

How to Cite:

Fraihat, E., & Qaddouri, H. L. (2022). The national thought of King Faisal Bin Al- Hussein (1909-1933 AD). *International Journal of Health Sciences*, 6(S6), 9512–9527.
<https://doi.org/10.53730/ijhs.v6nS6.12474>

The national thought of King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein (1909-1933 AD)

Prof. Eman Fraihat

Applied Science Private University

*Corresponding author email: Frehat.eman@yahoo.com

Hussein Latif Qaddouri

A writer and researcher from Iraq, he holds a master's degree in political science

Email: hk_1984@yahoo.com

Abstract---The study dealt with the experience of King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein in governing Great Arab Revolt launched by his father, Al-Sharif Hussein Bin Ali. The study also examined the approaches that King Faisal adopted towards achieving Arab unity addressing his positions on the developments in both Syria and Palestine. The study adopted the descriptive and analytical approach, and concluded a number of conclusions. The most important of these conclusions is that Faisal's external objectives of achieving Arab unity at the level of the Fertile Crescent were to build an Arab state with a population mass and a larger area that achieves geopolitical and geo-economic balance and parity with similar neighboring countries, especially Iran and Turkey. The study also concludes that the nature of King Faisal's positions and policies has been