banned the Tunisian Party and arrested its leaders.

In March 1912, Abd al-Aziz Taalbi and Ali Bash Hamba were arrested and banished from the country.

In 1913, Taalbi returned to Tunisia and renewed his campaign, while Ali Bash Hamba carried on his activities abroad.

The Young Tunisian leaders had had hopes of coming to a "mutual understanding" with the French Government, which they tried to persuade into making concessions to the national liberation movement and also into helping Turkey and Kaiser Germany. The Germans, in turn, were nothing loathe to make use of the Tunisian national liberation movement. A secret memorandum drawn up by the German General Staff at the beginning of 1914 pointed to the need for giving all possible support to the North African Moslems' struggle against French domination and also the need for normalising relations with them and assisting the Moslem national societies' activities. Such relations were actually cultivated during the war, when several German agents were sent to North Africa to prevent the French from using Algeria and Tunisia as a source of strategic raw material and manpower.

Counting on the Young Turks' and Germans' assistance during World War I, the Young Tunisian leaders prepared for an anti-French uprising in North Africa. These hopes for help from abroad led to a certain underestimation of the forces and potentialities of the mass political movement in Tunisia itself and, consequently, to a certain degree of isolation from the masses.

THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF MOROCCO

THE CAPITULATIONS. Throughout the entire 19th century, unlike Algeria and Tunisia, Morocco retained formal independence. In reality, however, she had already become a semi-colony of the European Powers. Morocco was too weak and backward not to be taken over and only the rivalry between them delayed her conversion into a colony proper for so long.

The end of the 18th century saw the rapid development of capitalism in Europe. Morocco, on the contrary, was still wallowing in a state of medieval stagnation and feudal anarchy. She lagged far behind the European Powers and was incapable of withstanding their onslaught. Having lost a number of wars to the European Powers, she was forced into unequal agreements with them. Back in 1767, a treaty had been concluded between France and the Moroccan Sultan according to which consular jurisdiction, unlike the treaty of 1631, became the unilateral privilege of the French subjects in Morocco and did not apply to the Moroccan subjects in France. The capitulations for the French merchants and residents were considerably expanded by the agreement of 1767. They began to enjoy not only judicial but also tax immunity.

The protégé, an institution which even the Turkish capitulations had not possessed, was also exempted from taxation. The protégés were natives, subjects of the Moroccan Sultan, who worked in the service of French residents. Each French merchant could hire the Moroccans to serve him and they were automatically affected by the capitulations. They stopped paying taxes (although this was not envisaged in the agreements) and enjoyed virtual judicial immunity. They could be tried only by French consuls, not by

the Moroccan court. This kind of tax and judicial immunity was so attractive to the Moroccans, especially the Moroccan feudalists and merchants, that they often had recourse to French "protection" in order to avoid taxation and unfair judges and declared themselves the consuls' and residents' employees. In this way France built up inside Morocco a wide network of agents drawn from among the local feudalists and merchants, which was not dependent on the Moroccan Sultan and eluded his sovereignty. The capitulations applied to all Moroccans connected with the French merchants, and even to the métayers. Most of the French merchants in Morocco engaged in agriculture, mainly in livestock breeding. They had no land and put the cattle in the care of peasants on the basis of the métayage system. Even these herdsmen did not pay taxes to the Moroccan Sultan and did not come under the jurisdiction of his courts. These capitulations, which were an inferior copy of the Ottoman Empire's capitulations, later extended to a number of other Powers.

Spain had also concluded an agreement with Morocco in the same year as France (1767) and had already become a capitulation Power by then. Other Powers received capitulations in the 19th century. Some of them concluded direct capitulation agreements, others concluded agreements of most-favoured-nation treatment and thus received capitulations.

Besides France and Spain, Austria, Sardinia (later Sardinia's rights were ceded to Italy), the United States of America, Britain, Holland and Belgium all acquired capitulations in Morocco. In 1880, the capitulations became the subject of a special international convention. An international conference which was summoned in Madrid in the summer of 1880 worked out a universal convention on the capitulations and on the protégé system in Morocco. On the basis of this convention, apart from the above-mentioned states, the capitulations were extended to the other members of the Madrid Conference, namely, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Portugal. Moreover, in 1881, the Madrid Convention was joined by Russia, who had also received capitulations.

Besides capitulations, the Europeans pressed for the right to buy land and to own other real estate in Morocco. Spain was the first to achieve this on the basis of a peace treaty

in 1799. She was followed by England, on the strength of an agreement concluded in 1856. Other Powers enjoyed this right by virtue of the most-favoured-nation treatment granted to them. Finally in 1880, the Madrid Convention granted this right to all the capitulation Powers of Europe.

Unequal agreements were concluded not only on capitulations, but also on such questions as customs-tariffs. In particular, the Anglo-Moroccan Treaty of 1856 introduced tariffs in Morocco which made it possible for British merchants and, later, for other European merchants, on the basis of the most-favoured-nation treatment, to import their goods into Morocco without hindrance of any kind. In 1890, Germany concluded an even more profitable commercial agreement which considerably reduced (by as much as a half in some cases) the former customs-tariffs. Once again on the basis of the most-favoured-nation treatment the terms of the treaty were extended to other European states.

TERRITORIAL SEIZURES. At the dawn of the new era the Europeans had seized a number of territories in Morocco. Between the 15th and 17th centuries the Portuguese owned the entire western coast of Morocco, Spain held a number of military posts, *presidios*, on the Northern coast, and the British had Tangier. By the beginning of the 19th century, the Portuguese had been forced out of Morocco, but Spain still retained her *presidios*. These were Ceuta Melilla, the islands of Alhucemas and Penon-de-Velez. These *presidios* served as bases for Spain's economic and political penetration into the Moroccan interior and as springboards for the Spanish campaigns against the neighbouring Moroccan tribes. In 1848 the Spanish took over the Zafran Islands. During the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60, which was described in some detail by Engels in his military despatches published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, the Spanish seized Tetuan. But the British intervened in the peace talks and prevented the Spanish from reaping the fruits of victory. Tetuan was restored to the Moroccans and Spain received only the region of Ifni.

During the 19th century, France also invaded Moroccan territory on more than one occasion. In 1844, the French violated the Moroccan borders in pursuit of Abd el-Kader. Marshal Bugeaud was supported by the French fleet, which

bombarded Tangier and Mogador. Under pressure from Britain, France was unable to use her victories for immediate territorial seizures, but she deliberately refused to draw up a definite boundary line between her Algerian domains and Morocco. According to the Lalla-Marnia treaty (1845), the borderline was fixed only on a small strip of land in the north. Further south, a process of delimiting the nomad tribes rather than the territory took place. Some of the tribes passed under French, others under Moroccan control.

During the 19th century, France took advantage of this vague definition of frontiers to seize a number of Moroccan oases adjacent to Algeria and at the outset of the 20th century, she placed the border zone under her direct rule. On July 20, 1901, France concluded a border treaty with Morocco for the formation of a mixed Franco-Moroccan Commission, which was to set up French and Moroccan posts all along the border and to hold an option among the population of the border regions. The activities of this commission resulted in the conclusion of a new border treaty in Algiers on April 20, 1902, between France and Morocco. According to the new treaty, the Moroccan Government undertook to "consolidate its authority" in the border regions and France pledged her aid, which consisted in sending her troops and police in to the Moroccan border region. France set up her own military posts and customs houses and also gained the right to arrest and try criminals on Moroccan territory. French border commissars, who took over complete control in the Moroccan border regions, were introduced.

The result of the treaty was that in 1902, French troops under General Lyautey entered the Moroccan border region and annexed the Moroccan oasis of Colomb-Bechar to Algeria. This was the beginning of the gradual occupation of Morocco by French troops.

But France could not quietly take over Morocco while the imperialists were competing fiercely for the partition of the world. This could only be done with the Powers' approval and appropriate diplomatic preparations had to be made. Accordingly, at the beginning of the 20th century, France concluded a series of secret agreements with the European Powers, promising them all sorts of compensations for freedom of action in Morocco.

FRENCH AGREEMENTS WITH ITALY (1900), BRITAIN (1904) AND SPAIN (1904). The first agreement of this kind was concluded in Rome between France and Italy in the form of letters dated December 14 and 16, 1900 (ratified in 1902). Under this agreement, France promised Italy the *vilayet* of Tripoli, which belonged to Turkey. She declared that she had no claim to the *vilayet* and would leave it outside her sphere of influence. In other words, she was offering Italy a free hand in Tripoli. Italy, in turn, declared that she did not object to "French actions in Morocco, which ensued from her neighbouring position with regard to this Empire". Furthermore, it was stipulated that "in event of an alteration of the political and territorial status of Morocco", i.e., in event of open annexation, "Italy reserves the right, on the basis of reciprocity, to spread her influence in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica".

Thus Morocco was "exchanged" for Tripoli. Morocco did not belong to France nor did Tripoli belong to Italy, nevertheless, they concluded a deal at the expense of nations weaker than themselves.

The next agreement, similar in character, but far more significant, was the famous Anglo-French agreement of 1904, which laid the foundation for the Entente. It was signed in London on April 8, 1904. According to this agreement, Britain and France executed a "mutual absolution of their sins". France pledged not to "obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner".¹ Britain, in turn, recognised "the right of France as a Power bordering on Morocco over a large expanse of territory, to supervise the tranquillity of Morocco and render her aid in all reforms, administrative, economic, financial and military...". In other words, Britain left Morocco at the mercy of France, entrusting her with economic, financial, military and police control over that country. In a public declaration Britain and France stated that they had no intention of altering Egypt's or Morocco's status, but in the secret clauses which were added to the treaty they envisaged the time when "owing to the force of circumstances, they would be compelled to change their policy with regard

¹ L. Cromer, op cit., Vol. II, p. 391.

to Egypt or Morocco". This was another typical deal of the era of imperialism concluded at the expense of the weaker nations. France "bartered" Morocco for Egypt and received from Britain freedom of action in Morocco.

A vital feature of the Anglo-French treaty was the division of Morocco into spheres of influence. This was laid down in the secret part of the agreement. North Morocco became a sphere of Spanish influence and Tangier passed under international control. Moreover, Britain demanded, and this demand was accepted by France, the complete demilitarisation of the Mediterranean and the northern part of Morocco's Atlantic coast. France and Spain promised to abstain from the erection of any fortifications in this area.

Having insisted on the partition of Morocco and the incorporation of the northern part of Morocco in the Spanish zone, Britain encouraged France to negotiate with Spain. In October 1904, France concluded an agreement with Spain in Paris which, like the Anglo-French agreement, fell into two parts, public and secret. In the public part of the declaration, which was published in the press, France and Spain announced that they favoured the integrity of the Moroccan Empire under the Sultan's sovereignty. This was sheer hypocrisy, since in the secret part of the agreement the so-called integral empire was divided into two spheres of influence: French and Spanish. The secret part stipulated that if the political status of Morocco and the Sherifian government proved incapable of existence or if the further maintenance of the status quo proved impossible, due to the weakness of this government and its complete inability to establish law and order, or for any other reason ascertained by common assent, Spain could freely realise her actions in the given region, which henceforth formed the sphere of her influence.

Spain, in turn, guaranteed France a free hand in her sphere of influence. True, she did so in a somewhat hidden form, not directly. Spain joined the Anglo-French treaty, thereby giving France full freedom of action.

Germany's position gave the French diplomats serious cause for anxiety. In 1904, they explored the ground, trying to discover Germany's attitude towards Morocco and, just in case, to reach some sort of agreement. The Germans

replied that, strictly speaking, they had no interests in Morocco and the French felt they were safe in this respect. As for Russia, she was France's ally and indeed did not display any special interest in Morocco.

THE LOAN OF 1904 AND THE MISSION OF TALANDIER. Regarding the diplomatic preparations as finished, France set about conquering Morocco by the usual, well-tried methods.

First of all, in June 1904, the French banks granted Morocco a crippling loan. The Moroccan Sultan, Abd al-Aziz, had a weakness for bicycles, gramophones, cabarets and other attributes of "civilisation", on which he spent a considerable part of the state budget. Great sums were also needed for the continuous struggle against the rebellious tribes. In short, the sultan became entangled in floating debts and France offered him a loan of 62,500,000 francs. Sixty per cent of the revenues from the Moroccan customs houses were taken as a security for the loan. A special debt administration was set up to supervise the *Makhzan* loan (the central government was known as *makhzan*, an Arabic word that originally meant storehouse).

At the beginning of 1905, a French mission headed by René Talandier arrived in Morocco. Talandier had been instructed to hold talks on administrative, police, financial and economic "reforms" in Morocco and a plan of "reforms" was soon drafted. The proposals were as follows:

1) to organise a Moroccan police force under French supervision (under Spanish supervision in the Spanish sphere of influence);

2) to set up under the French banks' control a Moroccan state bank which would issue Moroccan currency, safeguard the funds of the Moroccan Treasury, subsidise French concessions in Morocco, in particular, the construction of a railway line from Tangier to Fez, and to grant loans;

3) to encourage in every possible way the issue of concessions (railway, port, forest, mining and many others) to French trusts.

The realisation of these "reforms" would have meant Morocco's conversion into the semblance of a French protectorate. Seeing no other way out, Abd al-Aziz was about to accept the Talandier mission's plan, when something

quite unforeseen happened. Kaiser Germany intervened in Morocco's affairs.

THE TANGIER CONFLICT OF 1905. On March 31, 1905, Kaiser Wilhelm II's yacht approached Tangier. Wilhelm II disembarked and set out for Tangier on a white horse, where he made a speech to the crowd of Moroccans that had gathered round him. He said he had come to pay a visit to his friend, the Sultan, whose sovereignty he would defend, and that he intended to uphold the interests of Germany in Morocco. He then returned to his yacht and sailed away. The visit had a tremendous effect. What it amounted to was that Germany would either take over Morocco herself or would place it under her influence. Incidentally, Wilhelm II himself, whose dream was the Baghdad railway and the plans connected with it, had a certain distaste for the whole Moroccan adventure. From his correspondence with the Imperial Chancellor, Bülow, it is evident that Wilhelm made the trip to Tangier under pressure from the chancellor and on his insistence. He even reproaches Bülow for having made him ride on a white horse, of which he was physically afraid, and complains of the crowd of tramps and rogues which surrounded him in Tangier.

After the Kaiser's visit, the Moroccan Sultan, inspired by the German diplomats, declined the Talandier mission's proposals. He declared that he could not accept the programme of reforms on his own, that the question was of international significance and should therefore be referred to an international conference. Germany formally supported the Sultan's demand. France flatly rejected it. The Tangier conflict arose.

It did not last long. France was forced to capitulate for two reasons. The French army was still not prepared for a war with Germany and, secondly, her ally, Russia, was preoccupied with the war in the Far East and with incipient revolution. The French Foreign Minister, Delcassé, an advocate of an active policy in Morocco and one of the organisers of the Entente, was compelled to resign, and the banker Rouvier, a financier closely connected with the German banks, and even described by some French journalists as a German agent, became Foreign Minister and Prime

Minister of France. Rouvier concluded an agreement with Germany and consented to take part in an international conference, having recognised in advance the following four principles:

- 1) the Moroccan Sultan's sovereignty and independence;
- 2) the integrity of his empire;
- 3) the economic freedom and equality of the Powers in Morocco;
- 4) police and financial reforms in Morocco on the basis of an international agreement.

These four principles dealt a severe blow to French plans. True, Germany pledged to recognise France's "lawful interests and rights in Morocco" as long as they did not contradict the above-mentioned principles, but this declaration did not change matters.

THE ALGECIRAS CONFERENCE OF 1906. The international conference on the Moroccan question met in the small Spanish town of Algeciras (near Gibraltar) on January 15, 1906. Apart from France and Germany, it was attended by Britain, Russia, the U.S.A., Italy, Spain, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Portugal and Morocco. The conference lasted nearly three months and did not end until April 7, 1906. As the length of the conference indicates, the diplomatic struggle with the balance of forces unfavourable to Germany was intense.

France's demands were backed by Britain, Russia, the U.S.A., Italy and Spain. France had special agreements on Morocco with Britain, Italy and Spain and an alliance with Russia. Because of their dependence on France or Britain, such states as Belgium and Portugal also joined the bloc. Germany was virtually isolated and even Austria-Hungary, Germany's ally, saw no reason to support her. If the fact of the summoning of the conference had been a diplomatic success for Germany, the General Act adopted by the Algeciras Conference was a diplomatic defeat for her. Formally, the General Act was based on the four principles on which Germany had insisted. Actually, at the conference France received a mandate for the control of the Moroccan state and economy.

What actually happened at the Algeciras Conference was that the French plan of reform was adopted and France

was charged with its execution. Despite the fact that the Algeciras Conference officially declared the independence and integrity of the Sherifian Empire, its results were regarded by the French as a signal to begin the seizure and division of Morocco.

The General Act of the Algeciras Conference proclaimed a number of Moroccan ports as open ports. These were manned by police forces under European supervision. In the Spanish zone, the police were under Spanish supervision, and in the French zone, they were under French supervision. The two ports of Tangier and Casablanca, where the police force was set up under mixed Franco-Spanish control, formed an exception.

The Algeciras Conference also provided for the institution of the Morocco State Bank. Any Power that had participated in the conference could claim a hand in the running of the bank. It was decided that for every bank share granted to one of the participating Powers France should receive three such shares. Making use of false participants and also of her three-to-one advantage, France gained absolute predominance in the bank.

The conference at Algeciras worked out regulations on the struggle against the illegal import of arms into Morocco and against smuggling and on the customs system. The application of these regulations on the Algerian border was entrusted to France, in the area bordering on the *presidios*, i.e., in the Spanish zone, to the Spanish, and in the ports—to the entire diplomatic or consular corps.

The conference established that all the Moroccan railways, ports, means of communication and so on were to belong to the *Makhzan*, i.e., the Moroccan Government, and were to be impartially adjudicated irrespective of the tenderer's nationality. The wording of this point seemed to correspond to the principle of "economic liberty and equality". It was France, however, that acquired the concession for the construction of a port in Casablanca, as well as the decisive role in building a railway from Tangier into the Moroccan interior.

THE FRENCH AND SPANISH OCCUPATION (1907-08). THE UPRISING OF 1907. Immediately after the Algeciras Conference, France began the occupation of

the main regions of Morocco. At the end of 1906, she dispatched her fleet to Tangier for the ostensible purpose of protecting the Europeans there. Spain, who had been watching every move made by France in Morocco with extreme jealousy, also dispatched a fleet to Tangier. In March 1907, a French doctor, Emile Mauchamp, was murdered at Marrakesh. In the future the secret archives will throw light on this murder. It may even have been instigated by the French. To occupy a considerable part of Morocco it was worth sacrificing the life of one French doctor. In any case, as a reprisal for the murder the French took over the whole of East Morocco including the town of Oujda.

In August 1907, a new provocation was organised. The French Compagnie Marocaine, which had received concessions for the construction of a port in Casablanca, proceeded to build a narrow-gauge railway through a Moslem cemetery, desecrating the graves. The population was already sensitive to foreign encroachment and in this case Europeans were actually violating a Moslem cemetery. Outraged by this sacrilege, the Moroccans attacked the builders, killing several workers, including six Frenchmen. France promptly used this incident as an excuse for occupying Casablanca and the Chaouia district.

Spain in turn occupied a cape in the Melilla area.

The French landing evoked agitation throughout Morocco. The Moroccan tribes were especially furious with Sultan Abd al-Aziz, whom they regarded as a traitor, to be blamed for all the calamities which had overtaken the country. At their gathering in Marrakesh on August 16, 1907, i.e., a few days after the occupation of Casablanca, the tribal chiefs deposed Abd al-Aziz and declared his brother, Mulai Hafid, Sultan.

A civil war broke out in Morocco between Abd al-Aziz's supporters and those of Mulai Hafid. However, it had more the character of a national liberation movement of the Moroccan tribes against the Sultan, who had taken the enemy's side, than of a contest between two claimants to the throne.

In July 1908, Abd al-Aziz's troops were routed. Abd al-Aziz fled to the French and the entire country was placed under the new sultan's control. The French, however, took advantage of the disturbances to occupy a number of other regions both in the western and eastern parts of Morocco.

THE CASABLANCA CONFLICT OF 1908 AND THE FRANCO-GERMAN AGREEMENT OF 1909. In September 1908, a new Franco-German conflict arose. The Foreign Legion, which the French maintained for service in the colonies, was recruited from declassed elements from all over the world, including many gamblers and criminals. A unit of Legionnaires was stationed at Casablanca and two Germans who served in it had deserted and taken refuge in the home of the German consul. Despite his protests, the French police broke into the house, made a search and arrested the deserters. Germany protested against France's action. The conflict was referred to the arbitration of the Hague International Tribunal, which made a Solomon-like decision, declaring that both sides were guilty and therefore no one should be punished. France was guilty of having violated the immunity of the consulate, and Germany, of having protected the deserters.

This decision of the Hague Tribunal did not, of course, normalise Franco-German relations, which once again exacerbated. Franco-German talks on the Moroccan question were reopened and on February 9, 1909, an agreement was concluded in Berlin which, having confirmed the four principles of the Algeciras Act, inserted a new formula to the effect that France acknowledged the economic interests of Germany in Morocco, while Germany acknowledged France's political interests in Morocco. At the same time Germany declared that she herself had no political interests whatever in Morocco. This formula was fundamentally misleading, since it is almost impossible to separate political interests from economic ones. It also contained a strong element of hypocrisy, since it did not reflect the true intentions of Germany, who had quite definite political interests in Morocco.

Finally, both Powers undertook to promote the co-operation of French and German capitalists in Morocco. On the basis of this agreement, which in literature is sometimes described as the Franco-German economic condominium over Morocco, a number of mixed Franco-German companies were founded. They all turned out to be abortive, however, and none of them made any progress.

THE POWERS' RECOGNITION OF MULAI HAFID
After Sultan Mulai Hafid's victory, the Powers had to decide

what attitude to adopt towards him. Mulai Hafid himself, wishing to put an end to the occupation of Casablanca and Oujda by French troops, entered into negotiations with the Powers, which accordingly agreed to recognise him as Sultan under the following conditions: (1) he was to pay an indemnity to France and Spain; (2) France and Spain would keep their troops in those parts of Morocco which were already occupied; (3) he would accept responsibility for all the international obligations undertaken by Abd al-Aziz, i.e., the border agreements with France, the obligations on the loans and those under the Algeciras Act. Mulai Hafid accepted these terms and in January 1909, the Powers recognised him as Sultan.

In 1910, the French imposed a new loan of 100,000,000 francs on him on even more ruinous terms than the loan of 1904. The new loan went, in the first place, to liquidate the floating debts which had accumulated once again, in the second place, to organise a police force in the free ports and, thirdly, to pay the indemnity. As a guarantee of the loan the administration of the *Makhzan* debt received the customs and other important revenues of the Moroccan Government.

Mulai Hafid was compelled to seek additional sources of income. He levied new taxes on the tribes. This evoked general discontent and they began to regard him as a traitor, who was actually continuing Abd al-Aziz's policy. In 1911, a fresh big tribal uprising flared up serving as a pretext for the French invasion of the Moroccan hinterland.

THE OCCUPATION OF FEZ AND THE AGADIR CRISIS. The first act of the French was to advance on Fez, the capital of Morocco and the seat of Sultan Mulai Hafid. Officially it was stated that Fez was besieged by rebellious tribes and that the French troops had been despatched to the city to save the life of the Sultan and the European residents.

Actually, the foreign consuls' reports indicate that when the French troops approached the capital it was not in a state of siege, and that neither the Sultan nor the Europeans were exposed to any immediate danger. The excuse had obviously been invented. France's next step was to occupy Meknes. Not to be left behind, Spain occupied Larache and Ksar-es-Sagir.

Spain had been egged on by German diplomacy, which sought to provoke a Franco-Spanish conflict. Not content with this, the Germans decided to intervene personally in Moroccan affairs and to reply to the occupation of Fez by taking over Mogador and Agadir. With this in view the German gunboat *Panther* set off for the shores of Africa and on July 1, 1911, arrived at Agadir. This "pouncing of the *Panther*", as it was dubbed by the press, marked the beginning of a big international conflict, on which Lenin commented: "Germany on the verge of war with France and Britain. *Morocco* plundered ('partitioned')." ¹

In an official memorandum which Germany distributed on July 1, 1911, to all the Great Powers she declared that the despatch of the gunboat to Agadir had been due to three different factors:

(1) to German merchants' persistent requests for the defence of their life and property. This statement was all the more surprising, since there was not a single German merchant in Agadir. Soon, however, it turned out that the German firm of Manesmann Bros. had received a mining concession in Agadir and had demanded the seizure of this territory. In simple terms, Germany had merely decided to participate in Morocco's partition and had chosen the southwestern part of the country for herself;

(2) to the indignation of German "public opinion" at Germany's exclusion from a part in the solution of the Moroccan question;

(3) to the actions of France and Spain, who had made the Algeciras Act illusory. At the same time Germany declared she would recall her gunboat from Agadir only after the French and Spanish forces' withdrawal from Morocco.

However, Germany had no objections to holding more talks if this meant she could seize a piece of Moroccan territory or some other large colonial compensation. The German diplomat, Kühlmann, told the Russian diplomat, Benckendorf, that day: "We shall bargain." And indeed, the Franco-German negotiations which began in Berlin on July 10 were described by experienced diplomats as "unprecedented bargaining". But Germany was asking too much. At first she demanded a part of Morocco, but France

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 39, p. 686.

refused. Next she demanded the entire territory of the French Congo. France again refused and the talks reached a deadlock.

During the negotiations both sides rattled their sabres. The German press openly called for a war against France, saying that "history should be written not in ink, but with a chisel of cold steel". The French press, in turn, called for an end to the talks and proposed "other means of solving the conflicts".

During the Agadir crisis Britain sided wholly with France. She also rattled her sabre, and brought military and diplomatic pressure to bear on Germany. The annual manoeuvres of the British fleet were cancelled and the ships remained at their bases. Lord Kitchener, who had been appointed the British Resident-General in Egypt, was detained in London since he was to be put in command of the British army in event of military operations.

Britain's position was one of the main factors in Germany's retreat. The collapse of the Berlin stock exchange which had been engineered by the French banks was also of considerable importance. To top all this, anti-war proletarian demonstrations broke out in Germany. In the end, the German diplomats were forced to make concessions and on November 4, 1911, Germany concluded a new agreement with France, under which Germany sanctioned the French protectorate over Morocco. France undertook to observe the Powers' freedom to trade and economic equality in Morocco and also ceded 275,000 square kilometres of territory in the Congo to Germany.

As for Russia, she favoured a peaceful solution of the conflict. The reorganisation of the Russian army was moving very slowly and Russia was still unprepared for a war with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Finally, the tsarist government felt that a war for the sake of French colonial interests would be unpopular in Russia.

The Berlin Agreement of November 4, 1911, was, as it were, the culmination of a whole series of earlier secret and non-secret agreements. Now Germany, too, had granted France freedom of action in Morocco. The Congo had been "exchanged" for Morocco, completing yet another deal at the expense of weaker nations. The way now lay open for the establishment of a French protectorate.

THE TREATY ON THE PROTECTORATE. The Franco-German agreement of 1911 untied France's hands and she immediately set to work to realise her expansionist aims. On March 30, 1912, under strong pressure from France, Sultan Mulai Hafid signed a treaty in Fez on the protectorate on terms dictated by the French envoy, Renault. The French troops which had been about to leave Fez turned back and suppressed the outbursts of popular resistance.

The Treaty of Fez reaffirmed the main provisions and principles of the Bardo treaty of 1881 and the La-Marsa convention of 1883 that had established a French protectorate over Tunisia. The Sultan retained his throne and the outward attributes of power, which, however, lacked any real substance. All power passed into French hands.

The new treaty brought into being a "new regime" in Morocco which preserved "the Sultan's religious position, his traditional prestige and respect". The Sultan, in turn, agreed to carry out any administrative, judicial, school, economic, financial or military reforms which France deemed necessary.

France acquired the right to the "military occupation of Moroccan territory" and to undertake "any kind of police measures" in Morocco.

The French Government promised the Sultan its aid in repelling "any danger, which would threaten him personally, or his throne or violate the peace in his domains".

The French resident-general became the sole intermediary between Morocco and the foreign Powers. The resident-general was actually a commissioner in whom was vested the absolute power of the French Republic on the territory of Morocco. All the Sultan's decrees were submitted to him for endorsement.

The French diplomatic and consular agents abroad represented Morocco and were instructed to "protect Morocco's subjects and interests in other countries".

The Treaty of Fez envisaged "a financial reorganisation of the country aimed at ensuring the repayment of foreign loans". The Sultan was forbidden to contract state or private loans or to grant any concessions without the French Government's permission.

The treaty on the protectorate applied to the entire territory of Morocco, but France reserved the right to

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negotiate with Spain on her interests in Morocco and to separate Tangier into a special zone.

Thus the Treaty of Fez deprived Morocco of her independence and her territorial integrity. On November 27, 1912, an agreement based on this treaty was signed in Madrid between France and Spain, fixing the borders between the northern and the southern zone, which had become part of the Spanish protectorate. Thus, having established a protectorate over Morocco, France ceded or subleased part of the country, which she had conquered, to Spain in accordance with the interimperialist agreements.

Talks between Britain, France and Spain on the Tangier regime began immediately after the establishment of the protectorate. They revealed so many contradictions that they still had not ended by the outbreak of World War I and were ultimately concluded only in 1923.

France appointed General Lyautey, who had considerable colonial experience, her Resident-General in Morocco. He occupied this post for thirteen years running, till 1925, and is rightly known as the "builder" of French Morocco.

Sultan Mulai Hafid, who attempted to pursue an independent policy, was regarded by France as an unsuitable person for his position and was deposed in August 1912. His place was taken over by his younger brother, Mulai Yusef, a completely spineless person and an obedient tool of France.

In September 1912, French took over Marrakesh, thereby completing the occupation of the flat regions of Morocco. For another twenty years, however, they had to wage a colonial war in the mountains and steppes of Morocco, overcoming the fierce opposition of the freedom-loving Moroccan tribes, who continued to uphold their liberty. Only twenty years after the establishment of the protectorate did the French succeed in completing the process of "pacification" and subduing the country.

DIPLOMATIC PREPARATIONS. The seizure of Morocco coincided with the conquest of Libya. The modern use of the term "Libya" was coined by the Italians, who borrowed it from ancient geography. The ancient Greeks had called the entire territory of North Africa "Libya"; the Italians used it in reference to the regions situated between Tunisia and Egypt, i.e., Tripolitania (Tarablus El-Charb), Cyrenaica (Barca) and Fezzan. In the Middle Ages each of these regions had its own historical connections. Cyrenaica gravitated towards Egypt; Tripolitania was closely linked with Tunisia. It was only after the Turkish conquest, in the 16th century, that these areas were united into a single administrative unit—the *pashalik* of Tripoli.

In 1835, the Turkish Sultan Mahmud II, who had pursued a policy of centralising the Ottoman Empire, despatched Turkish troops to Tripoli, removed the janissary dynasty of the Karmanlians from power and completely subjugated the *pashalik* of Tripoli. The *pashalik* was made into a Turkish *elayet* and then into a *vilayet*, which was administered by governors appointed by the central government.

The Turkish penetration into the hinterland of the country and the Turks' attempts to station their garrisons there and gather taxes encountered fierce resistance on the part of the local tribes, who repeatedly provoked uprisings against the Turkish authorities. The struggle was led by the religious Senussite Brotherhood named after its founder—Mohammed es-Senussi. An Algerian of Berber origin, Mohammed es-Senussi was educated in Mostaganem and Fez and, after a long sojourn in Mecca and Cairo, went to Cyrenaica, where he founded several *zawias* (monaste-

ries), including one in the Jiarabub oasis (1855), which became his residence and the centre of the Senussi movement. After es-Senussi's death in 1859, the brotherhood was led by his son Mohammed el-Mahdi (1859-1901). In 1895, Mohammed el-Mahdi transferred his seat to El-Jewf in the oasis of Kufra. Leaning on the numerous *zawias* (100 in 1884) for support, he formed a strong military and religious organisation which secured the power of the Senussi nobility over the Libyan tribes and the oases. The Senussi chiefs settled the land adjacent to the *zawias* with nomads and forced them to till the land in their interest. The Senussites encouraged trade, spreading their influence to the interior of the African continent.

El-Mahdi's successors (especially Mohammed Idris) had to fight a new enemy—imperialist Italy. At the end of the 19th century, when Africa was being partitioned, two Powers claimed Tripoli. One of these was France, who, using her Tunisian springboard, gradually annexed Tripolitania's frontier oases to Tunisia. The other was Italy, who felt she had been cheated of her share in the partition and sought compensation in Tripoli.

It is unlikely that Italy made her claims out of economic considerations. No valuable raw materials of any kind had yet been discovered in Tripolitania. All that country had to offer was dates, camel hair, fish and sponge. On the other hand, Tripolitania was a convenient base for further conquests in Africa, a wedge and springboard from where Italy could thrust forward in all directions. By gaining possession of Tripolitania it would be possible to threaten French Tunisia, the area around Lake Chad, British Egypt and the East Sudan.

Italy began preparations for the seizure of Tripolitania in 1880. First came a series of diplomatic manoeuvres. In 1887, Italy concluded an agreement with Britain and Austria-Hungary on the status quo in the Mediterranean. It was directed against France and French claims on Tripoli and Morocco. According to this agreement, Britain, Austria and Italy pledged to observe the status quo in the Mediterranean, but stressed that should the status quo change they would not allow any other Power to gain a foothold on the North African coast. In other words, Britain, Austria-Hungary and Italy brushed aside France's claims to Libya and

Morocco. Moreover, Italy promised to support Britain's cause in Egypt and demanded that Britain should back Italy on any other part of the North African coast, especially in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

In the special German-Italian agreement of 1887, which was added to the treaty on the renewal of the Triple Alliance, the following reservation was made. Germany and Italy would not permit France's consolidation in Morocco and Tripoli and should France undertake any actions in that region, Germany would back Italy in her war against France. Simultaneously, a secret Italian-Austrian treaty was concluded to the effect that in event of violation of the status quo in the Mediterranean, the Mediterranean countries should not be partitioned other than by mutual agreement on the basis of mutual compensation. An analogous secret agreement between Italy and Spain was concluded in 1887. Thus, in 1887, Italy had gained the sanction of Britain, Germany, Austria and Spain for the seizure of Tripoli.

In 1900, Italy concluded an agreement with France on delimitation of spheres of influence in the Mediterranean. Under this agreement, France renounced all claims on Tripoli in Italy's favour, in return for which Italy granted her freedom of action in Morocco. The agreement was ratified in 1902 and renewed in October 1912, when France and Italy recognised each other's claims to the annexed territories.

There was one more European Power from whom Italy received diplomatic sanction for Tripoli's seizure—Russia. In accordance with the agreement of October 24, 1909, which was concluded in Racconigi (near Turin) in the form of notes, Italy recognised Russia's claims to the Dardanelles zone and Russia recognised Italy's claims to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

Public opinion and the press in Russia, France, Britain and Germany opposed Italy's expansionist moves in Tripoli. The papers wrote of her piratical actions and brazen violation of international law. The governments of the above countries, however, adopted an attitude of non-interference in the Turco-Italian conflict. When the conflict finally came out into the open and the Turkish ambassadors in St. Petersburg, London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna appealed for

mediation by the European governments, all the foreign ministers coldly stated that this affair was no concern of theirs. "This is your personal conflict with Italy," they said, in effect. "Settle it as you wish."

Italy safeguarded her invasion in Tripoli by secret agreements and deals at the expense of the weaker peoples. Britain supported Italy because she preferred to have this feeble country next to Egypt, reasoning that Italian expansion would be a counterpoise to French and German expansion in Tripoli (in 1911, the Germans proposed a plan for setting up a naval base in Tobruk). Germany and Austria-Hungary were rewarding Italy for her participation in the Triple Alliance, France was rewarding Italy for her virtual renunciation of the Triple Alliance and for her non-interference in Moroccan affairs, and Russia was rewarding Italy for promising to support her actions in the Straits.

Apart from diplomatic preliminaries, Italy also made adequate preparations inside Tripolitania. In 1901, an Italian parliamentary delegation visited Tripolitania. Italian naval officers dressed themselves up as fishermen, caught sponge off the shores of Tripoli and at the same time photographed the Tripolitanian coast.

In 1900, the Italian press had begun calling on the government to take over Tripolitania on the grounds that this region "naturally belonged" to the Italians. It was at this stage that an Italian geographer took the word "Libya" from ancient history and began using it in reference to the *vilayet* of Tripoli. One of the biggest Italian banks opened branches in Tripoli. Italians bought lands there through non-existent persons and set up agricultural establishments. Italian steamship lines monopolised the traffic between Tripolitania and Europe. Italian engineers planned the construction of a railway from Tobruk to Alexandria.

In Tobruk, the most convenient natural harbour on the Libyan coast, Italy intended to set up her own naval base. Italian catholic missions and Italian schools were opened in Tripolitania. Extensive literature appeared in Italy on Tripolitania; Italian geographers began calling it "our Promised Land".

THE ITALO-TURKISH WAR OF 1911. In 1911, Italy decided to take advantage of the international crisis which

had arisen in connection with the "pouncing of the *Panther*" to assume direct possession of Tripolitania. Her excuse for the invasion was ridiculous. On September 28, 1911, Italy presented Turkey with an ultimatum in which she declared that she was interested in providing Tripolitania with the blessings of progress, but that her "legitimate" actions had encountered the Porte's opposition and that she, Italy, would not waste time on useless talks with the Porte. To protect her dignity and her interests she had decided to go ahead with the military occupation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Turkey should, therefore, order her officials not to offer resistance to the Italian occupation. Turkey was given 24 hours in which to concede this demand.

Turkey immediately placed the question of mediation before the European Powers, but encountered no support. Faced with the Powers' tacit consent to Italy's action, Turkey replied in extremely peaceful terms. She declared that the new Young Turk government could not be held responsible for the situation brought about by the former government and that it bore no hostility towards Italy's plans for Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The Turkish Government would be prepared to take action to meet Italy's demands that was consistent with Turkey's dignity and interests, but categorically objected to Italian occupation.

Italy received Turkey's reply and declared war on Turkey on the very same day (September 29, 1911).

The war took Turkey unawares. Neither the Turkish governor nor the commander-in-chief were in Tripolitania at the outbreak of the war and Turkey's armed forces in the *vilayet* of Tripoli consisted of one division (7,000 men). The country was soon in a state of famine. The Italian fleet blockaded Tripoli by sea, preventing Turkey from sending reinforcements and foodstuffs. The blockade was, in effect, completed on land by Britain, who refused to let Turkish troops pass through Egypt. The Italian expeditionary corps consisted of 34,000 men and was brought up to 55,000 men in 1912. It was equipped with mountain, field and siege artillery, wireless and also with aircraft, which was being used for the first time in the battle. While the Italian fleet shelled the Turkish coast and landed troops on the Dodecanese Islands, the *vilayet* of Tripoli was occupied. On October 5, 1911, the Italian landing party seized the city

of Tripoli, on October 18, Derna, on October 19, Benghazi and on October 20, Homs.

On November 5, 1911, though still in possession of only these four coastal towns, the Italian Government announced the annexation of Tripoli, which henceforward was to be called "Libya" and to remain under Italy's complete and absolute sovereignty.

In view of the all-round superiority of their forces, the Italians counted on speedy conquest. Matters, however, took a different turn. The Libyan tribes put up a stout resistance. By October 23, 1911, the Arabs had destroyed most of the landing party that had disembarked in Tripoli and begun the long and difficult struggle for independence. The Italians passed the winter of 1911-12 in the four above-mentioned towns. In the summer of 1912, they occupied several more coastal posts (Misurata, July 8, Zuara, August 6, and Zenzur, September 20). Even when Turkey surrendered in October 1912 and made peace with Italy, the Italians had not yet captured the whole coastal area and had not made a single move to penetrate the country's internal regions.

"Italy has 'won' the war, which she launched a year ago to seize Turkish possessions in Africa," Lenin wrote at the end of the Italo-Turkish war. "From now on, Tripoli will belong to Italy. . . . What caused the war? The greed of the Italian moneybags and capitalists. . . . What kind of war was it? A perfected, civilised bloodbath, the massacre of Arabs with the help of the 'latest' weapons."¹ In his article Lenin described the atrocities of the Italian imperialists who massacred whole families, women and children included. A total of 14,800 Arabs were slaughtered, 1,000 being hanged. Lenin concluded: "Despite the 'peace', the war will actually go on, for the Arab tribes in the heart of Africa, in areas far away from the coast, will refuse to submit. And for a long time to come they will be 'civilised' by bayonet, bullet, noose, fire and rape."²

Lenin's prediction proved to be absolutely correct. The Arab tribes in the heart of Africa did not surrender. For twenty years after Turkey's defeat, they continued to wage war against Italy.

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 337.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 337-38.

THE LAUSANNE PEACE TREATY OF 1912. Turkey was prevented from continuing the war with Italy by the outbreak of war in the Balkans. On October 15, 1912, she concluded a preliminary (secret) treaty and on October 18, a final peace treaty in Lausanne. Formally, Turkey never recognised Italian sovereignty over Libya. She merely undertook to withdraw her troops from Libya and recall her officials.

According to the secret Italo-Turkish treaty of October 15, 1912, Italy deemed it impossible to abrogate the law proclaiming her sovereignty over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Turkey, in turn, declared it was impossible for her to formally recognise this sovereignty. Consequently, Turkey undertook to issue a *firman* of the Sultan granting the population of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica full and complete autonomy which would bring them under the "new laws". Italy undertook to decree an amnesty, to grant freedom to the Moslem religion and to preserve the *waqfs*. She also undertook to receive a Turkish representative and to appoint a commission with the participation of the local notables to work out the civil and administrative organisation of these regions. Turkey promised not to despatch her troops to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. It was decided that the Sultan's representative in Libya and the religious leaders of the Moslems who were subordinate to the Turkish Sultan as their caliph would in future have to be approved by the Italian Government.

These provisions of the preliminary peace treaty of October 15, 1912, which established a kind of Italo-Turkish condominium over Libya, were actually ignored and Italy merely regarded Libya as her colony. Turkey did not fully agree to this and it was only after World War I, by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, that she completely renounced her rights and sovereignty over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The European Powers recognised the Italian sovereignty over these regions soon after the Italo-Turkish war and the Lausanne treaty of 1912.

ITALY'S WAR AGAINST THE ARAB TRIBES. Peace had been concluded but the fighting in Libya continued. On December 18, 1912, the Italians captured Tarhuna and by the end of 1912, they had occupied the western coast of the

Gulf of Sirte. In April 1913, Italian troops entered the coastal mountains and held the region for three months. Simultaneously, they invaded Jebel El-Akhdar (mountains in Cyrenaica), but were seriously defeated on several occasions by the guerilla detachments organised by the Senussites.

The Senussites declared a holy war on Italy and the Italian forces were compelled to retreat from the Cyrenaican interior and to restrict themselves to the occupation of the coastal towns. On April 29, 1913, they occupied Tokra and, in August 1913, the coast of Sirte south of Benghazi.

In 1914, the Italians were about to conquer Fezzan and occupied Murzuk, the Fezzan capital. With the outbreak of World War I, however, they were forced to withdraw and, by the beginning of 1916, held only the towns of Tripoli and Homs, the entire eastern part of Libya having passed under the Senussites' control.

The Senussites' struggle against Italy was backed by the German-Turkish command. In December 1915, German-Turkish forces used the Senussites to attack the British bridgehead in Egypt from the direction of Salum. By February 1916, the British had thrown back the attackers and in July of the same year, Britain concluded an agreement with Italy for a joint struggle against the Senussites, to which France adhered in March 1917. In April 1917, Britain and Italy concluded an agreement with one of the Senussite leaders—Mohammed Idris es-Senussi—whom they recognised as Emir (prince). He was promised food and arms in return for an undertaking to withdraw from the struggle against Britain and Italy and to counteract German-Turkish plans. But most of the East Libyan Senussites under the leading chief of the brotherhood—Ahmed Sherif es-Senussi (1901-25), and also the Senussi tribes of West Libya under Mohammed Abd el-Abid, continued the struggle against Britain, Italy and France. The Italian contribution was feeble. Eventually, in January 1917, they recaptured Zuara and by the end of the year, had gained possession of the entire coast between Tripoli and Zuara, but this was the sum total of their success.

In November 1918, after the cessation of military operations in Europe, Italy landed an 80,000-strong army in Tripoli and initiated talks with the West Libyan Bedouin

leaders, pressing for their surrender. The talks, however, were a failure and in February 1919, Italy renewed hostilities.

It took the Italians another thirteen years before they were able to break down the resistance of the tribes. The Libyan people's persistence and heroism were the outstanding feature of the fighting that went on all over the country. Only in 1932, at the cost of mass killings and savage reprisals against the freedom-loving tribes, were the Italian militarists able to subdue the country and complete the colonial conquest of Libya.

SYRIA, PALESTINE AND IRAQ AT THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY

TURKEY'S FINANCIAL ENSLAVEMENT. At the close of the 19th century, Syria, Palestine and Iraq were still provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Unlike Egypt or the Sudan, their connections with the Porte were by no means a matter of formality. During this period, the history of the Arab countries of Asia Minor was closely bound up with Turkish history and cannot be analysed separately from the general history of the Ottoman Empire.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the development of capitalism in Europe and North America brought capitalism into its final stage—imperialism. On the other hand, the first rudiments of capitalism were only just beginning to appear in Turkey and her Arab domains, where the decline of feudal society was extremely slow. The transition from feudalism to capitalism had begun, but it was proceeding in extremely contradictory circumstances.

Turkey was turned first into a sales market and then into a semi-colony of the European capitalist Powers. The second period of the *tanzimat*, introduced by the *hatti-humayun* of 1856, which by virtue of the Paris Peace Treaty acquired the form of an international obligation, paved the way for foreign capital. Turkey undertook to issue railway, bank, mining and other concessions to foreign investors; she gave them the right to buy land in the Ottoman Empire and granted their local agents (Armenian, Greek and Christian Arab merchants) a number of privileges. The Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 thus initiated the conversion of Turkey and her Arab domains into a semi-colony controlled by foreign capital.

The Eastern War of 1853-56, which was concluded by the Paris Peace Treaty, laid the foundation for Turkey's financial enslavement. During the war, in 1854, Turkey

concluded her first foreign loan to cover military expenditure. The loan was granted on the most onerous terms. Out of the nominal sum of 75,000,000 francs, the Turks received only 60,000,000 francs, the tribute paid by Egypt being offered as a guarantee for a loan. A second loan was contracted in 1855 for a sum of 125,000,000 francs, which was also meant to cover military expenditure and was guaranteed by the customs revenues of Smyrna (Izmir) and Syria. This was followed by the loan of 1858 for a sum of 125,000,000 francs, out of which Turkey actually received only 95,000,000 francs. This loan was guaranteed by the revenues of the Istanbul customs houses. Then came eleven more loans in 1860, 1862, 1863, 1865 (two loans), 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873 and 1874. Thus we observe the same process that took place in Egypt only on a broader scale. By 1874, the total sum of the loans had reached 5,300,000,000 francs, out of which Turkey received only 3,012,000,000 francs or 56.8 per cent of the nominal sum. The banks (chiefly French and partly British) retained over 2,000,000,000 francs or 43.2 per cent of the nominal sum as interest, commission and the like.

The Ottoman Bank, which was founded in 1856 as a British Bank and was turned into an Anglo-French Bank in 1863, played an important part in Turkey's financial enslavement. The bank itself granted ruinous loans and mediated in the receipt of loans from other banks. It also founded a number of branch companies which received highly remunerative concessions on the territories of the Ottoman Empire.

Why did Turkey contract a series of new loans after the first military loans? The reasons were the same as in Egypt. The only difference was that in Egypt the money was used chiefly for the construction of the Suez Canal, while in Turkey it was used for railways which were built on the basis of kilometric guarantees. This meant that when the Porte distributed concessions on railway construction, it guaranteed the concessionaires fixed revenues from each kilometre of the line. The difference between the actual sum received and the guaranteed sum of the revenues was met by the Treasury. These kilometric guarantees became one of the chief means for the usurious plunder of Turkey and her Arab domains by foreign capital.

To pay for the kilometric guarantees colossal sums were needed, which the Turkish Government sought by contracting foreign loans. The state revenues had to be mortgaged as security for the loans. First the Egyptian tribute and the revenues from the customs houses were mortgaged, then the proceeds from the *agnam* tax (tax on sheep), the revenues from the salt and tobacco monopolies and the like. The more revenue Turkey had to spend to pay off the interest on the loans, the more she needed new loans. Despite the fact that the taxes in the empire were raised, the peasant economy was completely ruined and the petty officials, officers and clergy failed to receive their salaries.

In 1875, Turkey's total revenues came to 380,000,000 francs, out of which 300,000,000 francs alone had to be used to meet the payments on the loans. Under these conditions, on October 6, 1875, the Porte declared itself bankrupt and announced that only half of the obligations on the loans would be paid in cash; the other half would be paid in bonds.

THE NEW OTTOMAN COUP AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1876. As in the case of Egypt, Turkey's bankruptcy put the Ottoman Empire into difficulties both at home and abroad. Even before Turkey had declared herself bankrupt, the yoke of the European bankers and the Turkish State, which had become a servant of the foreign money-lenders, had evoked deep discontent among broad sections of the population. A peasant movement, which was especially powerful in the Balkan provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, developed in the Ottoman Empire.

In the summer of 1875, the peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose in rebellion against the Moslem feudalists and demanded agrarian reforms. The uprising tended towards national liberation and had Serbia's and Russia's backing. The insurgents demanded Bosnia's and Herzegovina's secession from Turkey and their incorporation in Serbia. In July 1876, Serbia and Montenegro started a war and inflicted a number of defeats on the Turks, which again aggravated the situation in Turkey. Everywhere there were marked signs of discontent with the line of action taken by Sultan Abdul Aziz, who was accused of betraying Turkey's interests to the foreigners.

In May 1876, popular demonstrations broke out in Constantinople. On May 22, a crowd of several thousand suffists (members of the collegiate mosques) marched to the Sultan's palace, where they were joined by artisans, traders and minor officials. The frightened Sultan promised to pay the salaries that had been withheld and to introduce a constitution. Several days later, however, it was discovered that the Sultan had entered into secret negotiations with the foreigners. A group of officers then brought out the troops and on the night of May 29, 1876, arrested Abdul Aziz and announced his deposal. Abdul Aziz's feeble-minded brother, Murad V, was placed on the throne.

The active participants of the coup were a group of Turkish officers, liberal officials and intellectuals who called themselves "*yeni-osmanlar*", i.e., the "new Ottomans", a group that had been formed back in the sixties. The "new Ottomans" were dissatisfied with the situation in the Ottoman Empire, with the miserable results of the *tanzimat*, and with the penetration of foreign capital. Their programme may be summed up under three headings:

- 1) The development of national capitalism. "Let the Ottomans themselves be the ones to set up all the commercial and industrial companies in Turkey; let them build the new railways", one of the documents read.
- 2) The establishment of a constitutional and parliamentary system.
- 3) The development of a bourgeois culture and opposition to the medieval Turkish way of life and customs.

At first the "new Ottomans" restricted themselves wholly to enlightenment. In 1860, they founded *Dar El-Funun*, a kind of lecture bureau, which arranged talks by writers, scholars and public men. In 1865, they founded a secret political society, but it had two serious drawbacks.

In the first place, as representatives of the dominant nationality in the Ottoman Empire, the "new Ottomans" regarded the entire Ottoman Empire as a market for the Turkish bourgeoisie. They maintained that the Ottoman Empire should continue to rule over its subject peoples, and they adopted a hostile attitude towards movements which aimed at freeing these oppressed peoples from the Ottoman yoke. To justify this chauvinist policy, they invented the absurd theory of the existence of a "single Ottoman nation",

which denied all national distinctions between the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, including the Turks themselves. This theory is known in Europe as "Pan-Osmanism".

Secondly, the "new Ottomans" were isolated from the masses of the people. Consequently, they advocated palace revolution tactics. In 1867, the "new Ottomans" made their first attempt at a palace revolution. But the plot was uncovered by the police and members of the secret society were arrested. Some of them managed to escape abroad. In 1873, they returned to their native land, but were immediately banished to various regions of Turkey.

Midhat Pasha, a staunch advocate of constitution and reform and the Governor of Iraq between 1869 and 1871, was closely linked with the "new Ottomans". In 1872, he was appointed Great Vizir, but soon resigned because of his differences with the Sultan. In 1876, he took an active part in the May revolution as one of the leaders of the "new Ottoman" movement.

Upon their succession to power, the "new Ottomans" continued to act by means of high-level intrigue. Three days after the revolution, they did away with Sultan Abdul Aziz, who was murdered on the night of June 1. The official version of his death read: "His Highness, the padishah, in a fit of insanity lay hands on himself to the great sorrow of his loyal subjects."

In August 1876, the sultan was changed again. Murad V, who suffered from persecution mania, was too far gone to remain on the throne any longer. Midhat Pasha and his supporters made arrangements with Murad V's brother—Abdul Hamid—and on August 31, they proclaimed him Sultan. Abdul Hamid II, who represented the interests of the most reactionary sections of the Turkish feudal class, temporarily supported the "new Ottomans". He appointed Midhat Pasha Great Vizir and entrusted him with the task of drawing up a new constitution.

Midhat Pasha's constitution, which was slightly altered by Abdul Hamid, allowed the Sultan to retain considerable rights. He had the power to appoint and dismiss ministers, declare war and conclude peace, dissolve Parliament, annul civil laws and banish politically unreliable persons without trial. The Parliament was divided into two Houses: the Senate, which was appointed by the Sultan, and the Chamber of

Deputies, which was elected on the basis of property and age qualifications. All the Sultan's subjects, irrespective of language and religious differences, were declared "Ottomans" and had equal rights and obligations. The Turkish language, however, was made the official language of the Ottoman Empire and Islam, the official religion.

The promulgation of the constitution coincided with the opening of the International Conference at Constantinople on the reforms in Turkey's Balkan provinces. On December 23, 1876, when the delegates were assembling in conference, they heard a cannonade. The Turkish delegate explained to the gatherers that the salute was in honour of the constitution. "I feel," he said, "that in view of this great event our labours are unnecessary."

This manoeuvre, however, did not achieve its aim. Moreover, the Porte's refusal to show any willingness to meet the Balkan peoples' demands aggravated Russo-Turkish relations and led to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.

ZULUM (HAMDANIAN DESPOTISM), 1878-1908. The situation which had arisen both at home and abroad in connection with the Russo-Turkish War made it possible for Abdul Hamid II to get rid of the constitution and the "new Ottomans". The existing constitution did not suit him at all. He had used it in the diplomatic game and had no further use for it.

In February 1877, he dismissed and banished Midhat Pasha from the capital (first to Syria, then to Hejaz, where he was killed in 1883). On February 13, 1878, he even suspended indefinitely the feeble Parliament elected at the beginning of 1877, which had obeyed him without demur. Formally, the constitution was not abolished. Throughout Abdul Hamid II's reign it was published annually in the official Turkish calendar as the chief law of the state.

After the Parliament and the constitution had been suspended, the Sultan introduced a strict autocratic regime known as *Zulum* (Hamdanian despotism). Abdul Hamid II became the absolute ruler of the Ottoman Empire.

Lenin made an important contribution to the understanding of *Zulum* in his article "A New Chapter of World History", in which he wrote: "In Eastern Europe (Austria, the Balkans, Russia), the powerful survivals of medievalism,

which terribly hamper social development and the growth of the proletariat, still have not yet been abolished. These survivals are absolutism (the unlimited autocratic power), feudalism (landlordism and feudal privileges) and the suppression of nationalities.”¹

These three points characterise the Ottoman Empire’s social and political system during the period of *Zulum*. Landlordism still formed the basis of society. The big feudalists were Abdul Hamid II’s main supporters and occupied all the leading posts in the Turkish Government. The period of *Zulum* was a time of brutal national oppression and mass pogroms. Abdul Hamid drowned in blood the national liberation movement of the Armenians in East Anatolia in 1894-96, made short work of the Greek uprising on the island of Crete in 1896 and suppressed the Macedonian Christians’ aspirations to freedom.

During the period of *Zulum*, the country was run not so much by the government, but by the Sultan’s court. Abdul Hamid had surrounded himself with feudalists from the most backward provinces—Arabia and Kurdistan. The Kurds under the command of reactionary Arab and Circassian officers constituted the backbone of the irregular cavalry, the *hamdiéh*, which instilled terror in the Christian population of the Empire. The Circassian, Albanian, Kurdish and Arab feudalists played the leading role in the court. They constituted the country’s real government. Any of the Sultan’s odalisques exercised greater influence than his ministers. The whole court camarilla was thoroughly corrupt and foreign capitalists could not only buy any Turkish dignitary, but even the Sultan himself.

Denunciation and mutual espionage thrived in the Ottoman Empire in the period of *Zulum*. The Sultan’s dignitaries kept close watch over and informed against each other. The entire social life of the Ottoman Empire was supervised by the vigilant eye of the police and their numerous agents.

Abdul Hamid II even banned electricity and telephones in his palace for fear that someone might kill him with the wires.

Pan-Islamism was the official ideology of *Zulum* in a

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 368.

reactionary interpretation. Abdul Hamid II adopted Jamal ed-Din el-Afghani’s teachings on the unity of the Moslem peoples to his own ends. His ideal was an all-Moslem state with himself as the ruler, the sovereign of the faithful. Abdul Hamid II wanted to extend his power to all the Moslems of Egypt (who were under British control), the Moslems of North Africa, who were under French rule, the Moslems of British India and the Moslems of the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Volga, which were part of Russia. These wild imperialist plans were backed by Kaiser Wilhelm II, who wished to use Turkey in the struggle against the Entente Powers.

THE DECREE OF MUHARREM. The regime of *Zulum* was the most convenient form of statehood for the penetration of foreign capital into Turkey and the Arab countries and for their economic enslavement. During the period of *Zulum*, the semi-colonial exploitation of Abdul Hamid II’s domains was effected in two ways. On the one hand, Turkey and her Arab *vilayets* were utilised as a sales market and a source of raw materials. On the other hand, they were plundered by means of onerous loans and kilometric guarantees during railway construction.

At the end of the 19th century, Turkey’s importance as a sales market and raw material supplier increased, as can be seen from the growth of the Ottoman Empire’s foreign trade turnover. Turkish foreign trade rose more than two-fold within the thirty years preceding World War I. The following table shows Turkey’s imports and exports (annual average in million liras):

	Imports	Exports
1880	17.8	8.5
1900	23.8	14.9
1913	40.8	21.4

Syria, Iraq and Palestine accounted for about a quarter of the Ottoman Empire’s imports and about a fifth of its exports.

The increase of foreign trade drew Turkey and her Arab domains into the world capitalist economy not as equal

members, but as an agrarian and raw material appendage of the European capitalist economy. Turkish trade was based on unequal exchange and bore a specific colonial character. Cloth and yarn were Turkey's main import items while her main export items were raw wool and silk as well as hides, tobacco and all sorts of subtropical fruits.

British capital still played the major role in Turkish trade. In the eighties and nineties of the 19th century, however, the situation began to change. Although Britain continued to dominate the Turkish market, she was beginning to be forced out by the Germans, who had considerably increased their exports to Turkey. In 1882, Germany exported 6,000,000 marks' worth of goods to Turkey, whereas in 1895, the value of her exports rose to 35,000,000 marks.

The growing export of capital was the main feature of the imperialist era. This did not promote the Ottoman Empire's economic development. Foreign capital investments were not used for industry, but for state loans and railway construction. During the reign of *Zulum*, in 1890-1908, to be more exact, Turkey received twelve new loans of 45,000,000 liras. All told, by the outbreak of World War I, the Porte's foreign debts had reached 152,300,000 liras. The public debt was the main foreign capital investment sphere in Turkey. Other foreign capital investment spheres were banking and railway construction. By 1914, foreign investments in Turkey, apart from loans, were estimated at £63,400,000. Of these, £39,100,000 were accounted for by railway construction and £10,200,000 by banks. Industrial investments comprised £5,500,000, i.e., only about 8 per cent of foreign capital investment (excluding the public debt).

Turkey's usurious exploitation by foreign capital exhausted her finances and led to her complete financial collapse. The first bankruptcy of 1875 was followed by another one in 1879. At the Powers' demands, in 1881, the Sultan issued the decree of *muharrem*, establishing foreign control over the Ottoman Empire's finances. It was called the decree of *muharrem* because it bore the date, Turkish style, of the 28th of *muharrem* (December 20, 1881, according to the Moslem calendar). The decree of *muharrem* consolidated the Ottoman Empire's general debt, which was fixed at 2,400,000,000 francs. The debt was reduced by

more than half, but it still exceeded the Porte's actual debt by 300,000,000 francs.

A special Administration was formed to supervise the Ottoman public debt. Formally, it was regarded as a Turkish institution. Actually, the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt was in the hands of foreigners who represented the French, British, Italian, German and Austria-Hungarian banks. Russia was not represented on the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Debt, but the payment of 300,000,000 rubles (802,000,000 francs) of war indemnities to Russia was executed through the Administration of the Debt. As for Turkey, her representative on the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Debt merely had the right to a deliberative vote.

The Administration of the Ottoman Debt became the second Finance Ministry of the Ottoman Empire. It had over 5,000 officials, who operated parallel to the Turkish state machinery and were entrusted with greater powers.

The most important items of the Ottoman Empire's state revenues passed under the Administration's control. The revenues from the tobacco and salt monopolies, from stamps, spirits, the tithe from specified *vilayets* and also the Bulgarian tribute, the revenues from Eastern Rumelia and Cyprus, the surplus from the customs (in event of their increase) and the like, all flowed into the Administration's treasury.

The Administration's extortions and its perfected methods of plunder only intensified the tax oppression in the Ottoman Empire. A number of branch societies, which also engaged in usurious plunder and were controlled by the same group of foreign capital, germinated from the Ottoman Debt Administration. In 1883, the highly profitable tobacco monopoly was made into an independent concession *Regie cointeressée des tabacs Ottoman*, which was known as *Regie*. The concession received the exclusive right to manufacture, purchase and sell tobacco. The *Regie's* tyranny seriously affected the tobacco growers' position, especially in Syria.

GERMAN PENETRATION. At the end of the 19th century, railway construction, which the foreign capitalists used as a means of extracting fabulous profits, acquired an out-

right political character. It became one of the means of political penetration into the Ottoman Empire and the object of intense rivalry between the imperialists.

Count Moltke, one of the biggest theoreticians and practitioners of German militarism, was one of the first to realise the new significance of railway construction. In an article written in the middle of the 19th century, he had proposed laying a railway across the whole Ottoman Empire. He wrote that the shoulder from which this iron arm would stretch should be a United German Empire. This arm would then cut across Asia Minor and extend its fingers to the borders of the Caucasus, Iraq and India.

By the sixties of the 19th century, German economists and sociologists were regarding the Ottoman Empire as their future colony. The German economist Rodbertus wrote that he hoped to live to see the day when the Turkish inheritance would pass to Germany and regiments of German soldiers would be stationed on the shores of the Bosphorus.

After Germany's reunification, the German junkers and capitalists set about carrying out these expansionist plans. The Ottoman Empire was to be turned into a region of German colonisation, while Iraq was to become the German Empire's granary and cotton plantation. German diplomacy counted on Turkey's coming completely under Germany's control and flatly refused to have anything to do with the various plans for the partition of the Ottoman Empire.

German penetration proceeded through military, economic and political canals.

In 1882, Baron von der Goltz's military mission was invited to Turkey, where it spent fourteen years. Colonel von der Goltz became a Turkish pasha and reorganised the army. The Turkish military schools were placed under the mission's supervision. German military traditions were introduced in the Sultan's army. Many Turkish officers were sent to Germany for training and to complete their military education.

Simultaneously, the Germans began putting von Moltke's railway plans into practice. On October 4, 1888, the German capitalist Alfred Kaulla, acting on instructions from the Deutsche Bank and the Wurtemberg Bank, received a

concession for the construction of a railway from the Bosphorus to Ankara. The line was to begin at Haidar-Pasha Station in Scutari, a district of Constantinople situated on the Asian shores of the Bosphorus. Part of the line up to Izmir had already been built by an Anglo-Greek company. The Turkish Government bought this line from the British and handed it over to the Germans. Alfred Kaulla took over the task of continuing the line. As yet there were no plans for extending it to Baghdad, but the foundation for the construction of the Baghdad Railway, which played an important part in the history of international relations during the era of imperialism, had been laid.

To strengthen German influence, Kaiser Wilhelm II paid two spectacular visits to the Orient. The first took place in November 1889, soon after Wilhelm II's accession to the throne. The whole affair was arranged with great pomp. The Sultan himself welcomed the Kaiser with an artillery salute on the embankment in front of his palace. On the Sultan's orders, a special medal was stamped in the Kaiser's honour. In a telegram to Bismarck, Wilhelm wrote: "My sojourn in Constantinople is a heavenly dream."

The German diplomats made skilful use of the differences between the Porte and the other European Powers, always stressing the hostility of the great European Powers towards Turkey. Britain had seized Egypt and Cyprus, France had seized Algeria and Tunisia, and Russia had annexed Kars and Ardagan and freed the Balkans. German diplomats alleged that only Germany was not interested in territorial seizures and in weakening Turkey, while frightening the Sultan in every possible way with talk of the Powers' real and imaginary plans for aggression.

This policy played a definite role in the German-Turkish rapprochement, in establishing German political control over Turkey. In the eighties and nineties of the 19th century, there was a shift from the former pro-British orientation to a new pro-German orientation. Germany became the Porte's "friend and ally".

Kaiser Wilhelm II's second visit to the Orient in October-November 1898 ensured German diplomacy's success. This visit was arranged with even greater pomp than the first. The Kaiser toured not only Constantinople, but also Jerusalem and Damascus. Claiming to be the Moslems' defender

and protector, he made a pilgrimage to the burial place of the Moslem saints and laid a wreath on the tomb of Saladin. "His Majesty the Sultan and the three hundred million Moslems who revere him as the Caliph may rest assured that they will always have a friend in the German Emperor,"¹ he declared at Saladin's tomb.

The Kaiser's second visit coincided with an intensification of the struggle over railway concessions. In 1892, after the line to Ankara had been completed, the Germans asked for a concession to continue the line. Before reaching Ankara, the line was to branch off to the south and then turn to the east in the direction of Konya. This concession evoked protests from Britain, Russia and France. The Germans insisted on the concession and threatened to oppose Britain in the Egyptian question. Britain was forced to change her position and the German company received the concession.

When the railway was extended to Konya in 1894, the question arose whether to continue the line to Baghdad. An intense diplomatic struggle ensued. Since Turkey intended to grant kilometric guarantees, but lacked the money to do so, the Germans proposed she should increase import duties from 8 per cent to 11 per cent ad valorem. This, however, meant securing Britain's, France's and Russia's sanction, with whom Turkey was connected by commercial treaties.

Britain agreed to the duty increase, but demanded by way of compensation that British capital be invited to participate in the construction of the Baghdad railway. France took the same stand and the question arose of internationalising the Baghdad railway. Russia categorically objected to its construction.

In 1899, the German capitalists agreed to make the construction an international undertaking. French and British capital would be invited to participate but the Germans would keep the controlling shares and the whole management of the railway in their own hands. A lengthy argument then arose over the distribution of shares and the managerial and administrative posts. The upshot was that the French Government was unable to reach an under-

¹ George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, L., p. 77.

standing with the Germans and refused to take part in the railway's construction.

Having failed to reach agreement with the Powers, the Germans decided to build the first 200 kilometres of the line. In 1903, a final concession for the construction was contracted, but it was only in 1911 that the Germans won the Powers' approval for the increase of duties and the extension of the railway.

BRITAIN'S AND FRANCE'S POSITIONS IN THE ARAB PROVINCES OF TURKEY. Despite Germany's intensified penetration, British and French capitalists continued to hold important positions in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the far-flung Arab provinces. Syria and the Lebanon were the main spheres of French influence and Iraq and, to some extent, Palestine were influenced by the British.

France turned Syria and the Lebanon into a source of cheap agricultural produce. By the opening of the 20th century, she had captured approximately a third of Syria's exports. French investors virtually controlled the manufacture and sale of Syrian raw silk and used nearly all of it for the textile mills of Lyons. The primary processing of silk was monopolised by French capital and its com-pradore agents. The Syrian tobacco growers depended wholly on the Regie, where French capital had the upper hand.

To speed up the process of pumping out raw material, the French fitted out a large port in Beirut and laid a number of railway lines (from Jaffa to Jerusalem and from Beirut to Damascus) connecting the interior with the coast. Branches of French banks such as the *Crédit Lyonnais*, which played a leading role in the country's economic enslavement, were opened in the chief towns of Syria and Palestine.

British capital had the dominating influence in Iraq, which had become a market for British goods and a supplier of agricultural products. At the outset of the 20th century, Britain accounted for approximately two-thirds of Iraq's imports. About a third of Iraq's exports went to Britain and to Britain's domains in India. The manufacture and sale of Iraq's agricultural products depended wholly

on the British exporters in Basra and Baghdad. Ever since 1861, the British had controlled the concession for the organisation of river transport along the Tigris and Euphrates.

It must be noted, however, that the British and French capitalists were not the sole bosses in the Porte's Arab provinces. They had to compete with the Belgian, Austria-Hungarian and Italian capitalists, but, as everywhere else in the Ottoman Empire, their main rival was German capital. The German Deutsche Orient Bank and the Deutsche Palestina Bank had branches in many Syrian and Palestinian towns. Paul Rohrbach, a theoretician of German imperialism, wrote that Germany's future in the Orient lay in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine. "One of the richest oil sources in the world is to be found right next to Nineveh, where the Baghdad railway runs. There are huge deposits of copper and other metals in the heart of the Taurus Mountains. The plains of Babylon could become the greatest supplier of wheat and cotton in the world. In Mesopotamia there are pastures for millions of sheep. Here we have most of the raw material we need. Moreover, it is all concentrated in one place."

THE ARAB PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REIGN OF ZULUM. The penetration of foreign capital and the harsh police regime of *Zulum* evoked widespread discontent. The peoples of the Ottoman Empire suffered dual oppression—that of the foreign capitalists and that of the Turkish pashas. The people, however, regarded the regime of *Zulum*, its oppressive feudal-bureaucratic and tax-paying system as the main cause of their troubles. This, they felt, was what was chiefly to blame for their foreign enslavement.

The growing dissatisfaction with the regime spread to the representatives of the national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and likewise to the broad masses of the people—peasants, artisans and the emergent working class. The discontent was reflected in the diffusion of anti-government feelings among the Arab intellectuals and in the people's spontaneous outbursts.

In 1886, a peasant uprising headed by Shibli Atrash, a representative of one of the noble Druse clans, flared up

in the Jebel Druse (the Druse Mountains). Shibli Atrash was called the friend of the fellaheen and in the struggle against the Turks he gained the Druse peasants' whole-hearted support. The uprising waned only when the Turkish authorities agreed to a compromise and appointed Shibli Atrash Emir of the Druses.

In 1896, in reply to the Turks' attempt to introduce compulsory military service, a fresh uprising flared up in the Jebel Druse. It was renewed in 1899, when the Turkish authorities began building barracks in Suweida, an administrative post in the centre of the Jebel Druse. The Turks lost about 500 men in subduing the uprising. But in 1906 fresh disturbances broke out in this area.

The major disorders and disturbances among the urban population took place in Aleppo (1895) and Beirut (1903). They were of a spontaneous and local character, however, and offered no serious threat to the Turkish authorities, who had no trouble in suppressing the masses' unco-ordinated activities.

In 1875, the same deep-rooted feeling of discontent led to the formation of a secret society of Arab intellectuals in Beirut. It was headed by Ibrahim Yazeji and Faris Nimr and had branches in Damascus, Tripoli and Suweida. The society circulated leaflets advertising its tasks and aims. Its programme, drawn up in 1880, called for Syria's and the Lebanon's independence, the acknowledgement of Arabic as the official language, the abolition of censorship and other restrictions on freedom of speech, and a ban on the use of local military contingents beyond the Syrian and Lebanese borders. Gradually, however, the society's activities, isolated from the masses, began to abate and somewhere around 1885 it virtually broke up.

Brutal police repressions and the large-scale spying hampered the formation and diffusion of national liberation ideas. Many representatives of the Arab intelligentsia fled to Egypt, Europe and North America, seeking refuge from Abdul Hamid II's persecutions. They could express their views, their compatriots' hopes, more freely in exile. Faris Nimr, Abd ar-Rahman el-Kawakebi and others continued their activities in Egypt.

Many Arab Nationalists relied on the Turkish revolutionaries' (the Young Turks) support in the struggle against

THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES

the despotic regime of *Zulum*. In alliance with the Young Turks they planned to depose Abdul Hamid II and realise the Arabs' national aspirations within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Others favoured the Arab countries' secession and complete independence. To achieve this they looked to the European Powers for aid.

In 1904, the Christian Arab Najib Azuri founded the *Ligue de la Patrie Arabe* in Paris. He was almost the only member of the organisation, but he was extremely active, and published several appeals on the League's behalf. In 1905, he published a book in French called *The Awakening of the Arab Nation (Le Réveil de la Nation Arabe)* and in 1907, he began the publication of a monthly review entitled *L'Indépendance Arabe*. His slogan was "the Arab countries for the Arabs." In his appeals he called on the Arabs to rise in revolt and form their own state from the Porte's Arab provinces. Egypt and the North African countries were not included in his plans for a united Arab state. Azuri did not wish to spoil his relations with the Powers. Moreover, his scheme reflected the Syrian bourgeoisie's aspirations to Arab leadership. Azuri promised to respect the interests of foreigners and counted on their co-operation in the struggle against the Turks. Najib Azuri's programme fell short of the demands of the bourgeois-democratic revolution; his Arab League was isolated from the masses and had no faith in the forces of the mass popular movement.

This isolation from the people and the absence of all contact with them was a characteristic feature of Arab nationalism at the turn of the 19th century, and one of the main reasons for its weakness. Most of the Arab nationalists lived abroad and restricted their activities to the propagation of nationalist ideas. Despite their weakness and shortcomings, however, their activities paved the way for the Arabs' national awakening and were one of the factors which brought about the upsurge of the national liberation movement in the Arab countries in the period of the general awakening of Asia.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1908 IN TURKEY. In July 1908, an armed uprising flared up in Turkey. It was organised by the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihad ve Terrakki*), which was founded in 1894. The members of the committee were progressive officers and intellectuals who represented the interests of the Turkish bourgeoisie and favoured the Ottoman Empire's conversion into a bourgeois-constitutional state. Their chief demand was to restore the constitution.

At first, the committee's leaders confined themselves to conspiratorial tactics, but provocateurs helped Abdul Hamid's detectives to expose some of the Young Turks' underground organisations and arrest the leaders. The trial of the committee members went on from 1897 to 1899. Many of the committee's supporters emigrated.

A split took place in the Young Turk movement abroad. In 1902, at the Paris Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress a group of Ottoman liberals under Prince Sabah ed-Din, who founded the League of Decentralisation and Private Initiative, came to the fore. Sabah ed-Din regarded himself as an anarchist and a follower of P. Kropotkin and E. Reclus. Attempting to apply the anarchist theory to Turkish history, Sabah ed-Din advocated the development of private initiative. He felt that the root of the evil lay in Turkey's medieval economy and in the absence of private enterprise. Another radical evil of the Ottoman Empire which, according to him, was the cause of all disturbances and disorders was the oppression of nationalities and the Turkish State's multinational structure.

Sabah ed-Din and his supporters drew the Turkish revolutionaries' attention to the question of nationalities and were

the first to establish contacts with the national minorities' political organisations. There was a divergence of views, however, among the Young Turks on this question. One trend, which was headed by Sabah ed-Din and his League of Decentralisation and Private Initiative, was in favour of settling the nationalities question by creating autonomous provinces on the basis of decentralisation. This trend was actively supported by representatives of the Greek and Armenian bourgeoisie and also by feudalists of other nationalities—Arabs and to some extent the Albanians. Sabah ed-Din, however, who advocated broad autonomy for the national regions, did not play a leading part in the Young Turk movement and later completely withdrew from politics. His supporters, who had formed a break-away party, later opposed the Young Turks and then drifted over to the counter-revolution.

Most of the Turkish revolutionaries who rallied round the Committee of Union and Progress favoured the formation of a single centralised Turkish state. They proceeded from the assumption that the Turks were the predominant nationality in Turkey. But since their primary aim was to overthrow the Hamdanian regime of *Zulum* they felt it was possible to form a bloc with the national minority organisations for the joint execution of this task.

The Russian Revolution of 1905-07 stimulated the revolutionary developments in Turkey. It had a great impact on the Turkish intellectuals and on the revolutionary-minded officers. In 1906, a group of Turkish officers sent a letter to the relatives of Lieutenant Schmidt, who had headed the Sevastopol uprising of 1905, vowing to fight for "sacred civil liberty" and for the "right to live as human beings".

In 1906, the Committee of Union and Progress shifted its headquarters to Salonika and set about creating a wide network of revolutionary organisations. The Young Turks chose Macedonia, a permanent breeding ground of anti-feudal struggle, as their movement's main centre. At the same time, they decided to unite all the revolutionary forces. With this aim in view they convened in Paris, at the end of 1907, a congress of all the opposition parties and groups in the Ottoman Empire. Apart from the Committee of Union and Progress this congress was attended by representatives of Sabah ed-Din's League of Decentralisation

and Private Initiative, by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, by the Armenian Dashnaktsutyun and by the Arab Nationalists.

At the Paris Congress, a united front of national-revolutionary forces was formed on the basis of common and immediate aims. The Young Turks and the representatives of the national minorities made mutual concessions. The Young Turks agreed to the principle of political and cultural self-determination, while the representatives of the national minorities declared that they would be content to receive autonomy within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. The participants in the congress worked out specific forms and methods of struggle such as refusal to take the oath of allegiance in the army, provoking disturbances among the civilian population, strikes of officials and police aimed at disorganising the machinery of state, refusal to pay taxes, armed resistance to the authorities and an armed uprising.

The resolutions passed by the congress stressed that the uprising should be carried out mainly by the armed forces. The date of the uprising was fixed for October 1908.

International events spurred the outbreak of the insurrection. On July 3, 1908, Niazi, the commandant of the Resna fortress in Macedonia, initiated an uprising and retreated to the mountains, where he was joined by Enver, Mustafa Kemal, Jemal and others together with their detachments. Soon the revolutionary detachments had occupied Monastir (Bitolj), where the headquarters of the First Army was situated and from there they threatened to march on Constantinople. Thinking that the troops in the capital and in Asia Minor had also sided with the Young Turks, Sultan Abdul Hamid agreed to a compromise. On July 24, 1908, he restored the constitution and appointed elections. He then issued decrees instituting freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the right to assembly. He also abolished censorship and pardoned political prisoners.

The Young Turk Revolution was victorious.

This, however, was only a partial victory. The Young Turks feared the masses' revolutionary initiative and tried to come to an understanding with the former government. Instead of forming a new cabinet, they allowed power to remain in the hands of the Sultan and his cabinet from

which only the most compromised members were removed. "... It is only half a victory," Lenin wrote of the first successes of the Young Turk Revolution, "or even less, since Turkey's Nicholas II has so far managed to get away with a promise to restore the celebrated Turkish constitution."¹

THE ARABS AND THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION. The news that the Revolution had been victorious and that the constitution had been restored was jubilantly received in the Porte's Arab provinces. The Arabs regarded the Revolution as their own victory. There was celebrating and merry-making everywhere. An eyewitness wrote that this event evoked general enthusiasm throughout Syria. Christians and Moslems, even priests and *mullahs* (Moslem priests) fraternised at public meetings. Writers hailed a new era of freedom, equality and fraternity.

Another eyewitness wrote that it was impossible to describe the people's enthusiasm. "All barriers immediately fell and the age-old religious enmity died away. People fraternised in the streets. Youths who only yesterday had been strangers to the crowd climbed up on improvised rostrums and stirred the people with their fiery speeches. Their courage knew no bounds..."

The Revolution gave full scope to the initiative of the masses. The people opposed their oppressors. A mass movement began in Beirut against the *mutasarrif*, who had his seat at Beit-Ed-Din (the centre of the mountainous Lebanon), for the annexation of Beirut and the valley of Biqa'a to the autonomous Lebanon. The movement was headed by Selim Ammun, a highly educated man of noble origin, who liked to repeat that the highest ambition one could have was to be a good peasant of one's country. In September 1908, he became the president of the Administrative Council; he carried out a number of reforms and founded the Democratic Society. But in 1909, on receiving news of the April coup d'état in Constantinople, he died, and the Lebanese democratic movement was defeated.

In 1909, the peasant movement broke out in another district. The Druse peasants once again rose in rebellion. The movement's centre was Hauran. The insurgents laid

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 183.

siege to and took over the town of Busra and entered the valley of Biqa'a. For two years they waged guerilla warfare, seizing transports and ambushing trains, small garrisons and Turkish troop columns. The Turks killed 6,000 Druses, i.e., almost one-tenth of the entire population of Jebel Druse, before they managed to suppress the uprising.

The peasant movement in Iraq began later than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. It acquired considerable dimensions in 1913-14 in connection with the Turkish authorities' decision to sell state lands to foreigners. Cases of peasants refusing to pay their taxes became more frequent and the authorities had to send punitive expeditions to the countryside to suppress the disturbances.

The main reason for the democratic movement's weakness in the Arab countries was that there was no link between the peasant uprisings and the actions of the urban population. The peasants often acted under the leadership of feudal lords or tribal sheikhs. On the other hand, the small democratic groups which existed in the towns (especially in Syria and the Lebanon) were still unable to find a common language with the peasants; they could not depend on the popular masses and yielded the leadership of the national liberation movement to the national bourgeoisie and the feudalists.

"ARAB-OTTOMAN FRATERNITY". In the early days following the Revolution broad sections of the Arab national bourgeoisie had illusions about the possibility of radical reforms and the national emancipation of the Arabs within the framework of a renovated Turkey. The Arab Nationalists counted on the Young Turks' co-operation and hoped to solve the Arab countries' problems with their help.

After the Revolution, the centre of the Arab national movement shifted from exile to Constantinople, where the most active elements among the Arab people—officers, students and officials—were concentrated.

At a large meeting of the Arab colony in Constantinople, held on September 2, 1908, they founded the first more or less mass organisation under the name of *El-Ikha El-Arabi El-Uthmani* (The Ottoman Arab Fraternity). The fraternity began to publish its own paper and opened branches in nearly all of the Porte's Arab provinces.

The Arab Ottoman Fraternity adopted the Young Turks' attitude. Its Constituent Assembly was attended by members of the Committee of Union and Progress. The fraternity's leaders proceeded from the Pan-Osmanic theory and acknowledged the existence of the Ottoman nation. They said that the single Ottoman nation was divided into a number of *millet*s and the Arabs, one of the most important elements of the Ottoman people, constituted one of these *millet*s. Their programme did not contain a single word about a separate Arab nation. Not only was there no mention of independence, but, what is more, there was no mention of the Arabs' right to self-determination and to organise autonomous bodies. On the contrary, the Arab Ottoman Fraternity felt its main task was to assist the Committee of Union and Progress. The only national points in the programme were the demands for national equality, for the spread of education in the Arabic tongue and the observance of Arab customs.

The Arab Ottoman Fraternity's leaders were Arab members of the Young Turk Party. The fraternity's president Sadik Pasha el-Azm, one of the Committee of Union and Progress's organisers, was a former officer of the Turkish General Staff and a diplomat. He had been living in exile, where he edited a Young Turkish newspaper in the Arabic language. After the 1908 Revolution, he returned to Constantinople and became one of the leaders of the Young Turkish movement.

THE ARAB DELEGATION TO THE PARLIAMENT.
THE YOUNG TURKS' POLICY ON NATIONALITIES.
The elections to the Turkish Parliament and the Young Turks' programme, published in the fall of 1908, and far more moderate than all their previous programmes and pledges, were a serious blow to the Young Turk illusions held by the Arab Nationalists. "The Young Turks are praised for their moderation and restraint." Lenin wrote in October 1908, "i.e., the Turkish revolution is being praised because it is weak, because it is not rousing the popular masses to really independent action, because it is hostile to the proletarian struggle beginning in the Ottoman Empire."¹

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 222.

An example of this "restraint" and "moderation" were the elections to the Turkish Parliament, which were held in two stages. Real popular representatives were not admitted to the electors' meetings in the *sanjaqs*. The entire electoral machine was in the hands of the committees of the Union and Progress Party, which nominated candidates and secured their passage into the Parliament. The results were a disappointment to the Arabs. Out of a total of 245 deputies, 150 were Turks and only 60 were Arabs, whereas the very opposite was the case with regard to the population of the Ottoman Empire, which had a population of approximately 22,000,000, of which 7,500,000 were Turks and 10,500,000, Arabs.

The Arab delegation showed no initiative in Parliament. It sided with and supported the Young Turks. The majority of the Arabs, however, were dissatisfied. By the end of 1908, many Arab feudalists and even Nationalists were in favour of forming a Liberal Party (*Hizb El-Ahrar*). This party, which actually expressed the interests of feudal-compradore circles, took a reactionary stand, but had inherited the traditions of Sabah ed-Din's League of Decentralisation and Private Initiative in the question of nationalities.

With the help of this party and of the Moslem clergy, the students of the *madrasahs* and the Guards, Sultan Abdul Hamid II engineered a coup d'état. On April 13, 1909, the insurgents seized a number of government buildings and launched repressions against the Young Turks. Mohammed Arslan, a prominent figure of the Arab movement, was among those killed. The Young Turks, however, quickly managed to organise a rebuff. The "army of the movement" under Mahmud Shevket Pasha and Mustafa Kemal suppressed the rebellion after fierce fighting in the streets. On April 27, 1909, Abdul Hamid II was overthrown. The Young Turks proclaimed the new Sultan, sixty-four year old Prince Reshad, Abdul Hamid II's younger brother, who took the name of Mohammed V. After the rebellion had been suppressed, the Young Turk leaders decided not to restrict themselves to control of the government apparatus and formed a government themselves.

Upon their succession to power, the Young Turks completely degenerated and broke away from the masses. They

were conciliatory towards Turkey's reactionary chauvinist circles and began an open struggle against the revolutionary movement. On the domestic scene they preserved feudal land tenure, abandoned tax reforms in the peasants' favour and took a number of measures against the workers, particularly the strike law of 1910. On the international scene the Young Turks refused to free the country from all forms of foreign influence and conspired with the German imperialists. They adopted Abdul Hamid II's pro-German orientation and turned the country into a vassalage of Kaiser Germany. In their struggle against Britain, France and Russia, the German diplomats made skilful use of the Young Turks' adherence to the principles of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, adventurous theories which regarded all peoples who spoke Turkish as a single nation.

The Young Turks' national policy was especially reactionary. They went back on the promises they had made to the national minorities at the Paris Congress of 1907. The Armenian pogroms continued, as they had under Abdul Hamid II. Arab, Albanian and other non-Turkish societies were closed. In April 1909, the Arab Ottoman Fraternity was banned. The Young Turks armed themselves with the doctrines of Pan-Osmanism in its Turkish interpretation and pursued a policy of compulsory Turkisation of the non-Turkish nationalities. National schools were closed, the Turkish language was made the only official language of the Ottoman Empire.

THE LITERARY CLUB AND THE QAHTANIYA.
The Young Turk government's policy evoked opposition among the national minorities and compelled the Arab nationalities to oppose the Young Turkish regime. The Arab-Ottoman honeymoon had ended and the national movement acquired an openly anti-Turkish character.

The banning of legal organisations forced the leaders of the Arab movement to change their tactics. They began to combine legal struggle with underground work and intensified their activities abroad. In the summer of 1909, in place of the banned Arab Ottoman Fraternity they founded the Literary Club (*El-Muntada El-Arabi*) in Constantinople. Its official objectives were not avowedly political and the Young Turks tolerated it as a cultural and

educational organisation. The Literary Club's social basis was the same as that of the Ottoman Arab Fraternity, but its leaders were completely different. These were people who had devoted themselves wholly to the struggle against the Turkish yoke. Four out of the Club Committee's six members were hung by the Turks during World War I.

The Club had several thousand members, most of them students. There were branches in many Syrian and Iraqi towns.

The Club and its branches became centres where progressive Arab intellectuals could meet. Illegal literature was smuggled in from Egypt and the United States. Above all, the Club provided a cover for the Arab Nationalists' illegal organisations.

At the end of 1909, Karim el-Khalil, the president of the Club, founded a secret political society which operated parallel to the legal organisations. The new society was named *El-Qahtaniya*, after Qahtan, one of the Arabs' legendary ancestors. The society was comprised mainly of Arab officers serving in the Turkish army, among whom Aziz Ali el-Maisri played the leading role. An Egyptian by birth, he had served in the Turkish army and had taken part in the Young Turk Revolution. In 1909, he entered this secret anti-Turkish society and was soon in virtual control of all its affairs.

The *Qahtaniya's* tasks and aims were worded in extremely vague terms: "To spread the principles of truth among the sons of the people, to gather their efforts, to unite their ranks," and so on. The society's members rejected the Arab Ottoman Fraternity's Pan-Osmanic principles and regarded the Arabs as a nation apart. Their idea was to reorganise the Ottoman Empire and the dual Arab-Turkish state on the lines of Austria-Hungary. The Turkish Sultan would be simultaneously King of the Arabs. The Arab provinces were to form a separate kingdom within the framework of the Arab-Turkish Empire with its own parliament and local government, and with Arabic as the official language.

The secret society's centre was in Constantinople; it also had branches in five other towns. In spite of enthusiastic beginnings, however, it never really got down to active work. Traitors turned up in its midst and it was decided to disperse before police action was taken.

THE YOUNG ARAB SOCIETY. In Paris, in 1911, a group of students, members of the Literary Club who were pursuing their studies in France, founded the secret Young Arab Society (*Jam'iyat El-Arabiya El-Fatat*), which played an important role in the history of the Arab national liberation movement. Many of its members perished at the hands of the Turkish executioners during World War I. Others lived to become outstanding politicians and statesmen of the Arab countries (Jamil Mardam, Rustum Haidar, Auni Abd al-Hadi).

The society's founders set themselves a concrete aim. They wanted to be what the Young Turks were for Turkey. Gradually there emerged a more concrete programme based on the principles of Arab independence. At first the Young Arabs spoke in general terms of the Arab people's renaissance and favoured the decentralisation of the Ottoman Empire. Later they demanded independence for the Arab countries and struggled for the Arabs' liberation from Turkish and all other forms of foreign domination.

The Young Arab Society was strictly conspiratorial. Its members were divided into three groups: (1) an administrative group of six leaders; (2) an active group formed from among members who had gone through a preliminary probation period; (3) a group of candidates who had been tried and proved and were ignorant of each others' identity. In their documents the Young Arabs resorted to all sorts of secret ciphers and symbols. They called each other "my brother", wrote about the sunrise and sunset, about love and faith and used Masonic terminology.

This, however, was no mere pretence of conspiracy. On their return to their homeland, the secret society's members took an active part in the political struggle. In 1913, they took the lead in uniting the actions of all the Arab national parties and organisations.

FRENCH CLAIMS ON SYRIA AND THE LEBANON.

France and Britain supported the separatist tendencies in the Porte's Arab provinces. Operating in their respective spheres of influence, they tried to win the Arab Nationalists over to their side and thereby strengthen their positions for the time when the Ottoman Empire would be partitioned. France was especially active. The French consulates in

Damascus and Beirut established ties with several Arab Nationalists and financed the publication of several Lebanese newspapers. The French Government allotted considerable sums for the upkeep of French schools in Syria and the Lebanon, which had 25,000 pupils, and encouraged all kinds of scientific, cultural, educational and charity organisations.

In 1912, during the Italo-Turkish war, Italian warships appeared off the shores of Beirut and shelled the Turkish ships at anchor in the port. The shelling caused considerable excitement in Syria and the Lebanon and gave the French an excuse to come forward openly with their claims. In December 1912, the Prime Minister of France, Raymond Poincaré, declared in the Chamber of Deputies that France had special interests in Syria and the Lebanon and that she would never renounce her traditional positions in these countries, the local population's "sympathies" or her right to defend these positions and interests. Simultaneously, in December 1912, France secured the conclusion of a new protocol on the Lebanese question by which the Lebanon's former autonomy established by the conventions of 1861 and 1864 was considerably expanded.

On behalf of the British Government Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, immediately backed Poincaré's statement. True, later by way of "clarification" Grey declared in Parliament that the British assurances given in 1912 applied only to railway construction, and that Britain was in favour of preserving the Ottoman Empire's unity and integrity.

THE DECENTRALISATION PARTY. Between 1912 and 1913 the international situation developed favourably for the Arab Nationalists. The uprisings in Yemen and Albania, the Turks' failures in the war against Italy (1911-12) and the coalition of the Balkan states (1912-13) weakened the Ottoman Empire and led to the liberation of the Balkans' Greek and Slav population from the Turkish yoke. In 1912, Albania won her independence. All these events were of exceptional significance in the oppressed peoples' struggle for liberation. Lenin regarded the first Balkan war as "one link in the chain of world events marking the collapse of the medieval state of affairs in Asia and East Europe".¹

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 39.

The Young Turks' failures abroad, their reactionary policy on nationalities and their complete neglect of the common people's interests evoked considerable discontent in Turkey, which became apparent among both Right and Left wingers. In 1911, the Right-wing opposition forces merged in the Freedom and Concord Party (*Hurriyet ve Ittilaf*), which reflected the Turkish feudal-compradore interests and, unlike the Young Turks, took its cue from the Entente countries in foreign policy. With regard to the national question it continued Sabah ed-Din's traditions and took a progressive stand. The Party of Freedom and Concord was in favour of decentralisation of the empire. It supported the slogans "The Balkan countries for the Balkan peoples", "The Arab countries for the Arabs", "Armenia for the Armenians" and "Kurdistan for the Kurds." Its members, the *Ittilafists*, demanded autonomy for these regions inside the Ottoman Empire. In July 1912, the *Ittilafists* came to power through a coup d'état. They were unable, however, to solve Turkey's pressing domestic and foreign problems and they themselves became victims of a coup. On January 23, 1913, the Young Turks regained power. In effect, the reins of government were held by a Young Turk triumvirate, Enver, Talaat and Jemal, who turned the country into a patrimony of German imperialism. The Germans jokingly referred to the Ottoman Empire as "Enverland" after the leading pro-German.

All these events, the Turks' military defeats, the Balkan peoples' liberation, the accession to power of the Party of Freedom and Concord, and also the pressure of the Powers, caused an upswing of the national movement in the Arab countries in 1912-14. These developments showed that the Ottoman Empire was near to collapse. The series of coups, particularly, was a sign of a top-level crisis in Turkey. The revolutionary spirit continued to expand in the Arab provinces. New political and revolutionary societies arose. The national demands became part of the people's life.

During the first Balkan war in December 1912, the Arab Nationalists founded the Ottoman Administrative Decentralisation Party (*Hizb El-Lamarkaziya El-Idariya El-Uthmani*) in Cairo. This party was closely linked with the Turkish Party of Freedom and Concord and its programme had much in common with that of the *Ittilafists*.

The Decentralisation Party had approximately 10,000 members and had branches in nearly all the towns of Syria and Palestine and in many regions of Iraq. The Party was headed by a central committee of twenty members and an executive body of six of their own number. The party's president was Rafik el-Azm, a prominent Arab publicist, sociologist and philosopher and a member of Kawakebi's Cairo circle. The Vice-President was another of Kawakebi's pupils—Sheikh el-Zahrawi, an outstanding Arab publicist from the town of Hama and a deputy to the Turkish Parliament.

The party pressed for maximum Arab participation in the government of the empire, in the senate and in parliament. It demanded that Arabic be recognised as the official language and that it be introduced in Arab schools as a compulsory subject. The Decentralisation Party pressed for the Arab *vilayets*' separation into special autonomous provinces with local governments and provincial assemblies. The autonomous provinces were to be granted extensive rights, such as the right to invite foreign advisers at their own discretion, to contract foreign loans and to grant concessions. The Decentralisation Party placed high hopes on the Western Powers' intervention. They even agreed to the establishment of French control over Syria and the Lebanon and British control over the greater part of Palestine and Iraq.

The Decentralisation Party and its local branches launched a vigorous campaign. They put out leaflets, organised meetings and demonstrations and distributed songs and poems.

Very close contacts were maintained with the Literary Club and with other Arab national societies, especially with the Syrian and Iraqi reform societies.

THE SYRIAN AND IRAQI REFORM SOCIETIES. A number of legal societies and committees in favour of reforms within the framework of the Ottoman Empire arose in Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq on the basis of the autonomous principles proposed by the Decentralisation Party. The most important of these were the Beirut Committee of Reform (*El-Jamiya El-Islahiya*), the Lebanese Awakening Society (*An-Nagda El-Lubnaniya*), the Baghdad National Scientific Club (*An Nadi El-Uatani El-Ilmi*), the Basra

Reform Society (*El Jamiya El-Islahiya*) and the Basra branch of the Beirut Committee of Reform.

The powerful influence of the compradore elements of the Syrian and Lebanese bourgeoisie made itself felt in the Syrian reform societies, especially in the Lebanese Awakening Society. The Beirut Committee of Reform and the Lebanese Awakening Society were in constant contact with émigré centres in Egypt, the U.S.A. and France and collaborated closely with the French consulates. In 1913, they even wrote a letter to the French Government, requesting France to occupy Syria and the Lebanon and to establish a protectorate over these countries. Unlike the Syrians, the Iraqi reformists, who were even more strongly influenced by the feudal-compradore elements, took their cue from Britain. *Seyyid* Talib, a leading Iraqi reformist, advocated British supervision of the reforms and even a British protectorate over Iraq.

The reform programmes of these societies were somewhat similar. The programme of the Beirut Committee of Reform, the most influential of them, was the most significant. It demanded that all questions of local administration be handed over to the autonomous government of the Beirut *vilayet*. The central government was only to retain control over matters relating to defence, foreign relations, imperial communication routes and state finances. Recruits from one *vilayet* were not to be sent to other *vilayets* for service. The Arabic should be recognised as the official language and should be used in Parliament and in official documents on an equal footing with Turkish.

The committee published its reform plan in the middle of February 1913. It was endorsed at mass meetings in Damascus, Aleppo, Akkra, Nablus, Baghdad and Basra. In January 1913, however, the Young Turks, who succeeded the *Ittilafists* in the government, adopted a completely different attitude towards the Arab Nationalists. They flatly rejected the Beirut reformers' demands and on April 8, 1913, they even banned the Committee of Reform and arrested its leaders. These measures caused much excitement in Beirut. The Beirut population responded to the Nationalists' call for a general protest strike. Bazaars, stores and artisan shops were closed and the Arabic newspapers came out in black borders.

The disturbances spread to other regions of Syria, where solidarity demonstrations were held. This outburst of indignation compelled the Young Turks to make concessions. They released the arrested committee leaders and promised to carry out the reforms of *vilayet* administration.

On May 5, 1913, the Young Turk government promulgated a new Law of the *Vilayets* giving increased powers to the former *vilayet* councils, but falling short of the reformists' and Decentralisation Party's demands. By many it was regarded as a veiled step towards the further centralisation of the Ottoman Empire.

The Law of the *Vilayets* evoked a fresh wave of demonstrations and protest meetings in many Syrian and Iraqi towns, where an extensive campaign to reform *vilayet* administration had also been launched.

THE FIRST ARAB CONGRESS. While these events were unfolding, a group of Arab students in Paris (as the leaders of the Young Arab Society called themselves for the sake of conspiracy) made a move for unity of all the national forces with a view to bringing pressure to bear on the Turkish Government. On April 4, 1913, the group appealed to the Decentralisation Party to summon the First Arab Congress in Paris. The proposal was accepted and the Decentralisation Party began making preparations for the congress.

The French Government adopted an extremely favourable attitude towards the idea of convening a congress, since this coincided with its own demands and made it easier for the French to penetrate into Syria and the Lebanon. The French Government furnished the Arab Nationalists with premises for their congress and ensured the publication of its documents. The government's semi-official organ, the newspaper *Temps* gave detailed reports of the congress and printed the delegates' speeches. Khairullah, an Arab publicist and a secretary of the congress, collaborated directly with the newspaper *Temps* and, as one of its contributors, published all the congress's documents.

The congress was held in June 1913. The official sittings took place between June 18 and 23, 1913. Twenty-four delegates attended the congress (nineteen from Syria and the Lebanon, two from Iraq and three from the

Arab communities of the U.S.A.) and there were over 200 guests. The resolutions were based on the programmes of the Decentralisation Party and the Beirut Committee of Reform. The congress called for recognition of the Arabs' national rights and affirmed their demand, first for greater participation in the Ottoman Empire's central government and, second, for the autonomy of the Arab provinces. The resolutions of the congress were communicated to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Powers' ambassadors in Paris and to the Turkish Government.

The French Government, which in the meanwhile was holding talks with the Turks on the possibility of a loan and, therefore, possessed a strong lever of pressure on Turkey, summoned to Paris Midhat Bey, the Secretary of the Committee of Union and Progress. On behalf of the Young Turk Party, Midhat Bey concluded an agreement with the chairman of the First Arab Congress, el-Zahrawi. By this agreement the Young Turks undertook to carry out all the congress's resolutions. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1913, an agreement was concluded between France and Turkey under which the Porte granted France a number of railway and port concessions. Neither the first nor the second agreement were implemented.

The Young Turks did everything in their power to wreck the Arab-Turkish agreement. For two months they kept up a pretence. On August 15, 1913, they ceremoniously welcomed the delegates of the congress who had come to Constantinople. A series of meetings were arranged as a sign of "Arab-Turkish rapprochement" with the participation of Young Turkish ministers. On August 18, 1913, the Young Turks issued a decree on Arab rights, which came nowhere near to satisfying the Arabs and was interpreted as an act of deceit. In an attempt to delay the inevitable breach, the Turks began distributing ranks and decorations to various Arab personalities. They appointed five Arab senators, all of whom, except for el-Zahrawi, were big feudalists and merchants and had no connection with the national movement.

Neither these two-faced manifestations of "Arab-Turkish rapprochement" nor the scanty reforms, which were not even carried out, yielded any tangible results. The situation remained unchanged.

EL-AHD (COVENANT). PREPARATIONS FOR AN ARAB UPRISING. After the failure of Arab-Turkish contacts in the summer of 1913, the Nationalists lost all hope of coming to an agreement with the Young Turks. True, some of them attempted to renew the talks, but most of the Nationalists began to look on them as traitors. The young members of the Literary Club even organised a demonstration in protest against Sheikh el-Zahrawi's acceptance of the post of senator.

After August and September 1913, the Arab Nationalists made no further serious attempts to reach agreement with the Turks and began preparing for an armed uprising.

On October 28, 1913, Major Aziz Ali el-Misri founded a Secret society called *El-Ahd* (the Covenant) in Constantinople. *El-Ahd* was formed on the basis of the other secret society *El-Qahtaniya* and was somewhat similar to it both in structure and aims. Unlike the *Qahtaniya*, however, this was a purely military association, embracing Arab officers of the Turkish army, mainly Iraqis, of feudal birth. The new society had approximately 4,000 members and founded several branches in Baghdad, Mosul, Aleppo and Damascus. Such persons as Nuri as-Said and Jamil Madfai were connected with the society. Many of *El-Ahd's* members, including Aziz Ali el-Misri, had ties with the British Intelligence and took their cue from Britain.

El-Ahd renounced all hopes of a peaceful evolution and an agreement with the Young Turks. It called for the forced overthrow of the dominating Turks and made preparations for an uprising, the centre of which was to be in Iraq.

Early in 1914, the Turkish authorities caught wind of the military plot and arrested Aziz Ali el-Misri, charging him with treason. His trial by a military tribunal in March 1914 evoked a storm of protest in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt. The tribunal sentenced Aziz Ali to death, but the sentence was not carried out thanks to the British Embassy's intervention. On April 21, 1914, Aziz Ali el-Misri was pardoned and departed for Egypt.

A number of other smaller societies whose aims were to organise an armed struggle against the Turks arose parallel to *El-Ahd*. The Banner's Society (*Jam'iyat El-Alam*) was founded in Mosul, and the Society of the Arab Revolution (*Jam'iyat El-Thawra El-Arabiya*), in Cairo. The Society of

ARABIA IN 1870-1914

the Arab Revolution put the question of full independence for the Arab countries and an armed anti-Turkish uprising point blank.

By 1914, most of the political Arab organisations and secret societies had abandoned their conciliatory tactics of reform and begun preparations for an armed insurrection. The Young Turks' chauvinist policy had dispelled the last illusions of the possibility of any settlement. In January 1914, frightened by the growth of separatist tendencies among the Arabs, the Young Turks decided to close all the Arab political organisations and to scatter the Arab officers among different garrisons and military units. The only result was to strengthen the revolutionary-minded people's positions, since it forced them to abandon propaganda for concrete action.

To prepare for the uprising, the Arab Nationalists established contacts with representatives of the Western embassies and with the British and French intelligence services. At the outset of 1914, on behalf of the Decentralisation Party, Shafik el-Muaiad held talks with the French Ambassador to Constantinople Bompard to obtain French financial and political support for the Arab uprising. Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, the Decentralisation Party concluded an agreement with France for the delivery of 20,000 rifles, provision of instructors and so on. Similar contacts were established by the British residents in the Orient. In April 1914, Abdullah el-Hashimi had meetings with Kitchener, the British Consul-General in Egypt, and with other British officials. Abdullah requested the British to supply the Arabs with machine-guns and to support the uprising that was to take place in the Hejaz.

Thus, by the outbreak of World War I, two opposite tendencies were to be observed in the Arab movement. Most of the Arab Nationalists were in favour of an anti-Turkish uprising and went so far as to conspire with the Entente. The others still hoped to reach an agreement with the Turks. They felt that an uprising would entail the no less, and perhaps even more, dangerous possibility of the occupation of the Arab countries by the British and French.

A GENERAL REVIEW. At the turn of the 19th century, the countries of the Arabian Peninsula were one of the most backward regions of the Arab world. The Arabian countries' development was extremely slow. They were split up into a host of minor states and were dependent on Britain and Turkey.

The feudal mode of production prevailed throughout Arabia. Natural economy predominated in the interior. Notwithstanding the considerable growth of caravan trade and money-commodity relations within the framework of the feudal socio-economic formation, the internal market took shape very slowly. Inner Arabia was still a mediaeval country in the full sense of the word and external influences (trade with Damascus, Baghdad and Aden, and the pilgrimage caravans) were still so weak that they could not change the course of social and economic development.

Strong survivals of primitive-communal relations and of the slave-holding society still continued to exist within the predominantly feudal mode of production. In the northern part of the peninsula, in Nejd, the Hejaz and Shammar, slavery bore a domestic character. Slaves were used as servants or as the bodyguards of the feudal chiefs. In the south, in the Yemen, Hadhramaut, Oman and Bahrein, slave labour was used extensively in agriculture and in pearl-diving (for the underwater work).

At the end of the 19th century, the Arab countries were once again caught up in the whirlwind of international politics and became the target of imperialist expansion by the great Powers. Britain was endeavouring to strengthen and expand her influence over the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula; she was making a bid for absolute supremacy in these vast expanses and on the Arabian coast. Germany,

as well as France and Russia, were trying to hamper British expansion and to gain a foothold in Arabia. Turkey was making feverish efforts to consolidate her power and prestige in the Arabian countries.

In contrast, forces inside Arabia were stepping up their activities to centralise the peninsula. As a means to this end, they made extensive use of the rivalry between the Powers and their struggle to gain possession of Arabia.

ADEN AND HADHRAMAUT. The colony of Aden was one of Britain's key positions on the Arabian Peninsula. The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) had greatly enhanced its strategic and commercial significance. Aden had become one of the most prominent coaling stations on the sea route between Europe and India and a big centre of transit trade. The British had declared Aden a free port, and from here their goods were sent to all corners of South Arabia and to the African shores of Bab-El-Mandeb.

After the opening of the Suez Canal, Britain's expansionist policy in the hinterland of Aden blossomed forth. In the seventies and eighties, the British considerably enlarged their South Arabian domains. They conquered one region after another, drowning the shores and islands of South Arabia in blood, bombarding unarmed towns and villages and bribing the corrupt feudal princes.

In 1869, the British occupied the sultanate of Lahej and, shortly after, subdued all the nine South Arabian principalities adjacent to Aden. The local proprietors were forced to sign unequal treaties and accept the British protectorate. In 1873, Britain forced the Porte to give official recognition to her conquests and, in 1905, concluded a special agreement with the Porte on the boundary line between the Turkish domains in the Yemen and the British domains in Aden. The Yemenese, however, especially the Yemenese Government, which had come to power through the uprising of 1904-11, refused to recognise the Anglo-Turkish boundary line. They regarded Aden and the adjacent territories as having been illegally wrested from the Yemen and supported the South Arabian tribes' struggle against British domination.

Simultaneously, Britain began the conquest of Hadhramaut. British warships constantly patrolled the waters of

Hadhramaut. Under cover of the philanthropic slogan of suppressing the slave trade, they organised punitive expeditions and deposed any rulers who were not to their liking. One after another, under the muzzles of the British cannon, the sultans and sheikhs of Hadhramaut accepted the British protectorate. In 1886, the British had seized the Island of Sokotra and annexed it to their domains. In 1888, the Sultan of Mukalla from the Kuwaiti dynasty, the governor of the biggest feudal estate in Hadhramaut, signed a treaty on the protectorate.

By the outbreak of World War I, the British had imposed unequal treaties on twenty-three petty sultanates and sheikhdoms of South Arabia, establishing a protectorate over their territories and uniting them under the rule of Aden's colonial authorities.

OMAN. In 1871, in Oman, the oldest British colony on the Arabian Peninsula, the British finally managed to suppress a massive popular uprising which had lasted for nearly ten years. When the insurgents' leader, Azzan ibn Kais, fell in battle the British took over Muscat and placed their puppet Sultan Turki (1871-88) on the throne. With the help of the British fleet and sepoy bayonets, he meted out reprisals against the rebellious tribes and opposition elements which were working for their country's independence. In 1886, a fresh uprising flared up in Oman. The insurgents laid siege to Muscat. Turki again appealed to the British and with their help managed to put down the uprising.

Turki was Britain's "loyal" ally and granted her many new rights and privileges. Despite the Anglo-French declaration of 1862, Britain exercised what amounted to a protectorate over Oman. This protectorate was consolidated during the reign of Turki's son and successor Sultan Feisal (1888-1913) by the conclusion of a new treaty of friendship, trade and navigation of March 20, 1891. According to this treaty, Feisal promised on his own behalf and on behalf of his heirs not to alienate his territory to any third Power.

France, who was backed by Russia, was opposed to the British protectorate. She accused Britain of violating the 1862 declaration on the grant of "independence" to Oman and demanded that Britain respect France's rights. In 1893, the French attempted to set up a coaling station in Sur,

but encountered Britain's resolute opposition. The French Chamber of Deputies was indignant. To show their determination, French and Russian warships began making frequent appearances in the Ottoman waters. In 1893, the Russian cruiser *Nizhny Novgorod* arrived in Oman, where the crew was welcomed by the Sultan. In 1894, France established a consulate in Muscat and began supplying the Ottomans with arms. The French consul opened a register of "protégés" and began handing out French flags to the captains of the Ottoman feluccas.

A serious conflict was in the making. Sultan Feisal found himself between two fires. In 1898, with a French cruiser's guns trained on him, the Sultan granted the French a concession for a coaling station. Britain's response was to accuse Feisal of violating the treaty of 1891. In February 1899, a British squadron appeared off the shores of Oman and trained its guns on the Muscat Sultan's residence. Frightened out of his wits, the Sultan hastened to submit. On February 16, he annulled the concession he had granted to the French and did everything else the British ordered. "Cordial relations" were restored between Britain and Oman.

France and Russia, however, would not give in. In 1900, the French cruiser *Drome* and the Russian gunboat *Gilyak* arrived in Muscat. Close on their heels came the Russian cruisers *Uaryag*, *Askold* and *Boyarin*. In 1903, the French cruiser *Inferne* and the Russian cruiser *Boyarin* paid a second visit to Muscat to "impart courage to a people who live under the constant threat of an attack from the British".

The British fleet, however, continued to remain in Oman. Moreover, in reply to the joint Russian-French naval demonstration, the British shelled and captured an Ottoman felucca which was sailing under the French flag. As in Fashoda, the threat of a serious armed clash forced France to retreat. The dispute over the concession was referred to The Hague International Tribunal and in 1904, after the conclusion of the treaty on the Entente, it lost its edge and passed into the background. The Hague Tribunal decided in Britain's favour. France relinquished her claims on Oman and instead of the coaling station in Muscat, she received the right to use the one in Mukalla. In 1916, she also relinquished her rights to this coal station and, in 1920, closed her consulate in Muscat.

The Muscat Sultan's servility to the British evoked widespread discontent in the region. In 1913, taking advantage of Feisal's death and the succession to the throne of his son Taimur, another British puppet, the Ottomans rose in rebellion. The uprising was headed by the religious Moslem sect of *ibadits* (or *abadits*). The insurgents chose Selim ibn Rashid el-Harusi as their Imam and formed an independent state with the town of Nazwah as its capital. Within a short time the insurgents liberated the entire territory of Oman with the exception of Muscat and the coastal regions, which were defended by the British fleet, and began a prolonged and persistent struggle against British domination and the Muscat Sultan. In 1920, the Muscat Sultan was compelled to sign a peace treaty and recognise the independence of the Oman imamate.

BRITISH DOMAINS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. At the close of the 19th century, Britain did all she could to expand and fortify her positions in the Persian Gulf. With the help of her fleet she maintained "allied relations" with Bahrein and the principalities of Trucial Oman (the Pirate Coast). In 1871, the Bahrein Governor, Sheikh Isa, a British puppet, confirmed all obligations incurred under former treaties. The British promised to "defend" him against his own subjects and also against the Turkish and Iranian governments, which claimed sovereignty over the Bahrein Islands.

In 1880, Britain imposed the First Exclusive Agreement on Bahrein, which actually meant a protectorate although there was no mention of the word "protectorate". According to this agreement, the Sheikh of Bahrein engaged not to grant concessions of any kind to other Powers, not to let them set up coaling stations, not to conduct diplomatic negotiations with them, not to establish consular relations and not to conclude treaties with any other Power except Britain.

In 1882, the British took over the Qatar peninsula and forced its governor to establish "allied relations" with Britain. Qatar passed under Britain's control and, in 1916 was officially proclaimed a British protectorate.

In 1892, a Final Exclusive Agreement was concluded with Bahrein on the lines of the Anglo-Oman treaty of

1891. According to this agreement, the Sheikh of Bahrein engaged not to lease a single part of his territory to anyone but Britain. In the same year, the sheikhs of Trucial Oman concluded an analogous agreement.

In the middle of the nineties, fearing Russian and German plans to exit to the Persian Gulf, Britain shifted her attention to Kuwait, a barren strip of desert land adjoining Shat-al-Arab and Basra in the south. Kuwait was under the Porte's sovereignty although there were no Turkish forces in the region. In 1895, the British suggested that the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mohammed ibn Sabah, establish "allied relations" with Britain like the other principalities of the Persian Gulf. Sheikh Mohammed declined Britain's solicitations; upon which the British organised a plot. In May 1896, Mohammed and his retinue were assassinated and the reins of government were taken over by Sheikh Mubarak ibn Sabah, Mohammed's brother.

Mubarak established ties with the powerful chief of the South Iraqi tribe *muntafik*, Sa'adun Pasha, and virtually ceased to obey the Turkish governor of Basra. On January 23, 1899, he concluded a secret agreement with Britain. It was secret in the sense that, as a *mutasarraf*, Mubarak had no right to enter into negotiations, to say nothing of the right to conclude international agreements. Mubarak exceeded his authority and secretly signed an agreement not to alienate his territory to anyone except Britain.

Having established control over Kuwait, Britain closed the ring of her domains in the Persian Gulf. This was the last link in the chain which turned the Persian Gulf into a "British lake".

THE KUWAIT CONFLICT. Kuwait's transfer to British control sparked off a fresh international conflict. In 1899, the Germans received a preliminary concession for the Baghdad railway and sent an investigatory mission to Iraq to map the route of the railway. It had been planned to make Kuwait the terminus, and early in 1900, the German investigatory mission arrived on the scene.

Britain regarded the German mission's arrival as a threat to her positions in the Persian Gulf. The British Ambassador to Constantinople, O'Connor, warned the Turks that the extension of the railway line to Kuwait would cause

"local difficulties" and even lead to "intervention by foreign Powers". Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, said in all earnestness that the western borders of British India were on the Euphrates. In one voice the Anglo-Indian Press, inspired by Curzon, suddenly began demanding a British protectorate over Kuwait.

The German press, in turn, and not only the German press, but German diplomacy also, protested at British plans to establish a protectorate over Kuwait. Germany declared that Kuwait was Turkish territory and, therefore, came under the Sultan's sovereignty.

In April 1900, O'Connor informed the German Ambassador Marschall that Britain had concluded an agreement with the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mubarak, which would prevent him from granting concessions to the subjects of a third Power. An analogous statement was made in June 1900, by the British Ambassador to Berlin, Lascelles. The Germans decided that it was a question of some "private legal agreement", some kind of British concession, and that the Deutsche Bank would buy this concession from British businessmen. When Germany learned the true state of affairs, she ordered her ambassador to Constantinople to "undertake all measures to consolidate Turkey's rights to Kuwait". "The settlement of any foreign Power in Kuwait, be it Britain or Russia, is unfavourable for us," wrote the Deputy German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Richt-hofen. "It threatens the entire German plan for the extension of the Anatolian Railway to the Persian Gulf. The first prerequisite for this project is Turkey's command over the whole stretch from Haidar-Pasha to Kuwait. It is of imperative necessity, therefore, to demand a declaration from Sheikh Mubarak to the effect that he will not grant foreigners any territory or economic concessions until he supplies them with land, docks and so on for the Baghdad Railway." In other words, Germany was pressing for the same exclusive rights in Kuwait that Britain had acquired.

In August 1901, Germany declared that she did not recognise Britain's claims on Kuwait, to which Britain replied that she would settle matters with Turkey herself and that the question of Kuwait's status did not concern Germany. The British were surprised that the Germans were more Turkish on this issue than the Sultan himself. More-

over, the British Foreign Secretary stated that there was not and never could be any mutual understanding between Britain and Germany on the Kuwait question. The two governments, he said, had opposite points of view on this matter.

While the talks were going on, the following events took place in Kuwait itself. In August 1901, at Germany's demand, the Turks despatched troops to Kuwait to affirm the Sultan's sovereignty. They were despatched by sea. When the transports with the troops arrived in Kuwait, they found a British cruiser at anchor there. The cruiser's commander warned the Turks that if they dared even to put a single Turkish soldier ashore, the British would open fire and sink the transports. The Turkish ships turned back.

On September 6, 1901, Britain and Turkey signed an agreement on Kuwait. The terms of the agreement were as follows: Britain acknowledged Turkey's sovereignty over Kuwait, but only on the condition that Turkey sent no troops to that country. Turkey, in turn, recognised Britain's special interest in Kuwait and the Anglo-Kuwait agreement of 1899. In this way, Turkey's vanity was satisfied since Kuwait formally remained under Turkish sovereignty and Britain's claims were also satisfied since Kuwait virtually passed under British control.

In the meanwhile, Germany decided to withdraw to the background and play on Anglo-Russian differences over Kuwait.

Russia pressed for a compromise between Britain and Turkey on the Kuwait question. On the one hand, she shared Britain's reluctance to let the Germans gain access to the Persian Gulf but, on the other hand, the Russians were displeased with the establishment of a direct British protectorate over Kuwait.

In December, 1901, an incident took place which aggravated Anglo-Russian differences. A mere three months after the conclusion of the compromise Anglo-Turkish agreement of September 6, the British suddenly violated the status quo. The commander of one of the British warships which regularly called at Kuwait ordered that the Turkish flag should be taken down from Sheikh Mubarak's residence and that a new and unknown one, which they called the flag of Kuwait, should be hoisted in its place. Simultaneously, a British protectorate was proclaimed over Mubarak's domains.

Britain's actions evoked a storm of protest in the Russian press. The Russian Ambassador to Constantinople, I. A. Zinoviyev, advised the Porte to appeal to The Hague International Tribunal. Early in 1902, the Russian cruiser *Varyag* and the French cruiser *Inferne* arrived in Kuwait. The Russian consul in Baghdad paid a visit to Sheikh Mubarak and presented him with a Russian decoration and gifts. Under pressure from Russia, Britain repudiated the action of her naval officer and declared that she intended to adhere strictly to the agreement with Turkey and to preserve the status quo.

Britain, however, had no intention of abandoning her plans in Kuwait. At the close of 1903, Lord Curzon made a demonstrative tour of the Persian Gulf countries, including Kuwait. The purpose of his trip was to show Britain's determination to defend her positions in the Persian Gulf at all costs. The Entente Treaty of 1904 and the agreement with Russia in 1907 finally gave her the freedom of action which she had been waiting for so long. In 1904, a British political agent was installed in Kuwait and in 1907, Britain imposed a new agreement on Mubarak, making Turkey one of the foreign Powers.

In the end, the Turks were forced to acknowledge this as an accomplished fact. On July 29, 1913, they signed an agreement on the Persian Gulf with Britain, by which Kuwait was recognised as an autonomous *kaza* (type of territorial administration) with its own flag. Turkey engaged not to interfere in Kuwait's internal affairs and recognised the Anglo-Kuwait agreement. Simultaneously, Turkey renounced her rights to Bahrein and Qatar. In exchange for this, Britain recognised Turkey's rights to El-Hasa, which was occupied by the Wahhabis at the time.

Soon after the outbreak of World War I, in November 1914, Britain declared Kuwait an "independent principality under British protection".

THE STRUGGLE OF THE RASHIDIS AND THE SAUDIS. THE RESTORATION OF THE WAHHABI STATE. The Powers' struggle for Kuwait was closely interwoven with the struggle of the Wahhabi dynasties, the Rashidis and the Saudis for hegemony in North Arabia. The Germans and the Turks were counting on the Rashidis,

the rulers of Shammar. With their help, they hoped to get rid of the Saudis and the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mubarak, who was backed by the British.

By the end of the 19th century, Shammar had become the most powerful state in North Arabia. The Shammarite Emir Mohammed (1871-97), called "the Great", had put an end to dynastic internecine strife and united both Jebel-Shammar and Kasim under his rule. In 1876, he declared himself a vassal of the Turks and with their support began a fierce struggle against the Riyadh emirs of the House of Saud. In 1884, the Shammarites routed the Nejd troops and seized Riyadh, where they installed their own deputy. The Saudi Emir, Abd ar-Rahman, Feisal's younger son, acknowledged the Shammarites' sovereignty and remained in Riyadh as the ruler of Arid (a central province of Nejd).

In 1890, an uprising flared up in Nejd and Kasim. The insurgents took over Riyadh and moved on farther to join the Kasim feudalists. These were the Emir of Anaiza, Zamil, and the Emir of Buraida, Hasan. In January, 1891, the Kasim levies were utterly defeated in a battle near Mulaйда and Emir Abd ar-Rahman, who was on his way to help them, fled to El-Hasa and later to Kuwait. The Saudi emirate was completely liquidated¹ and Nejd became a province of the large Shammar state.

At the height of the Kuwait crisis, the Turks decided to use the Shammarites to seize Kuwait. The British retaliated by forming an anti-Shammarite Bedouin coalition comprised of the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mubarak, the South Iraqi tribe *muntafiq* under the leadership of Sa'adun Pasha, and the Wahhabi tribes of *mutair* and *banu murra*, who had remained loyal to the Saudis. The Wahhabis were headed by Emir Abd ar-Rahman's son, Abd el-Aziz, better known by his family name Ibn Saud. After the Shammarites had established their rule in Riyadh he and his father left their country. Ibn Saud had been seven years old at the time, but by 1900, he was a young man and his father felt the time had come for him to lead the struggle.

In the autumn of 1900, the 10,000-strong allied army headed by Sheikh Mubarak launched a campaign against

¹ The Shammarites left the Saudi Emir Mohammed, who had devoted himself to flower growing, as the nominal religious head of Wahhabi Nejd.

the Shammarite Emir, Abd el-Aziz (1897-1906). Ibn Saud was entrusted with the task of making a feint in the direction of Riyadh. In February 1901, the Shammarites routed the allies and Ibn Saud, learning of their defeat in the desert, raised the siege of Riyadh and returned to Kuwait.

In the summer of 1901, the Shammarites reached Kuwait, which was guarded by British warships. With the British guns trained on them the Shammarites turned back. They passed through Nejd and Kasim, where anti-Shammarite uprisings, backed by British arms and money, kept flaring up. In December 1901, the British armed and sent to Riyadh a small force under Ibn Saud. The Riyadh population, which was oppressed by the Rashid feudalists, was ready to support any act which would liberate them from the Shammarites, and Ibn Saud's small detachment had no trouble in capturing the city. (January 15, 1902.)

Describing the seizure of Riyadh, Philby relates a fantastic story that Ibn Saud is supposed to have told. It has the ring of an Oriental legend in the style of the tales from the *Arabian Nights*.

Philby writes that Ibn Saud took sixty Bedouin daredevils with him, leaving thirty horsemen on the hills near Riyadh with orders to hasten to Kuwait for help if there were no news from Ibn Saud within twenty-four hours. Another twenty horsemen were left in a grove on the outskirts of the Riyadh oasis. The remaining ten riders dismounted and penetrated into the city at night. They approached the citadel where the Rashid ruler of Riyadh, Ajlan, was staying. Ibn Saud knocked at the door of a house right next to the fortress gates. It was opened by a woman, whom they ordered to keep quiet on pain of death. Ibn Saud and his companions then herded all the tenants into a back room and took up their posts near the window, drinking coffee, and telling battle stories and reading the Koran all night long to keep awake. At dawn they saw the citadel gates swing open as Ajlan and his entourage came out to pray at the mosque. The Bedouins pounced on them from the window, slaying the whole entourage, including Ajlan. Taking advantage of the open gates they then seized the citadel and announced the renewal of the Saudi dynasty.

Having captured Riyadh, Ibn Saud fortified the city and began a struggle against the Shammarites. Between 1902

and 1903, he won back the entire southern part of Inner Arabia (Khardj, Al-Aflaj, Wadi-Dawasir) and by the summer of 1904, he had subdued Washim, Sudair and Kasim, thus restoring the Wahhabite Saudi emirate to its former borders.

Ibn Saud became such a powerful force that in 1904, the Rashidis appealed to Turkey for help. In May 1904, eight Turkish battalions under Ahmed Faizi Pasha arrived in Nejd. Most of the Turkish soldiers, however, died in the desert of the heat, of thirst, hunger and disease. At the end of 1904, the commander of the expeditionary corps himself and the remnants of his army were transferred to the Yemen. Left alone, the Shammarites continued the struggle for a time, but, in April 1906, were badly beaten by the Saudis. The Rashid Emir, Abd el-Aziz, was killed in the fighting. His successor, Mitab, hastened to conclude peace and acknowledged the Saudis' right to Nejd and Kasim. The Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid, confirmed this agreement in an exchange of notes. The Saudis' Wahhabi state was restored.

IBN SAUD'S HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY. The Turks and their Shammarite allies were Ibn Saud's chief enemies and he fought them till the Rashidis' Shammarite emirate was completely liquidated. Although the British supported him, the Wahhabi state's rapid growth and success began to worry them. The British were against the unification of the Arabian Peninsula and fell back on their traditional "divide and rule" policy. Everywhere they supported the small princes and provoked tribal and feudal separatism. To rule the peninsula they had to take the weak princes into account. Ibn Saud was becoming a powerful force and he made no attempt to conceal his desire to see Inner Arabia united and the Shammarite emirate destroyed. An odd situation arose when the British began backing all sorts of feudal mutinies inside the restored Saudi state.

The feudal sheikhs and emirs who had marched with Ibn Saud when he began the struggle to restore the Saudi state now turned against him and formed mutinous coalitions. There were British agents in both camps. A British Intelligence agent, Captain Lichman, had ties with Ibn Saud and supported him. Another representative of British Intelligence, Gertrude Bell, later to play an important part in

Mesopotamia and to rise to the rank of colonel in 1920, was connected with and supported the Emir of Shammar.

The British intrigues, the anti-Wahhabi coalition and the revolts did not destroy the Saudi state, but constant wars and uprisings hampered its development. Ibn Saud was unable to cope with the Shammarite emirate till after World War I. Jebel-Shammar was conquered only in 1921. On the other hand, with British approval Ibn Saud managed to expand his domains in the East on the shores of the Persian Gulf. El-Hasa, which had been under Turkish occupation since 1871, was seized by the Wahhabis in 1913 and annexed to the Saudi state.

The British had two reasons for supporting the Wahhabi campaign against the Turks. First, a world war was in the offing. Turkey, who was ruled by the Young Turks, was siding with Germany. The arrival of Turkish forces at El-Hasa also meant the appearance of German forces. This centre of German-Turkish influence in the Persian Gulf had to be destroyed and Ibn Saud was the man to do it. Secondly, Ibn Saud offered the British a fairly high price for the conquest of El-Hasa. He agreed to a British protectorate and promised to support Britain in the war. In December 1915, a treaty was signed according to which Ibn Saud engaged to refrain from all action against Britain, to co-ordinate his foreign policy with her, not to alienate his territory to other Powers, and to respect the integrity of Britain's possessions on the Arabian Peninsula. Wahhabi Nejd remained under British protection until the treaty expired in 1924.

The British protectorate did not especially trouble Ibn Saud, who aimed at setting up a united and centralised feudal state in Inner Arabia. The British did not interfere with the Saudi emirate's internal affairs. As though to make up for lost time, the Wahhabis with renewed energy set about inculcating their dogmas of *tauhid* (unity) and found a ready supporter in the person of Ibn Saud, who regarded them as an obedient tool for dealing with feudal and tribal separatism, and for the radical reorganisation of Arabia's traditional feudal and nomadic society.

In his home policy, Ibn Saud deliberately opposed primitive-communal survivals. He believed the nomadic tribes were the most destructive element standing in the way of

Arabian unity. In 1911, on the Wahhabi teachers' advice, he launched the *ikhwan* (brothers) movement against the nomadic tribes. He forced them submit to a strict discipline and forbade them to make predatory raids and to extract feudal tribute from dependent tribes. He pulled down the barriers between the free and the subordinate tribes and treated them all as equals, as *ikhwans*.

Simultaneously, Ibn Saud began creating communities for the nomads, whom he forced to settle on the land. This policy was conducted on a very broad scale after World War I. The first few communities had been set up prior to 1918. When they abandoned their former way of life, the nomad *ikhwans* broke off ties with their tribe. New ties were established inside the *ikhwan* communes based on mutual economic interests instead of blood relationship.

A spirit of religious intolerance prevailed in the *ikhwan* communes and later in the Wahhabi state. Wahhabis were not allowed to maintain close ties with non-Wahhabis, not even if these were their relatives. They could not mingle with foreigners and had to abide strictly to the moral and ethic rules of Wahhabism. The Wahhabi society gradually shut itself off from outside influences and drifted into a kind of isolationism.

The *ikhwans* together with their teachers became the main instrument of Ibn Saud's home and foreign policy. The *ikhwan* settlements formed the base on which Ibn Saud built his new army. With their help he suppressed revolts; exposed plots and disarmed rebellious tribes. With their support he campaigned for a united Arabia and the formation of a single Wahhabi Saudi state.

UPRISINGS IN THE YEMEN AND ASIR. After the opening of the Suez Canal, the Turks restored their authority in the Yemen and Asir. Prior to this, the extended lines of communication stretching across the Arabian steppes and deserts had made it virtually impossible for Turkey to support and supply her troops in southern Arabia. Turkish garrisons were stationed in only a few coastal regions of Tihama. The Yemen and Asir were virtually independent. The opening of the Suez Canal made it possible for the Turks to establish sea communications. In 1869, the Turks sent an

expeditionary corps to the region and subdued Yemenese and Asirian Tihama.

Taking advantage of this, Ali ibn Mahdi, the San'a Imam (the religious and secular head of the *zaydites*), who had become quite incapable of coping with the insurgent tribes, appealed to the Turkish troops for help. In 1872, Turkish troops penetrated into the mountain region of the Yemen, occupied San'a, the capital, and set up Turkish garrisons everywhere. The Yemen was declared a Turkish *vilayet* and the Turkish pasha arrived in San'a. Thus, 230 years after the first expulsion of the Turks, the Yemen again lost her independence and became a Turkish province. While they were at it, the Turks also seized Asir, whose ruler gave himself up and was executed.

In 1891, a big national uprising against Turkish domination flared up in the Yemen. It was headed by Imam Mohammed, a representative of the ruling *zaydite* dynasty of the Racites. The insurgents besieged San'a and encircled the Turkish garrisons in a number of other cities. The Turks were forced to despatch strong reinforcements under the command of Ahmed Faizi Pasha, who fought his way into San'a and raised the siege. Hoping to demoralise the insurgents, Faizi Pasha bribed the tribal sheikhs and promised them an amnesty, ruthlessly killing all who refused to obey him. While putting down the uprising the Turks destroyed about 300 settlements with all their inhabitants. Between 1891 and 1897, Ahmed Faizi "pacified" the country with a policy of sheer terrorism.

In May 1904, after Mohammed's death, his son Yahya became the *zaydite* Imam. No sooner had he succeeded to the throne than he summoned the people to a fresh uprising. The *zaydite* tribes, who were suffering from drought, famine and the Turkish officials' extortions, responded enthusiastically to his call and rose as one man, besieging and capturing the towns and villages where the Turkish garrisons were stationed. San'a, the capital, also surrendered to Imam Yahya, but he made a grave mistake by releasing the Turkish garrison there.

While Yahya was trying to settle the tribal disputes, the Turkish Government despatched reinforcements to the Yemen under the command of Faizi Pasha. Faizi reached Manakha without trouble, joined forces with the Turkish

troops who had been released from San'a, and then occupied the capital without having fired a single shot. The Turkish Pasha, however, was suddenly faced with a new and unexpected fact. The Arab soldiers of the Turkish army refused to fight against their Yemenese brothers. Instead, they fraternised with the insurgents and began going over to their side. Uprisings flared up in the Arab units which had been sent to fight against the Yemen. Add to this the devastation wrought in the Yemen by war, drought, locusts and the terrible famine which took the lives of at least half the urban population and also struck the Turkish army, and one can understand why the Turks were forced to implore the Imam for peace.

A peace treaty was signed in 1908. The Porte accepted the basic terms dictated by Imam Yahya and virtually agreed to the Yemen's internal autonomy. Two years later, however, military operations were resumed. In 1911, Yahya recaptured San'a and once again forced the Turks to consent to a peace treaty. But with the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish War, the Turks were unable to devote much attention to the Yemen and wrote all further struggle as useless. They recognised the Yemen's full autonomy and engaged not to interfere in her internal affairs. Yahya acknowledged the Sultan suzerainty and agreed to the presence of the Turkish Pasha and a small contingent of Turkish forces in the Yemen. The compromise profited both parties. Relying on the Turks' support, Yahya began a struggle against the British intrigues on the Yemen's southern borders. The treaty was also of some advantage to the Turks. The Yemen was one of the few Arab countries which supported Turkey in World War I.

Things turned out differently in Asir. After the Turkish occupation of 1872, it was made into a *sanjaq* (*mutasarrifiya*) constituting part of the *vilayet* of the Yemen. In 1909, with Imam Yahya's backing, an uprising flared up in Asir. It was headed by Emir Mohammed el-Idrisi, by birth a member of the Moroccan dynasty, which had ruled Asir since the end of the 18th century. In 1910, the insurgents completely cleared Tihama of the Turks and then advanced on Abha, the capital of mountainous Asir, which fell after several months of siege. In the summer of 1911, the Turks managed to subdue Asir, having resorted to Husein

II's (the Meccan Sherif) help. In the autumn of the same year, however, with Italian support, Idrisi once again provoked an uprising. His detachments continued to operate right up to the outbreak of World War I and actively sided with the British, with whom Mohammed el-Idrisi concluded a treaty of "friendship and alliance" in 1915.

THE HEJAZ. After the expulsion of the Egyptians, the Hejaz became a Turkish province. This was a remote area of the Ottoman Empire, but the Turks felt more secure here than in any other region of the Arabian Peninsula. Turkish officials and garrisons were posted in the Hejaz. The local feudal rulers under the Grand Sherif, the theocratic ruler of the "holy cities" of Islam, were fairly loyal in their co-operation with the Turkish authorities. The Turks had preserved the Meccan sherifate, but had placed it in a subordinate position. The Turkish governors (*wali*) appointed and dismissed the sherifs as they saw fit.

While keeping up a show of obedience, the sherifs tried to fortify their own positions in the Hejaz. With this end in view they secretly opposed the Turks and supported the tribal uprisings against the Turkish authorities. Several regions of the Hejaz were actually controlled by the Bedouins, making the Turks' presence in these regions unsafe.

In 1900, the Turks decided to undertake the construction of the Hejaz railway to consolidate their power in the Hejaz. The line was to begin in Damascus and pass through Transjordan to Medina and Mecca. The Turks planned to extend the line further south to San'a. Officially, the Hejaz railway was built for the convenience of the pilgrims and was presented as a holy deed. Donations towards its construction were collected in all the Moslem countries. The railway was regarded as *waqf* property, but it was built by German engineers. The chief constructor was engineer Meissner, who was known as Meissner Pasha in the Hejaz. The Hejaz railway pursued definite strategic aims and resulted in the consolidation of German influence in the Hejaz, the Yemen and on the Red Sea.

The British were fully aware of the Hejaz railway's significance and did everything in their power to hinder its construction. The Bedouins and the Meccan Sherif, Aun ar-Rafik (1882-1905), fiercely opposed the construction works

THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-18)

that began in 1904. The British secretly supported Aun's intrigues and the Bedouin uprisings. One of the insurgents' chief demands was that the works be abandoned. In 1905, Sherif Aun ar-Rafik died. Most likely he was deliberately removed. His successor, Sherif Ali (1905-07), continued his predecessors' obstructionist policy, for which the Turks dismissed him from his post and banished him to Cairo.

In 1908, the Turks extended the Hejaz railway to Medina, but they were never able to take it as far as Mecca, to say nothing of San'a. The new Meccan Sherif, Husein II, did all in his power to stop the construction.

Husein II el-Hashimi became Sherif in 1908 at the age of sixty. He had spent his earlier years among the Hejaz Bedouins, but most of his life had been spent in Constantinople, where he had been the Sultan's hostage. Husein II dreamt of becoming the Hejaz's independent ruler and of extending his authority to other regions of the Arabian Peninsula. His scarcely controllable desire for independence irritated the Turks and was the cause of frequent conflicts between them that became more acute as time passed.

In the struggle against the Turks, Husein II decided to rely on the Arab Nationalists and British for support. In 1914, one of Husein's sons, Feisal, established ties with the Young Arabs and the Damascene reformists. On the other hand, the representatives of the Decentralisation Party paid a visit to Husein II and several other Arabian rulers. In the spring of 1914, in Hail, the capital of the Shammar emirate, a meeting of representatives of the Arab Nationalists and Arabian rulers took place, during which an attempt was made to form a united Arab front to prepare for an anti-Turkish uprising.

Between February and April 1914, Abdullah, another of Husein II's sons, held talks with the British Consul-General in Egypt, General Kitchener, and the British diplomatic agent, Storrs. Although the British refrained from any concrete promises, the very fact of such contacts laid the foundation for the Anglo-Hashimite rapprochement that was to play a vital part in World War I and in the great Arab uprising.

THE ARAB COUNTRIES' STAND IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR. In 1914, all the Arab countries were drawn into the imperialist war, a war for the redivision of the world and its spheres of influence. One of the causes of World War I was the struggle for possession of the Arab countries. Germany wanted to gain a foothold in the Turkish Sultan's domains and was threatening Britain's positions in the Middle East. France was trying to wrest Syria and Cilicia from Turkey. Britain wanted to seize Iraq and Palestine and gain a firm foothold in Egypt.

In 1917, Lenin wrote: "The war was brought on by the clash of two most powerful groups of multimillionaires, Anglo-French and German, for the *redivision* of the world.

"The Anglo-French group of capitalists wants first to rob Germany, deprive her of her colonies (nearly all of which have already been seized), and then to rob Turkey.

"The German group of capitalists wants to seize Turkey for *itself* and to compensate itself for the loss of its colonies by seizing neighbouring small states (Belgium, Serbia and Rumania)."¹

Both sides made use of the territory, bases, communications, natural resources and manpower of the Arab countries that were dependent on them. The Anglo-French bloc used the territory and resources of Egypt, the Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and the British domains in Arabia. The German-Turkish bloc placed at its own disposal all the natural resources and manpower of Palestine, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq and part of Arabia.

The Arab countries' formal participation in the war, however, whether on one side or the other, still did not

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 335.

determine the peoples' real stand. Actually, they were hostile to both belligerents and both the Anglo-French and German-Turkish rear were unstable. The Arab people hated their foreign oppressors, and this hatred was skilfully used by one imperialist bloc against the other.

Each belligerent supported the national movements and the uprisings in the enemy's rear and spurred them on, using them for their own needs. A struggle against the imperialists of Britain, France and Italy began in Egypt, the Sudan and other North African countries. The struggle was particularly acute in Morocco and Libya. The French often referred to Morocco, where the Arab and Berber tribes had forced them out of the mountain regions, as their "second front" (the main one being the Western front). By 1915, the Italians held only isolated posts on the coast of Libya. Moreover, Germany and Turkey were using the Libyan Arabs in the struggle against Britain and had organised a series of Bedouin raids from Libya on Egyptian territory.

Britain and France used the national movement in the Arab countries subservient to Turkey for the struggle against Turkey and Germany. The Arab Nationalists conducted reconnaissance work and sabotage in the Turkish rear and provoked anti-Turkish uprisings.

THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN TURKEY'S ARAB PROVINCES. On October 29, 1914, Turkey entered the world war that was to have such fatal consequences for the Ottoman Empire. Turkey's military plan, endorsed by the German command, provided for offensive operations in the Caucasus and in the Suez Canal Zone. The Turks' reckless scheme was to seize Egypt and shift military operations to North and Central Africa.

The troops which had been detached to take part in the offensive against the Canal Zone comprised the 4th Army under the command of Ahmed Jemal Pasha, one of the Young Turk triumvirs. Actually, the military operations were supervised by a batch of German officers belonging to Liman von Sanders' military mission. The chief of the 4th Army headquarters was the German military attaché to Damascus, Colonel Kress von Kressenstein. In practice, he was the army's commander. Ahmed Jemal was engaged mainly in "securing the rear".

The 4th Army was based in Syria and Palestine, who were completely unprepared for a long war. They suffered from the lack of good roads. Jemal Pasha, who had promised his friends he would sail back to Istanbul via Alexandria, began his journey through a sea of mud. At the railway station in Aleppo he had to be carried out of the train on the soldiers' backs. The situation was equally disheartening elsewhere.

Syria's and Palestine's economy was unable to withstand the trials of war. Under the pretext of military necessity, the Turkish authorities immediately began fleeing the civilian population. The peasants' cattle and food were requisitioned on a mass scale. In 1915, nine-tenths of the grain harvest in Syria and the Lebanon was commandeered. Trees everywhere, including fruit trees, were cut down for fuel and the irrigation system was neglected. Forced labour was used extensively. Thousands of peasants were taken away from the land and forced to work on all sorts of military projects.

Agricultural and industrial production dropped sharply. Even before the war there had been a shortage of home-grown wheat in Syria and now wheat imports were almost completely suspended. The Turkish authorities took no measures to ward off the approaching famine and even organised food exports to Germany.

Prices of essential goods rose steeply and many articles dropped out of sale. The flourishing kings of the "black market" made huge fortunes.

Between 1915 and 1916, hundreds of thousands of people in the Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iraq, especially the inhabitants of the big cities, were on the verge of starvation. Epidemics of typhus and other diseases broke out here and there. In the spring of both 1915 and 1916, tens of thousands of people died in Syria and the Lebanon. In Syria, in 1917, one-tenth of the population died of hunger and disease. No less than 100,000 people died in the Lebanon alone. Tens of thousands died in the Moslem and Baghdad *vilayets*.

The war, economic difficulties and economic dislocation gave rise to a wave of spontaneous discontent throughout the country. The Turkish Government feared and mistrusted the Arab population of the empire. In November

1914, the government invested Jemal Pasha with special powers. Apart from the command of the 4th Army, he received the rights of Commissioner Extraordinary and wielded absolute military and civil power. He introduced martial law in the Arab provinces, abolished the *vilayet* councils and the civil court, destroyed the Mountain Region's autonomy and liquidated all the rights and privileges which had been granted to various religious communities on the basis of international agreements. Jemal Pasha persecuted the Arab national liberation movement and conducted a shameful policy of Turkisation and ruthless suppression of Arab culture.

Most of the Arab population adopted a hostile attitude towards the war. They hated the Turks and remained indifferent to the Sultan's leaflets proclaiming the *jihad*, i.e., holy Moslem war. The Arabs openly rejoiced at the Turco-German army's defeat and readily responded to the calls from émigré centres to sabotage the Turks' military efforts.

Jemal Pasha had to keep nearly half his troops in the rear, since they might be needed in event of an uprising. But the troops themselves were unreliable. Of three divisions, two were comprised of Kurds and Arabs from Mosul and one, of Syrians. Jemal Pasha demanded the despatch of Turkish contingents. Feeling against the war spread quickly among the Arab soldiers of the Turkish army. Cases of mass desertion, voluntary surrender and refusals to take part in the fighting became common. Mutinies took place in a number of towns. In April 1916, a Mosul garrison and several other Arab garrisons mutinied.

In 1915, there were disturbances in several Syrian and Palestinian towns, where the people were demonstrating for bread and peace. Spontaneous uprisings continued to flare up here and there. In 1916, in Jebel-Druse, the northern Lebanon and Damascus, guerilla detachments began an armed struggle against the Turks. Anti-Turkish uprisings that had flared up in the sacred *Shi'a* cities of Nejef and Karbala broke out afresh in the spring of 1916.

THE ARAB NATIONALISTS' ATTITUDE TO THE WAR. When the war broke out, the Arab Nationalists split into two camps according to their attitude towards the belligerents. They had two alternatives: either to accept the

Entente's support and the possibility of an Anglo-French occupation or to participate in the war on Turkey's side with a view to satisfying national demands within the framework of the Ottoman Empire.

The majority of the Nationalists sided with Britain and France and only a relatively small, but influential group of Nationalists (Abd er-Rahman Shahbandar, Mohammed Kurd Ali and others) clearly apprehended the danger connected with an Anglo-French occupation and chose to support Turkey under the Pan-Islamic slogans of "holy war". Jemal Pasha established close contacts with this group and promised them broad autonomy after the war. Something like an Arab-Turkish bloc was formed on the basis of the campaign against Britain and France. The Arab press supported the slogans of *jihad* (holy war) and gave the Turks favourable publicity.

By the spring of 1915, however, cracks appeared in the Arab-Turkish bloc. The defeats at the front, the Turks' chauvinist policy, the spread of famine and anti-war feeling among the masses dispelled the illusions of Shahbandar and his friends. They began to question Jemal Pasha's and the Turkish Government's sincerity. They were also disheartened by Turkey's helplessness and her rapid transformation into a German colony.

The vacillations of this group and the anti-Turkish feelings harboured by the majority of the Nationalists were used by British Intelligence, which relied on the Decentralisation Party's local branches and on anti-Turkish secret societies. The Decentralisation Party's leaders in Cairo called for immediate and complete secession from Turkey and began preparations for an uprising. They sent their agents and propaganda literature to Syria and Palestine. British planes dropped leaflets urging the Arabs to desert, to abstain from the payment of taxes and the like.

Anti-Turkish propaganda met with a growing response among the Arab population, which began to heed the reports from Cairo. The final blow to Ottoman illusions was struck by Jemal Pasha himself. In the spring of 1915, he launched mass repressions against the Arab Nationalists. At the beginning of the war, the Arabs had been afraid of choosing the wrong side. When they finally made their choice, it was not in Turkey's favour.

Even in the early months of the war, Jemal Pasha had had Arab intellectuals and officers shadowed. He had searched the French consulates and had found material incriminating many prominent members of the Arab national movement. In June 1915, when it became clear that the *jihad* slogan had completely failed and that the Arabs were ready to support an anti-Turkish uprising, Jemal Pasha began a bloody struggle against the Arab Nationalists, closing down a number of newspapers and organising mass arrests of members of the Arab national societies. In 1916, Jemal Pasha dealt ruthlessly with the Arab national liberation movement.

Between 1915 and 1916, several Arab Nationalist groups appeared before a military tribunal. The leaders of the Decentralisation Party, the Young Arab Society, the Lebanese Awakening Society and other outstanding members of the Arab movement were charged with high treason, with having connections with Britain and France and with having incited the people to rebel. During the investigation, the accused were tortured and threatened. The judges ignored all laws of legal procedure, following only Jemal Pasha's instructions. The courts sentenced hundreds of Nationalists to death and others to various terms of imprisonment. Abd el-Karim Khalil, Ridah es-Sulh, Mohammed Mihmisani, Sheikh el-Zahrawi, Shafik el-Mu'aid, el-Ureisi, Selim el-Jazairi, and many others were hung on the squares of Beirut and Damascus. All told, by the middle of 1916, the military tribunals had sentenced over 800 activists of the Arab national liberation movement to death.

Apart from legal punishment, the Turkish authorities organised the mass deportation of Arabs suspected of disloyalty to the Turkish Government. Tens of thousands of people, especially representatives of the Arab intelligentsia, the Christian and *Shi'a* clergy and the families of prominent Nationalists were banished to concentration camps in the desert. Banishments were attended by robberies, killings and other acts of violence. In the camps the exiles perished from hunger and disease.

By these means Jemal Pasha succeeded in crushing the Arab national societies, destroying their leaders and terrorising the population of the Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iraq. The blow which the Turks dealt against the Arab

national liberation movement in 1916 was a severe one. They wiped out its cadres and organisation, thereby delaying the general anti-Turkish uprising in the Porte's Arab provinces.

THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE OVER EGYPT. The British rear in Egypt, the main British base in the Middle East, was as unstable as the German-Turkish rear in Palestine, Syria and Iraq. Egypt was considered a part of the Ottoman Empire and was only "temporarily" occupied by the British. Nevertheless, Britain drew her into the war like her other colonies. On August 5, 1914, the British forced the Egyptian Prime Minister, Husein Rushdi Pasha, to announce complete rupture of relations with all Powers hostile to Britain. This declaration forbade the Egyptian population to correspond or to maintain commercial or any other relations with the subjects of states hostile to Britain. It also forbade Egyptian ships to call at enemy ports. At the same time the Egyptian population was called on to render all possible aid to Britain, and the British army and navy were granted the right to use Egyptian territory and ports for military operations.

According to the British writer Lieutenant-Colonel Elgood, who served in the British occupation corps during the war, the result of this declaration was that the deep feeling of mistrust towards the occupying Power, common to all classes of the Egyptian population, grew into a feeling of widespread but as yet concealed hatred. Egypt's forced ties with Great Britain had drawn her into a war, the origin and aims of which she knew nothing about.

Having entered the war, Britain violated the Convention of 1888 by occupying the Suez Canal Zone and instituting a number of emergency political measures. By the Decree of October 18, 1914, the government postponed for two months the convention of the Legislative Assembly, which in time of war could become a means for expressing popular discontent. Similar postponements were ordered on several other occasions and the Assembly did not meet once throughout the war.

On October 20, 1914, the government issued a decree on "illegal gatherings". If more than four Egyptians assembled without the authorities' permission, they could be punished as criminals.

On November 2, 1914, martial law was declared in Egypt. Supreme authority in Egypt passed into the hands of General Maxwell, the commander-in-chief of the British forces. The regime of military dictatorship was combined with increased terrorism. Thousands of participants in the national movement, bourgeois intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, teachers, officers and students, were thrown into prison or concentration camps, exiled to remote oases or banished to Malta. The leader of the Hizb El-Watan, Party, Ali Kamil, was interned and the Nationalist newspapers were closed. All the other newspapers were heavily censored.

Taking advantage of the war, Britain decided to legalise Egypt's seizure. On December 18, 1914, the British Foreign Secretary announced Egypt's secession from Turkey and her consolidation as a British protectorate. A high commissioner was placed at the head of the colonial administration in place of the British consul-general, who was listed as "diplomatic" representative, although he ruled the country as an absolute satrap. McMahon was appointed to this post in 1914. In November 1916, he was replaced by Wingate. But since martial law was in force, these officials were actually subordinate to the commander-in-chief and were mere tools in the hands of the military dictatorship. On December 19, 1914, the British deposed the Egyptian Khedive, Abbas II Hilmi, who was in Constantinople and had fallen out of favour with the colonial authorities. They installed their stooge Husain Kamil Pasha in his place, investing him with the title of sultan. When Husain Kamil died in 1917, his son Kemal ed-Din, unwilling to become a British puppet, refused to occupy the throne. The British then sought out a certain Prince Ahmed Fuad, Ismail's younger son, who had grown up in Italy and had served in the Italian army. On the eve of the war, Italy had nominated Ahmed Fuad as the King of Albania. On October 9, 1917, Britain offered him the Egyptian throne. Valentine Chirol writes that Ahmed Fuad was hastily elected by the British Government not because he possessed any unusual qualities, but because, having very few friends in Egypt, he was forced to rely on British support.

THE WAR AND THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY. When Britain entered the war against Turkey, she officially de-

clared that she was taking the "burden of the present war on herself" and would not resort to Egypt's help. The reality proved quite different, Britain made extensive use of Egypt's natural resources and manpower. In the very first days of the war, the British sent Egyptian artillery to defend the Suez Canal. Throughout the war they used the Egyptians in the auxiliary forces and in the labour corps.

Egyptians were recruited to the labour corps two or three times a year. Each time, up to 135,000 men were called up. Officially, the recruitment was supposed to be voluntary. In fact, however, there was considerable administrative pressure and corruption. In return for bribes the *Omdis* (village elders) would exempt the peasants from recruitment, while sending away anyone who was not to their liking. In 1917, the voluntary system was abolished and the British recruiting agents began working in the open.

What were these labour corps like? Why did the entire adult male population of the villages flee to the desert at the sight of the recruiting agents? Why did thousands of starving people avoid the doubtful honour of becoming "volunteers"? Why did soldiers and police comb the land for these "volunteers" who had fled, and deliver them under guard to the barracks? Because service in the labour corps was the worst kind of penal servitude. All the dirty work of the war was assigned to the labour corps. They dug trenches, built fortifications, laid water mains and railways across the desert and carried heavy loads on their backs. They were often the first to come under enemy attack. When the British advanced across the Sinai Desert into Palestine the Egyptian labour corps went in the fore, paving the way with their bodies as well as their work. "From the point of view of bodily security," writes Lieutenant-Colonel Elgood, "frequently in the Palestine campaign there was not much to choose between service with those units and with British troops in the front line. Both were bombed and shelled impartially by the enemy."¹ Losses in the labour corps exceeded 30,000. All told, over one million Egyptian fellaheen and workers passed through this hell. The term of service in the labour corps was six months. Recruits

¹ P. G. Elgood, *Egypt and the Army*, Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 86-87.

were soon crippled and exhausted to such a degree that the British preferred to exchange them for fresh manpower.

The British used the Egyptian labour corps not only on the Suez front. Egyptian fellaheen with shovels in their hands could be seen in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and in far-off Lorraine. According to official data, in 1916 alone, over 10,000 fellaheen were sent to France and over 8,000 to Mesopotamia.

Egyptian ports, means of transport, industry and agriculture were all placed at the British army's disposal. Egypt's economy was organised along completely new lines. The authorities took a number of emergency measures to feed the population and the 275,000-strong British army stationed in Egypt. On August 2, 1914, the authorities forbade the export of essential goods and introduced control over prices. The war made it difficult to import wheat and, faced with the threat of a food shortage, the British authorities speeded up the production of the grain crops. In 1915, they forcibly restricted the area under cotton to expand the area under wheat and rice. The cotton plantations were reduced from 1,755,000 feddans in 1914 to 1,186,000 feddans in 1915.

Soon, however, the British began to run short of cotton for the war industry and were forced to abolish all restrictive measures. Cotton production soared again and cotton prices almost trebled: from 14 reals a cantar in 1913 to 38 reals a cantar in 1917. Cotton growers, traders, swindlers and all sorts of middlemen waxed rich on the cotton boom.

The war and the rupture of foreign trade ties stimulated the development of local Egyptian industry. The war was a successful substitute for the protection that domestic capital needed. Industrial goods were no longer being imported from abroad and to fill the gap, national capital swung into action. Scores of hundreds of small domestic and semi-domestic craft enterprises were opened in the textile, sewing, leather, shoes, sugar, spirits, furniture and other industries. The number of people engaged in industry rose from 376,000 in 1907 to 489,000 in 1917; 231,000 of these were hired workers.

The war enriched the Egyptian landowners, merchants and businessmen as never before and considerably strengthened the positions of Egyptian national capital.

The Egyptian bourgeoisie's enrichment, however, did not free it from the tutelage of British finance capital and the colonial authorities. On the contrary, in the war years Egypt's financial and economic dependence increased. On August 2, 1914, the British authorities stopped the exchange of bank notes issued by the National Bank of Egypt for gold and forcibly introduced paper money. The National Bank's gold reserves were handed over to the British Treasury. The British authorities withdrew all the gold and silver coins from circulation and replaced them with notes. In October 1916, the gold backing of Egyptian bank notes was withdrawn and instead they were backed by British Treasury bonds and pound sterling notes. The Egyptian pound was thus made dependent on the British pound, which actually meant Egypt's incorporation in the sterling zone. Britain was now able to pay her military expenses in Egypt in notes without having to waste a single gram of gold.

During the war, the amount of paper money in circulation sharply increased. At the close of 1914, there were only £8,250,000 notes in circulation. By the end of 1919, this figure had increased more than eight times. Inflation led to a rise in prices, especially of primary goods. The index of wholesale prices rose from 100 in 1913 to 211 in 1918.

The Egyptian working people were the first to suffer from the rise in prices. An official British report noted the unheard-of and constant rise in prices, especially of such essential goods as bread, clothes, and fuel, which laid a particularly heavy burden on the lower classes whose wages were quite inadequate to the increased cost of living. The subsistence minimum was a good deal higher than the average wage level.

The peasants were very badly off. In the first months of the war, the British began commandeering grain and fodder from the peasants. The confiscated products were paid for at prices that were lower than the market prices and after much delay. Corruption also played its part. The government collectors extorted more wheat from the peasants than was fixed by the tax and sold it at the market for speculative prices. The confiscation of draught animals, donkeys and camels was a disaster for the peasants. It was almost impossible to secure compensation. And what com-

compensation could be obtained after long ordeals was not enough to buy a new animal.

The forced collections for the Red Cross and Red Crescent were particularly hateful to the fellaheen. Every British official tried to break the record for blackmail, and the sums that were extorted usually did not reach the Red Cross, but finished up in the blackmailers' pockets.

THE EGYPTIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT DURING THE WAR. The commandeering of wheat and animals, the extortions, mobilisations, the plunder of the Egyptian countryside, the terrorist regime and military dictatorship evoked profound discontent.

This feeling, however, could not find an outlet in organised political struggle. The Egyptian national liberation movement was in the grip of a serious crisis. The big Egyptian bourgeoisie and feudalists were growing rich on the war and sided with Britain. Temporarily, at least, their newspapers and political parties reconciled themselves to British domination and abstained from any struggle against the occupation forces. Neither the government nor the members of the Legislative Assembly even attempted to protest against the British protectorate over Egypt.

It was chiefly the petty bourgeoisie and the nationalist-minded intellectuals that united round the National Party and continued the anti-imperialist struggle. The military-terrorist regime, the arrests, the exiles and the closure of the Nationalist newspapers considerably restricted the scope of the *wataneun's* activities. Actually, they confined themselves to propaganda abroad (Geneva and Berlin) and to organising terrorist acts. On April 8 and July 9, 1915, they made two attempts on the life of the British puppet, Sultan Husain Kamil. On August 10, 1915, an attempt was made on the life of the Prime Minister, Husein Rushdi Pasha, and on September 4, 1915, on the life of the *waqf* minister.

This series of unsuccessful terrorist acts changed absolutely nothing in Egypt. The Nationalists withdrew further into their shell, isolating themselves from the people and their everyday needs. Spontaneous manifestations of discontent received no real guidance and were not used in the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Spontaneous discontent, however, fed the fires of nationalistic feeling, which reached threatening dimensions in the final years of the war. According to the British historian Young, every educational establishment and every college became a centre of fierce anti-British propaganda. The Egyptians, he wrote, began to realise that the war that had been declared for the freedom of the minor nations was actually being waged to divide the minor nations between the Western Powers. Egypt was not even promised freedom for her loyalty. On the contrary, the protectorate only stressed her dependence.

The British intelligence service founded an Arab Bureau which was to combat the Egyptian national movement in Cairo. The Arab Bureau was made up of such notorious British intelligence officers as Colonel (lieutenant at the time) Lawrence, the former *Times* correspondent in Istanbul, Phillip Graves, who on the eve of the war used his close ties with the Young Turk ruling circles to supply British Intelligence with detailed information about the Turkish army; Lord Lloyd, Winston Churchill's close friend and later the British High Commissioner for Egypt; the arabist Hogarth and Major Newcombe, who on the eve of the war had made topographical surveys of southern Palestine, which was to become a theatre of military operations. At the head of this nest of spies stood Colonel Clayton. While persecuting the Egyptian Nationalists, the Arab Bureau actually conducted subversive activities in the Turkish rear through its ties with the Syrian and Palestinian Nationalists. It even entered into negotiations with the Meccan ruler Sherif Husein el-Hashimi, and in 1916, organised an uprising of the Hejaz Arabs against Turkey.

MILITARY OPERATIONS (1914-16). Military operations in the Middle East began in November 1914. On November 7, 1914, two days after the declaration of war between Britain and Turkey, British and Indian troops landed at the mouth of Shatt-al-Arab and launched an attack against the north. On November 21, they seized Basra and on December 9, 1914, Al-Qurna, thereby completing the occupation of southern Iraq. But with that the British successes came to an end. Their attempts to thrust forward to Baghdad in 1915 failed completely. In November 1915,

they were defeated at Ctesiphon and in December 1915, the Turks surrounded General Townshend's 10,000-strong detachment at Kut El-Imara. On April 29, 1916, after a five-month siege, Townshend surrendered. The British rapidly recovered from their defeat, however, and in the second half of 1916, they again switched over to the offensive.

On the Sinai front the initiative was in the hands of the German-Turkish command. After thorough preparations, the Turks launched a broad offensive on the Suez Canal Zone. On January 10, 1915, eight Turkish divisions began to advance in two columns across the Sinai Peninsula in the direction of Gaza-Qantara and Ma'an-Suez. They covered 400 kilometres on foot and sixteen days later, took up positions on the eastern bank of the canal.

The British opposed the Turks with a 50,000-strong army consisting of their own, New Zealand, Australian and Anglo-Indian units, supported by the British and French warships and seaplanes. Rather than attempt to defend the Sinai Peninsula the British had adopted the plan of immediate defence on the Suez Canal line.

On the night of February 2, 1915, the Turks launched their assault on the canal, which ended in their complete defeat. The Turkish landing party which had crossed to the western bank of the canal was routed. The Turks' supply of ammunition and foodstuffs ran low and two weeks later they retired to their starting bases in Gaza and Ma'an.

After the first attack against the canal had failed, the German-Turkish command organised Bedouin raids on Egypt from the east and the west, but the military results of the raids were nil. Even in the political sense they served little purpose. The Bedouins who made up Jemal Pasha's 4th Army fought with extreme reluctance and encountered no support in Egypt. The Turks' gamble on Arab support had failed.

The British built up the fortifications of the Suez Canal Zone and by 1916, they had amassed 275,000 men in the area. Between April and August 1916, the Turkish command made two more attempts to attack the Suez Canal. German officers under the command of Kress von Kressenstein supervised the operations and German-Austrian troops took a direct part in the campaign. These attacks, however, were also rebuffed by the British.

Turkey was equally unsuccessful at sea. The Anglo-French fleet cruised the Syrian coast and put small diversionary groups and detachments ashore. British ships sealed off the Red Sea coast of Arabia.

On the Arabian Peninsula, in 1915, with the support of their fleet the British successfully repelled all the attempts of the Turco-Yemenese troops to seize Aden. Mohammed el-Idrisi's insurgent detachments operating in Asir helped the British considerably by holding down two or three Turkish divisions and harassing the Yemen from the north. British operations in North Arabia were also effective. By stirring up internecine strife they managed to neutralise the Rashidis of Shammar and thereby protect the left flank of the British expeditionary corps in Iraq.

The Sinai front was vital to the British. Originally they had intended to influence the outcome of the battle for the Suez Canal by landing troops in the region of Alexandretta and instigating an uprising in Syria. Jemal Pasha, however, dealt ruthlessly with the Nationalist leaders and France vehemently protested against the British unilateral occupation of the French spheres of influence. The British command thereupon chose the other alternative of launching an offensive across the Sinai Peninsula. In view of this decision, the Hashimites' stand in favour of an uprising in the Hejaz acquired special significance. Besides diverting the Turkish forces, the uprising would protect the British army's right flank and would greatly ease matters in the event of a campaign against Palestine.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ARAB UPRISING IN THE HEJAZ. Between 1915 and 1916, British intelligence agents and diplomats stepped up their preparations for an uprising in the Hejaz. The first contacts between the British and Abdullah el-Hashimi had been established before the outbreak of war and were renewed soon after. The British urged the Hashimites to avail themselves of the situation by provoking an uprising. The conditions in the Hejaz were favourable to Britain. Tension between the grand Sherif Husein el-Hashimi and the Turkish Government was mounting rapidly. Husein was nothing loath to use the war to realise his ambitious plans. He refused to proclaim a *jihad* (holy war) and sabotaged all attempts to carry out defen-

sive measures. He was backed by the Hejaz tribes, who in 1915 launched a guerilla war against the Turks.

Husein however, vacillated. He saw through the selfish plans of the British and did not trust them. What was more he realised he was between the hammer and the anvil. Comparatively large Turkish units were stationed in the Hejaz, but in the Red Sea there were British warships ready at a moment's notice to blockade the ports of the Hejaz and stop the supply of foodstuffs. Husein, therefore, bided his time. For eighteen months he conducted an evasive policy, bargaining with the British and at the same time sending his emissaries to the tribal leaders and the Syrian Nationalists.

In the spring of 1915, one of Husein's sons, Emir Feisal, arrived in Damascus. He was received by Jemal Pasha. At the same time Feisal secretly established contacts with the Syrian Nationalists and, in particular, had talks with representatives of the Young Arabs and the officers' secret society El-Ahd (the Covenant), which he joined. By the irony of fate, however, this distinguished Nationalist was invited to attend the execution of a group of Syrian Nationalist leaders as an honoured guest.

The Syrian Nationalists urged Feisal to side with Britain against the Turks. They had drawn up a protocol defining the terms of Anglo-Arab co-operation. This document, known as the Damascus Protocol, was drafted in May 1915. According to the Damascus Protocol, Britain was to recognise and guarantee the independence of the Arab state within its "natural borders". This meant the territory which was bounded on the north by the 37th parallel and included Syria, Palestine, Iraq and the entire Arabian Peninsula with the exception of Aden. Britain was also to guarantee the abolition of the capitulations. In return for this the Nationalists agreed to conclude a defensive alliance between Britain and the future independent Arab state and to grant economic privileges to Britain for a term of fifteen years.

The Damascus Protocol was an important landmark in the history of the Arab national liberation movement. It signified an alliance between the Arab feudalists and the Syrian, Iraqi and Palestinian bourgeoisie. This alliance consolidated the Hashimites' positions in the Arab world and provided them with additional trump cards in the diplomatic game with Britain.

As soon as Feisal returned to the Hejaz and reported on his visit to Damascus, Husein resumed negotiations with Britain, which took the form of an exchange of letters between himself and the British High Commissioner for Egypt, McMahon. In his letter of July 14, 1915, Husein offered the co-operation of the Arabs on the terms stipulated by the Damascus Protocol. The British, who at the time were holding talks with their allies on Turkey's post-war partition, were taken aback by Husein's demands, especially by his territorial claims, and their reply was a diplomatic refusal.

Husein insisted on an Anglo-Arab agreement and demanded the recognition of the borders of the future Arab state as an indispensable condition of this agreement. At the end of 1915, the situation on the Middle East fronts—the blockade of Aden, the defeats in Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles—developed unfavourably for Britain. This made the Arabs' co-operation and help extremely valuable and the British decided to meet several of the Hashimites' demands half way. On October 24, 1915, after consultations with London, McMahon sent another letter to Husein, which later became known as the McMahon-Husein agreement. In this letter, McMahon promised to recognise the independence of the Hashimite Arab state within the borders proposed by Husein, i.e., in accordance with the Damascus Protocol, but with the exception of the following territories: (a) the British protectorates in the Arabian Peninsula, (b) the territories west of the line Aleppo-Hama-Homs-Damascus, i.e., western Syria, the Lebanon and Cilicia, to which France had a claim. The territories of the Basra and Baghdad *vilayets* were to remain under the sovereignty of the Arab state, but came under British control. Finally, Britain insisted on the exclusive right to send foreign advisers to the Arab state and to "defend" it from external attacks.

McMahon's letter of October 24, 1915, did not satisfy Husein, who continued to insist on the solution of controversial issues (the borders of the Arab state and its future relations with Britain), but finally he was forced to give in and postpone their discussion till after the war. The British engaged to supply Husein with weapons and equipment and to pay him and his sons a monthly subsidy of £60,000.

Turkish action put an end to the Hashimites' vacillations. The Porte refused to recognise Husein as the independent hereditary ruler of the Hejaz and declined his request to pardon the Arab Nationalists. In April 1916, the Turkish military court passed another series of death sentences. It would soon be Husein's turn. The Turks were preparing to despatch large reinforcements to the Hejaz and with them a new Grand Sherif of Mecca.

THE 1916 UPRISING IN THE HEJAZ. These circumstances forced Husein to overcome his last hesitations and summon the Arabs to an anti-Turkish uprising which began on June 5, 1916. Led by Husein's sons, the emirs Ali, Abdullah, Feisal and Zaid, tribal insurgent detachments quickly seized Jidda and also the ports of Yenbo and Umm Lejj. In Mecca they drove the Turks into the citadel, which surrendered three months later. The Turkish garrison of Taif fell in September 1916. By that time part of the Turkish force was blockaded in Medina and the others were engaged in guarding the Hejaz railway. The Turkish troops in Asir and the Yemen were completely cut off.

Surprise was the main factor in Husein's first success. With no more than 10,000 men in the Hejaz to pit against 50,000 Bedouin insurgents, the Turks were taken unawares, but the insurgents were poorly trained and organised; they fought only on horseback, knew nothing about bayonet fighting and were helpless against artillery and machine guns. Their discipline was non-existent. They had no infantry or artillery; 10,000 outdated muskets were all the arms they had. Many of them would fight only in their own localities and several of the tribes refused to take any part in the uprising.

Consequently, the first victories were followed by a stalemate. The Turks drove the insurgents from Medina which stood firm all through the war. Reinforcements were moved in from Syria to the Hejaz railway and out of these the Turks began to form a special Hejaz corps, counting on lengthy trench warfare. In light of this Husein appealed to the British. The British, however, did not hasten to his help, for they felt that their purpose of the uprising was to divert Turkish not British troops to the Hejaz. Moreover, Britain was against the insurgents acquiring real strength, which

would later compel her to reckon with the Arabs' national demands.

Husein's request for planes, artillery and for an infantry brigade was turned down. All the Hejaz received by way of weapons was small consignments of light outdated arms, and this only after considerable delay. At the end of 1916, there was only one rifle among five men in Feisal's and Zaid's forces. Instead of arms came British and French military instructors and advisers, who reached the conclusion that the Arabs were capable of nothing but guerilla warfare. These advisers drew up a plan for regular guerilla raids on the Hejaz railway and the original plan to seize Medina was abandoned. The Turkish command saw through this manoeuvre and ordered its troops to withdraw from the Hejaz and retreat to Palestine. But the commander of the Turkish garrison in Medina, Fakhri Pasha, did not obey the order and things remained as they were.

The Hejaz uprising did not relieve the political friction between Britain and Husein. Acute differences arose between them only a few days after its outbreak. On June 27, 1916, Husein issued a manifesto to all the Moslems of the world, proclaiming Arab independence and promulgating a programme of his own. Britain feared the manifesto might evoke an upsurge of liberative aspirations, especially in her domains, and forbade its circulation. But Britain's fears were unjustified. In essence, Husein's manifesto was extremely reactionary and alien to the Arab national liberation movement. The Grand Sherif accused the Turks of spreading "innovations" supposedly hostile to the spirit of Islam and promised to restore the traditional Moslem institutions which were based on the *shariat* (legislature).

After this, Husein tried to put into practice the idea of setting up an Arab state. Without waiting till the end of the war, on November 2, 1916, in Mecca, he convened a meeting of Arab feudal leaders, who proclaimed him the king of the Arab nation. An Arab Government was formed with its seat at Mecca. According to tradition, the main posts were occupied by Sherif's sons. Ali became Prime Minister; Abdullah, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Feisal, Minister of the Interior.

The declaration of an independent Arab kingdom and the

formation of an Arab Government placed the British in a difficult position. McMahon sent Husein an indignant message and forbade the press to publish any information on the Arab Government or anything related to it. The British and French governments declared that they did not recognise Husein's new title, thus giving him to understand that they were not inclined to regard the Hashimite government as representative of all the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire.

The conflict was finally solved by the compromise. Britain and France acknowledged Husein as the king of the Hejaz, which did not really matter since the backward Hejaz with its population of 600,000 was no menace to them. The new kingdom did not include 95 per cent of the Porte's Arab subjects and could not exist without close ties with the other Arab regions. On the other hand, by recognising Husein as king and as their ally, the British and French governments ensured his participation in the war on the side of the Entente.

In the meanwhile, on the fronts the scales tipped in Britain's favour. The main Turkish forces were diverted to the Caucasus and to the Balkans. The British army gradually moved forward, occupying almost the entire Sinai Peninsula. The soldiers of the Egyptian labour corps laid a railway and water main through the desert. On December 21, 1916, the British entered El-Arish and began preparations for a broad offensive on the Palestinian front.

The Turks had built up a powerful defence line between Gaza and Beersheba (Bir Es-Seba). Twice, in March and April 1917, the British tried to break through, but to no avail. To make it easier for the British troops at the front, the British command decided to shift the Arab guerilla war from the Hejaz to Palestine and Transjordan in the north. As a means to this end, the British Intelligence officer Lieutenant T. E. Lawrence arrived on a visit to Emir Feisal. Lawrence won Feisal's confidence and became his chief military and political adviser. In fact, Lawrence commanded the entire northern group of the Hejaz troops. Between May and June 1917, he carried out a deep raid across the desert and on July 5, 1917, took Aqaba from the rear. This was both a convenient port and an important strategic position protecting the right flank of the British offensive against

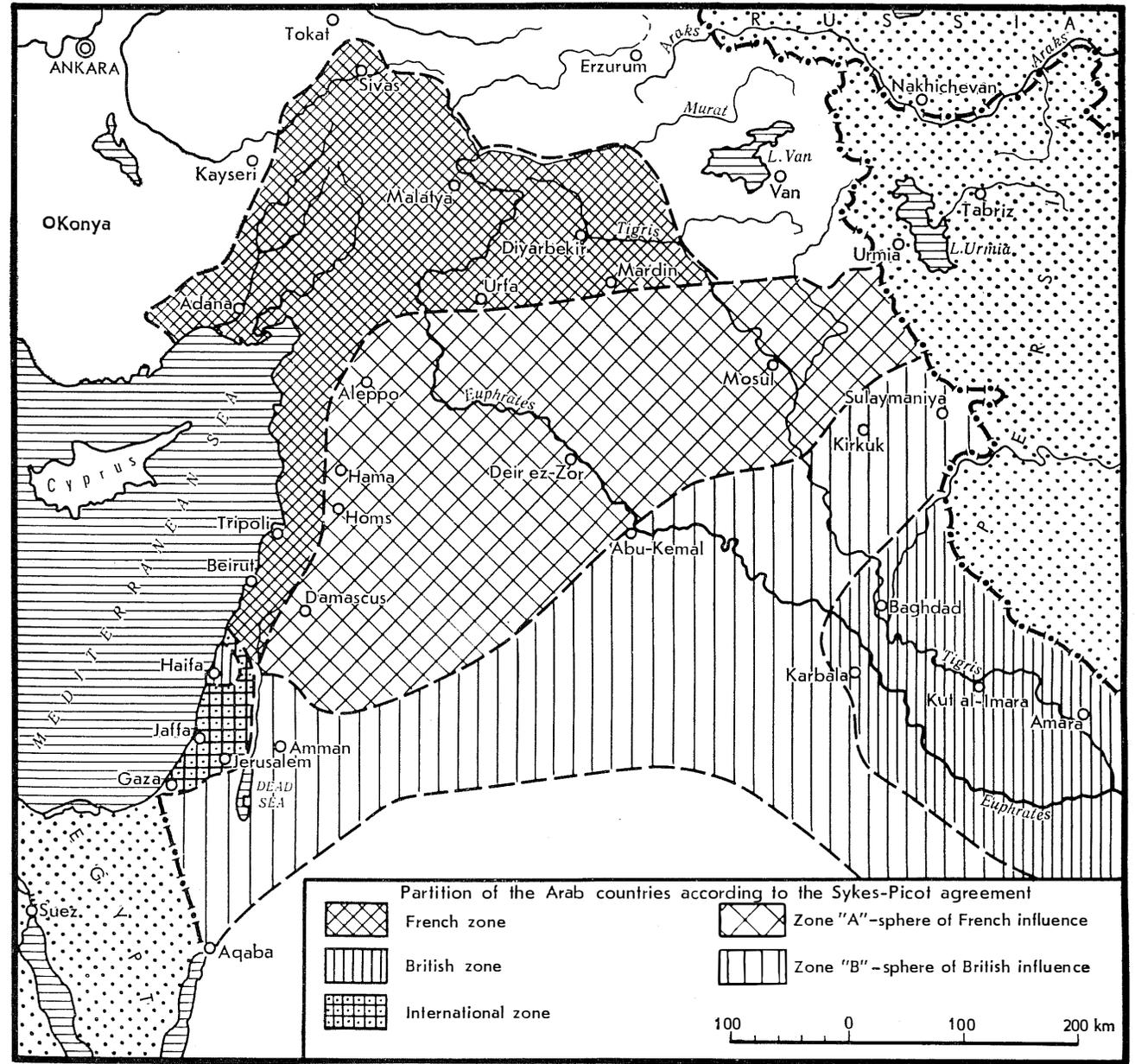
Palestine. With the occupation of Aqaba the Arabs completely cleared the Red Sea coast of the Turks and joined fronts with the British army.

It is significant that the Arab Nationalists suggested that Lawrence should immediately march on Damascus, feeling that this would lead to a general anti-Turkish uprising in Syria and to the country's liberation from the Turkish yoke. The Arabs would thus free themselves by their own efforts and avoid having the country occupied by foreign troops. But this was not what the British politicians or the British military command wanted and Lawrence voiced his objections. Acting on behalf of British Intelligence he turned the Arab insurgent army into an auxiliary corps which operated on the flank of the British army.

SECRET TALKS ON THE PARTITION OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. While the Arab insurgents fought for recognition of their right to form an independent Arab state, secret talks were going on in the cool comfort of the Entente's ministerial offices on partition of the Arab countries. There was nothing very new about the claims made by the Great Powers, the only difference being that with the outbreak of the war they felt the need to come to an agreement between themselves on these claims and on concrete commitments between the Allies.

From the very outset of the war, the British Government had deemed it necessary to inform the Russians of its readiness to solve the Straits question in Russia's favour. Upon receiving this statement on March 4, 1915, the tsarist Minister of Foreign Affairs, S. D. Sazonov, wrote a letter to the British and French ambassadors in St. Petersburg suggesting that they give their written approval on the handing over of the Straits to Russia. This suggestion was gladly taken up by the Allies, especially by the French. On March 8, the French Ambassador, Paleologue, announced the French Government's consent to Russia's claims on the condition that France's rights to Syria, the Lebanon and Cilicia be recognised by Russia. Russia was ready to accept this compromise, but made a reservation about the Armenians' claims on Cilicia and also raised the question of the "holy places" in Palestine. Britain acted more warily, demanding that provisions be made in the future for the

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cial international regime of its own in agreement with Russia and the other countries. Eastern Syria and the district of Mosul came under the French sphere of influence (Zone A) and Transjordan and the northern part of the Baghdad *vilayet*, under the British sphere of influence (Zone B). The agreement gave France and Britain in these zones priority rights in trade, railway construction and arms export and the exclusive right to supply the future Arab administration with whatever foreign officials, advisers and the like it might need.

Although Russia, who exchanged notes with Britain only in the autumn of 1916, had no claims on the Arab countries, the Allies promised her Turkey's Armenian *vilayets* and northern Kurdistan in exchange for her adherence to the agreement, and also confirmed her "rights" to Constantinople and to defend the interests of the Orthodox in Palestine. Accordingly a Yellow Zone, Lake Van, appeared on the map.

Somewhat later, Italy learned of the agreement and this led to the appearance of the Green Zone (south-western Anatolia) and Zone C (a portion of western and central Anatolia). On April 20, 1917, notes were exchanged between France and Italy. Britain stipulated that Italy's adherence to the agreement must first be ratified by Russia.

One of the sayings of British diplomacy is that you can promise anything you like because the situation is bound to change. Britain's generous concessions in the partition of the Porte's Arab provinces may be taken as an example of adherence to this rule.

OCCUPATION OF IRAQ. ANGLO-FRENCH CONFLICTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. British calculations that it would be possible to go back on the secret Allied commitments rested on the fact that the British army was slowly but surely occupying one Arab territory after the other. In December 1916, in Mesopotamia, the British switched over to the offensive. They broke through the Turks' strongly fortified positions in the region of Kut El-Imara and destroyed the Turkish river flotilla. They routed the Turkish troops on the Tigris and began advancing rapidly northward. On February 25, 1917, the British seized Kut El-Imara and on March 11, they entered Baghdad. In September they

resumed the offensive. On September 28, 1917, the British forces occupied Ramadi on the Euphrates and on the November 6, Tikrit on the Tigris was theirs.

The offensive brought almost all Mesopotamia under British control. This act of occupation showed that the British imperialists had merely talked of their desire to liberate the Arabs from the Turkish yoke. Actually, they were conducting a policy of colonial annexation. Having conquered Iraq, the British set about holding down their new territory by force. Absolute power was wielded by the British military command and civil service, which was subordinate to the Anglo-Indian government. The administration was headed by Percy Cox, a veteran official of the British colonial service in India and the British Resident for the Persian Gulf. In 1917, he was succeeded by Arnold Wilson, an officer of the Anglo-Indian army and a British Intelligence agent. These civil commissioners, as Cox and Wilson were called, were in charge of the British "political officers" who exercised power in the provinces.

Former Turkish officials were replaced by officials of the Anglo-Indian civil service. Turkish currency was withdrawn from circulation and replaced by Anglo-Indian currency. The administrative system and the shipbuilding industry were also arranged along Indian lines. In other words, Iraq virtually became a province of British India.

The Iraqi feudalists and compradore bourgeoisie immediately went over to the British, collaborating with them and actively supporting all their measures.

With a view to consolidating their political positions, the British drew representatives of the feudal and tribal nobility as well as the Moslem clergy (especially Shi'a) into the administration, tempting them with subsidies, decorations and sinecures. Only a handful of representatives of the higher *Sunnite* clergy and a few feudal chiefs remained in opposition.

The British gave especial consideration to the tribal policy. The Bedouins lacked unity. Some were British orientated and some, Turkish. The sheikhs often changed their politics. The British would despatch punitive expeditions against the rebellious tribes and the expeditions often developed into real battles between the British forces and the

Bedouins. But on the whole the British Intelligence Service was able to ensure the Iraqi tribes' loyalty throughout the war.

The transfer of the occupied Arab territories to British control caused serious alarm in French ruling circles, who feared that the British would ignore their obligations to the Allies and seize Syria. The French therefore took hurried steps to show their interest in the affairs of the Levant, even before the Anglo-Arab troops entered Syria and Palestine.

The French residents in the East—Bremond, the head of the French mission to the Hejaz, and Picot, who arrived in Cairo as the "High Commissioner for the French Republic in the Orient"—insisted on the despatch of French troops to Palestine. Picot demanded that an expeditionary corps of at least 10,000 men be sent to the East. "Otherwise they will leave us nothing," he remarked.

Apart from this, the French began an intense political campaign among the Syrian and Lebanese immigrants. A Syrian Central Committee was set up in Paris under the Lebanese immigrant Dr. Michelle Samner, who worked to bring about a Franco-Syrian rapprochement. In April 1917, Picot summoned a meeting of Lebanese immigrants in Cairo and informed them of France's intention to establish a protectorate over the Lebanon.

These measures, and rumours of the despatch and landing of French troops in the Lebanon, seriously alarmed the Arab Nationalists. On learning of the French plans, Emir Feisal gloomily declared that when the Arabs had finished fighting the Turks, they would have to fight the French. The leaders of the Arab uprising began demanding explanations.

The Allies, who had by this time started preparations for a decisive offensive on Palestine, did everything they could to reassure the Arabs. In May 1917, Sykes and Picot arrived in the Hejaz for talks with Husein and Feisal. In strict secrecy they discussed the fate of Palestine, Syria and Iraq. Many interesting details which threw light on the Anglo-Franco-Hejaz talks are cited in Bremond's book. It turns out that Husein and Feisal were given false information about the Anglo-French treaties and agreements on the Arab question. Husein received false assurances and decided to continue the war on the side of the Allies.

THE PALESTINE OFFENSIVE OF 1917. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. In July 1917, Allenby took command of the British troops in Palestine and was also put in charge of the Feisal-Lawrence units of the Arab army.

Allenby's plan of operation envisaged a joint Anglo-Arab offensive on a broad front. With the support of the ships and planes of the British and French fleets, the British were to operate west of the River Jordan while the Arabs operated to the east. The Arab army, which protected the British right flank, was to clear Transjordan jointly with the local guerilla detachments, occupy Hauran and open the road to Damascus.

The British were numerically superior. They had concentrated 95,000 bayonets, 20,000 sabres and 500 guns on the Gaza-Beersheba (Bir Es-Seba) front. The Turks had 50,000 bayonets, 1,500 sabres and 300 guns. The Turkish army was starving and almost completely demoralised. Steps had been taken to send crack Turkish units of the Ildirim (Lightning) Army and the German Asiatic corps to the Palestinian front. But the lack of roads and the confusion in the rear considerably delayed the transfer of these units.

Allenby decided to push ahead with the offensive before the fresh Turkish troops arrived. On October 31, 1917, the British broke the front in the region of Beersheba and soon overwhelmed the Turkish defences on the Gaza-Beersheba line. With their superior numbers, better arms, far better organisation of supplies and a reliable communications system, the British completely routed the Turks, turning the tide of the battle on the Palestinian front, and began the thrust northwards. On November 16, the British occupied Jaffa and on December 9, 1917, they entered Jerusalem.

The British breakthrough and occupation of Palestine made the question of Palestine's future a matter of great urgency. The British were bound by two different commitments to their Allies. Under the McMahon-Husein agreement of 1915, the British had promised to incorporate Palestine in the Arab state. Under the agreement with Russia in 1916, they had undertaken to establish international control in Palestine. But now, having occupied Palestine, they had no intention of fulfilling either promise and did everything in their power to keep the country under their control.

To evade her earlier commitments, Britain decided to take advantage of the Zionist movement, which had become more widespread at the end of the 19th century. Back in 1882, a group of Russian-born Jews had founded the first Jewish agricultural colony near Jaffa. In Jaffa, in 1908, a Zionist agency was set up to provide for immigrants sent by various Zionist societies and organisations. Despite the generous subsidies from Rothschild and from various Zionist funds, however, despite the favourable neutrality of the Turkish authorities, who did nothing to hamper Jewish colonisation, the Zionists had achieved no significant results in the thirty years before the war. In Palestine, on the eve of the war, there had been only forty-three Jewish settlements with a population of 13,000. Between 1882 and 1914, some 45,000 immigrants had entered the country and in 1914, the entire Jewish population of Palestine was scarcely 90,000.

In 1897, the World Zionist Organisation became the organising and political centre of the Zionist movement. In search of a protector, the organisation tried to establish contacts with the governments of several big Powers. Prior to World War I, the Zionists had leaned towards Kaiser Germany in the hope of realising their plans for colonising Palestine with her help. A small group of Zionists under Dr. Weizmann took their cue from Britain and counted on the collaboration of British imperialism.

At the beginning of 1917, while preparing for the seizure of Palestine, the British Government recalled the Zionists' claims and decided to enlist their services to justify the separation of Palestine from the Arab state. On the British Government's instructions, in February 1917, Sykes established contacts with the Zionist leaders. In the summer of the same year, negotiations were resumed. The talks revealed that both sides held identical views and on November 2, 1917, the British Government issued a declaration on its policy in Palestine, which was published in the form of a letter from the British Foreign Secretary Balfour to the Anglo-Jewish banker Rothschild. The declaration stated that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment of this object."

The Balfour Declaration received the immediate support

of the United States Government, which in many ways contributed to the success of the Anglo-Zionist negotiations. In 1918, the French and Italian governments adhered to the Balfour Declaration.

THE EXPOSURE OF THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS.

The Balfour Declaration evoked tremendous indignation among the Arabs, who were staggered by Britain's treachery. Their indignation knew no bounds when they learned the whole truth about the partition of the Arab countries. In November 1917, the Government of Soviet Russia published the secret treaties on the partition of the Ottoman Empire, including the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Naturally, the Arabs could not reconcile themselves to the plans to transform their lands from Turkish *vilayets* into colonies of the European imperialist Powers. On December 3, 1917, the Government of Soviet Russia issued an Appeal "To All the Working Moslems of Russia and the East". This call to all Moslems of the East to take their destiny in their own hands also had a great impact on the Arabs.

News of the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes-Picot Agreement encouraged anti-British feelings among the insurgent army. Feisal's guerillas and soldiers began refusing to take part in the war on the Entente's side. Their officers openly expressed indignation at Britain's double-dealing and the leaders of the Arab uprising entered into negotiations with Turkey and threatened to conclude a separate peace with her.

The first Arab-Turkish contacts were made in November 1917. Acting on behalf of the Porte, Jemal Pasha despatched his emissary to Aqaba and invited Feisal to Damascus for peace talks. In the summer of 1918, the talks were resumed, but came to nothing because of Turkish insolence in refusing to recognise the Arabs' national demands. It was only in September 1918 that the Turkish Government accepted the Arabs' terms for a separate peace, but by this time, it was too late. The Turkish fleet was being defeated and the Entente's victory was becoming an accomplished fact.

To drown the voice of truth, the imperialist Powers once again resorted to the diplomacy of deception and sweeping declarations. Immediately after the Soviet Government had published the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Balfour called it a

"figment of a malicious Bolshevik imagination". Soon after, on December 4, 1917, President Wilson declared in Congress that the peoples of the Ottoman Empire would be granted the right to self-determination. On December 27, 1917, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Pichon also spoke of self-determination and of sympathy for the oppressed peoples of Turkey—Armenians, Arabs and the like. On January 5, 1918, the British Prime Minister Lloyd George made a speech on the "war aims", in which he also spoke at length about the specific national conditions for the Arabs and Armenians. On January 8, 1918, in a Message to Congress Woodrow Wilson formulated his famous "fourteen points". The twelfth point of Wilson's peace terms provided for Turkish sovereignty only over the territory inhabited by the Turks. President Wilson also mentioned the creation of a League of Nations which would safeguard the rights of smaller nations.

In 1918, Professor Hogarth of Oxford University, an expert on Arab affairs, arrived in Jidda to allay Husein's fears and to "explain" Britain's policy on the Middle East to the Arab leaders. On January 4, 1918, Hogarth handed over a British memorandum to Husein in which Britain declared that the Entente countries intended to grant the Arabs an opportunity to occupy a worthy place in the world and to set up their own state. Britain also declared that a special regime of control would be created in Palestine and that no nation would be subordinate to another. Nevertheless, Hogarth urged Husein to co-operate with the Zionists and announced that the British authorities would not impede Jewish immigration in a measure conforming to the economic and political freedom of the existing population. Actually, the eloquent flow of words in Hogarth's memorandum was meant to sugar the pill and to conceal Palestine's secession from the Arab state.

Hogarth's memorandum and other declarations made by the Allies achieved their aim. The Arabs did not abandon the field of battle, but they were left with a deep feeling of discontent and mistrust with regard to Britain's policy. In June 1918, in Cairo, a group of Syrian Nationalists under Rafik el-Azm and Abd er-Rahman Shahbandar demanded a final definition of Britain's policy towards the Arab countries. The British Government was compelled to reply and

on June 16, 1918, it published a declaration on its policy in the Arab East, dividing the Arab lands into three categories: (1) the territories liberated by the Arabs themselves (the Hejaz), (2) the territories liberated by British troops (southern Palestine and Iraq) and (3) the territories still under Turkish rule (Syria, the Lebanon and northern Iraq). Britain promised to respect the independence of the territories included in the first category, to decide the future of territories of the second category in accordance with the wishes of the local population and to work for the liberation of territories of the third category. This meant that Britain actually refused to guarantee the unity and the independence of the Arab territories which she had occupied.

Britain's declaration came nowhere near to satisfying the Arab Nationalists, who wanted Husein to proclaim an independent Arab state incorporating all the Arab lands east of the Suez Canal. On August 30, 1918, Husein asked the British High Commissioner for Egypt, Wingate, for a confirmation of the McMahon pledge to set up an Arab state after the war and to guarantee its borders. Simultaneously, he asked for a denial of the "slandorous" rumours to the effect that he was acting in collusion with Britain. He complained and threatened at the same time, alluding to the possibility of an anti-British uprising if his agreement with McMahon was not confirmed.

Husein's complaints, however, had very little effect. This was largely due to Husein himself and to Feisal, who, though they did not trust the British, forced other Arabs to believe in Britain's friendly attitude towards them.

TURKEY'S MILITARY COLLAPSE AND THE ANGLO-FRENCH OCCUPATION OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. Thanks to the subterfuges of British diplomacy, the Arabs remained on the Allied side till the very end and played an important part in the final stage of the war. By 1918, the Turks were on their last legs. Jemal Pasha's deposal (December 1917) and the placing of all military and political power under direct German control could no longer change anything. The Turkish rear had fallen to pieces. Arab guerilla detachments operated everywhere. They ambushed the Turkish troops in Hauran, Huta

and in the region of Baalbek. By the summer of 1917, practically all the tribes of Syria and Transjordan were up in arms against the Turks. Arab soldiers deserted from the Turkish army and joined the guerillas en masse. In Iraq, Arab and Kurdish irregulars abandoned the front and turned their guns against the Turks. The tribes of the upper and middle reaches of the Euphrates made incessant raids on the Turkish communications. Hunger and devastation reigned throughout the country. The Turkish army, which was still trying to hold the front, was unclothed and unshod in the full sense of the words. Its supply organisation was useless. The British historian Liddell-Hart wrote that Allenby had only to put out his hand and the Turkish army would fall at his feet like a ripe fruit.

In the middle of 1918, the Lawrence-Feisal Arab army occupied Ma'an, and Feisal was about to shift the operations to Syria and provoke a general uprising there. But he was resolutely opposed by the British, who feared more than anything the liberation of the Arab countries by the Arabs themselves. It was finally decided to combine the uprising in Jebel-Druse with the entry of British troops into Syria. Feisal's emissary, Bakri, and the prominent Druse sheikh, Sultan el-Atrash, had been preparing for the uprising for several months. It began in September 1918 and coincided with a general offensive launched by all the Entente forces on the Salonikan and Palestinian fronts.

The Turks had three armies and units of the German Asiatic corps in Palestine. The 8th Turkish Army was holding the western sector of the front, the 7th Army under the command of Mustafa Kemal was stationed in the centre and the 4th Army in Transjordan. The German general, Liman von Sanders, was in over-all command of operations. The German-Turkish forces were opposed by two British army corps with cavalry and air forces and by Feisal's Arab army in Transjordan. The over-all balance of forces was three to one in the Entente's favour. Not content with this, however, Allenby built up the maximum strength on the decisive western sector of the front. By causing some of the Turkish forces to be diverted to Transjordan he managed to give himself an advantage of five to one on the decisive sector.

On September 19, 1918, the British attacked and broke

the front south of Nablus. Twenty-four hours later, the British advance guard entered Nazareth, the headquarters of the German-Turkish command, and nearly captured Liman von Sanders. The Turkish units began a disorderly retreat to the north. Feisal's Arab troops emerged in the region of Dera'a (between Amman and Damascus) and cut off the 4th Turkish Army's retreat. The scattered Turkish formations and units were surrounded. The British captured 72,000 Turks and approximately 4,000 Germans. Small detachments and separate Turkish groups were destroyed by the British air force and Arab guerillas while they were trying to break through to the north.

British and Arab troops advanced swiftly to the north in pursuit of the defeated Turks. On September 30, 1918, Feisal's detachment entered Damascus, just one day ahead of the British. On October 8, the British occupied Beirut, on October 18, Tripoli and Homs, and on October 26, 1918, the British entered the largest city in northern Syria—Aleppo.

On October 30, 1918, representatives of the Porte went aboard the British warship *Agamemnon* at Mudros (a port on the Island of Limnos in the Aegean) and signed an armistice dictated by a British admiral. Article sixteen of the Mudros Armistice envisaged the surrender of all the Turkish forces to the Allies and the complete abolition of Turkish rule in the Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, the Hejaz, Asir and the Yemen. The 400-year old Turkish domination in the Arab countries had come to an end.

The Arabs, however, were unable to reap the fruits of victory. On September 30, 1918, the day the Arab troops entered Damascus, an Anglo-French agreement was signed in London establishing an occupation regime in the Arab East. Field-Marshal Allenby was given supreme authority over the occupied Arab territories, where British martial law was to remain in force until a peaceful settlement was reached. The civil administration of the occupied territories was divided between the Allies. The Lebanon and western Syria (the Blue Zone according to the Sykes-Picot Agreement) came under the control of the French High Commissioner, Picot. Eastern Syria and Transjordan, which constituted zones A and B under the Sykes-Picot Agreement, came under the control of Emir Feisal, who acted on behalf of King Husein. The civil administration of the

remaining territories, including the Brown Zone (Palestine), was left in the hands of the British. The Hejaz remained under Husein's control.

The Arabs were dissatisfied. Particularly were they indignant at the French authorities, who had pulled down all Arab flags in their zone, expelled the Arab governor from Beirut and forced the Arabs to evacuate Latakia and the northwestern regions of Syria which had been liberated by the Arab troops. In the hour of victory the Arabs realised that the Allies had no intention of fulfilling the McMahon-Husein Agreement or of setting up a united Arab state.

Though free at last from the Turkish yoke, they had been cheated of their long-awaited independence and fallen under the influence of the British and French colonialists. The end of World War I opened a new period in the history of the Arab people, a period of struggle against British and French imperialism for the complete national liberation of the Arab countries.

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SUBJECT INDEX

- aga—chief. Any officer from the grade of major up in the Ottoman Empire; battalion commander in Abd-el-Kader's army
- aga el-askar—commander of Abd-el-Kader's regular army
- agham—sheep tax
- akche—silver coin, about a quarter of a dirhem
- ardeb—dry measure containing 198 litres
- asnaf—artisan guilds
- atar—allotted land in the Egyptian commune; in the iltizam
- ayan—feudal lord, a notable
- baladiyah—municipal council
- barrani—an extra tax exacted by the multazims from the peasants in addition to the mal el hurr
- bedel el-askari—payment for exoneration from military service. It applied to the Christians of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th century
- Beit-El-Mal—the treasury, the department that handled state property
- bek—see bey
- Bektashi—Dervish order
- bey—feudal title literally meaning ruler
- beylik—state land in Algeria and Tunisia
- cadi—Moslem judge
- cadi-askari—military judges in the Ottoman Empire
- caliph—lit. "deputy"; in particular, heir of the prophet; spiritual head of all Moslems
- cantar—Egyptian weight measure, about a hundredweight
- chift—allotment given to the peasant by the feudal lord
- defterdar—inspector of taxes
- derebey—feudal lord, sovereign; literal meaning, "ruler of the valley"
- dervish—member of Moslem brotherhoods or religious order; Moslem monk
- dey—Algerian ruler prior to French conquest
- dirhem—the principal silver coin which was equivalent to one-tenth of a dinar
- diwan—council of higher dignitaries
- Druse—Moslem religious sect, offshoot of Ismailism
- duar—village (in Algeria)
- emir ("sovereign")—prince; feudal title
- emir el-mumeneen ("sovereign of the faithful")—title of the caliph
- enzel—a form of alienating waqfs
- cियाlet—see pashalik

- faiz—portion of the mal-el-hurr (q.v.) that remained in the multazims' hands; interest, profit
- fakir—poor dervish, hermit; see dervish
- feddan—Egyptian unit of area equal to 1.038 acres
- fetwa—formal pronouncement made by the appropriate theological authority on matters involving the interpretation of the canon law
- firman—decree
- gafir—village watchman (in Egyptian commune)
- hadj—pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam
- hatti-humayun—sultan's rescript
- hatti-sheriff Gulhané—noble rescript, same as the hatti-humayun
- Iltizam—feudal estate in Egypt based on tax farming
- Imam—(1) the spiritual head of the Moslems in several Moslem countries and religious communities; (2) Moslem minister of religion
- janissary—Turkish soldier, member of a privileged professional infantry corps formed in the 14th century
- jihad—holy war waged by Moslems
- jizyah—(kharaj ra'asi) poll tax exacted from non-Moslems
- Kafir (gaur)—infidel, apostate of Islam
- Kaid—chief, the governor of a district (kaidat) in Tunisia
- kaidat—administrative and territorial division in Tunisia
- kasida—verse or poem
- kashif—provincial or district ruler in Egypt
- kashifia—payments for the upkeep of the provincial administration (in Egypt)
- kaza—smallest administrative and territorial division in the Ottoman Empire
- khabus—see waqf
- khammas—propertyless peasant who cultivated the land on the basis of the khammasat
- khammasat—a medieval form of holding land on lease for one-fifth of the crop yield
- kharaj—exorbitant land tax, amounting sometimes to half of the harvest
- kharaj ra'asi—see jizyah
- kharajiya—peasant lands in Egypt that were affected by the kharaj
- khas—large estates for the private use of the Sultan, members of his dynasty, ministers and other important dignitaries
- khauli—land surveyor (in Egypt's communal administration)
- khedive—sovereign, seignior (Persian); in 1867 khedive became the hereditary title of the ruler of Egypt
- khutbah—Friday sermon in which the ruling sovereign's name was mentioned
- kiakhya—estate manager, butler
- kibar—feudal lord, a magnate
- kulemenis—white slaves in Iraq forcibly converted to Islam and given a military training; the same as the Mamelukes in Egypt
- kurbash—five-tail whip made of rhinoceros hide
- liwa—sanjaq
- madrasah—collegiate mosque
- mahmal—palanquin or litter used to carry the presents that were sent daily to Mecca with the pilgrimage caravan
- makhzen—privileged tribes in

the government's service in Maghreb
mal-el-hurr—money rent, the combined payments exacted by the multazim from the peasants
malmudir (muhassil)—official in charge of the finance and tax department in the sanjaq (during the tanzimat period)
Mamelukes—white slaves in Egypt, especially bought and trained for military service
mamleket (miri)—state land property belonging to the treasury in the Ottoman Empire
ma'mur—ruler of a markaz
marabout—leader in North Africa, head of a religious brotherhood
markaz—territorial division in Egypt
Maronites—followers of one of the Eastern Christian churches as a separate Monothelite organisation
mashhad—village policeman in mediaeval Egypt
mawat—"dead land", according to Moslem law
mejba—poll-tax in Tunisia
mejliss—council, assembly
mejliss idaroh—administrative council under governor (wali) in the Ottoman Empire (during the tanzimat period)
mek (melik)—leader, ruler or king (in East Sudan)
melikat—the jurisdiction of the mek (melik)
melkiti—members of Greek Unite Church
millet—nationality, national group; according to the pan-Ottoman theory, one of the elements or components of the single "Ottoman" nation
miri—see mamleket
miri tapu—state lands handed over to private owners for use on the basis of special documents ("tapu")

mudir—head or ruler of province (mudiria) in Egypt
mudiria—administrative and territorial division in Egypt since the time of Mohammed Ali; province
Mufti—expounder of the canon (Moslem) law; head of the Moslem clergy of a province
mugaras—agreement by which one person undertook to plant and cultivate fruit-trees on another person's land; when the term of agreement expired the plantation was divided
muhassil—see malmudir
mukabala—reimbursement, compensation; according to the Egyptian law of kukabala of 1871, all landowners could redeem one half of the land tax to which they were liable by payment of the six years' tax, either in one sum or in instalments spread over a period of twelve years
mulk—privately owned lands
multazim—feudal lord, owner of iltizam
mutasallim—governor, district head in Syria and Iraq
mutasarraf—(1) governor of autonomous Lebanon according to the "règlement organique" of 1861; (2) head or governor of a district in the Ottoman Empire
nahiya—the smallest administrative and territorial subdivision in Egypt
nazir—governor, head of a nahiya (in Egypt)
Nizam-El-Jadid—regiments of the "new order"; Turkish name for the regular forces founded by Selim III
omdah—village elder, head of a village administration in Egypt
padishah—official title of the

Turkish sultan, the supreme authority in the Ottoman Empire
pasha—feudal title; deputy, governor of a province
pashalik (eiyalet)—province or territory under the pasha's jurisdiction
piastre—monetary unit in the Ottoman Empire

qa'im ma'qam—deputy; head of the sanjaq in the Ottoman Empire

raya—tax-paying population, who had to give nearly half their harvest to the feudal lord
reis-es-saf—platoon commander in Abd el-Kader's army
rizq—see waqf

Sadr Azam—title of the Grand Visier, head of the government of the Ottoman Empire
sanjaq, or liwa (banner)—district, the knights (sipahi) of which formed a military unit of the Ottoman cavalry; later an administrative and territorial division in the Ottoman Empire
sanjaq bey—governor of a district and commander of the knights (sipahi) of the district
sarraf—money-changer; tax collector

sayaf—platoon commander in Abd el-Kader's army
seyyid (also sherif)—(1) a descendant of the prophet; (2) title of the ruler of Oman (Muscat)

sheikh—elder, tribal leader
sheikh-el-Islam—head of the Moslem clergy
sherif—the hereditary ruler of Mecca; also see seyid
Shi'as—followers of one of two trends in Islam; that branch of the Moslems who reject the first three caliphs and consider

Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, as the first rightful successor of Mohammed; and those who do not recognise the sunna as any part of the law
sirdar—commander-in-chief (in Turkey and Egypt)
sirdar-i-ekram—Supreme Commander-in-Chief in the Ottoman Empire
sipahi—horsemen, knights
Sufist—member of a madrasah in Turkey
sultan—sovereign; title of hereditary ruler in many Moslem countries
sultanate—territory under the sultan's jurisdiction
Sunnites—followers of Orthodox Islam; one of a Moslem sect that acknowledges the first four caliphs to be the rightful successors of Mohammed

Tanzimat—the name of a period of reforms in the Ottoman Empire that began in 1839. The term comes from the name of the reforms tanzimat-el-khairiye
tanzimat-el-khairiye ("charity reforms")—an expression used in the hatt-i-sherif Gulhané of 1839 in reference to certain projected reforms
timar—military fief with a revenue of up to 20,000 akchas
timarji (timariot)—sipahi, owners of the timar

Ulcma—Moslem theologians, learned men
ushr—tithe (one-tenth)
ushriya—various categories of feudal land in Egypt from which after 1854 a tithe was collected
usia—originally land, allotted to serve the community's needs; later, a landlord's estate

vilayet—administrative and territorial division; province
Vizier—minister

wakil—representative, agent
wali—governor; head of vilayet administration
waqf (khabus)—land and other property of Moslem religious institutions

zaim—sipahi, owner of a ziamet
zakat—cattle tax
zawia—hermitage, dervish monastery
zaydites—religious Moslem sect, offshoot of Shiism; not so far removed from the Sunnites as other Shi's orders
ziamet—military fief with revenue exceeding 20,000 akches

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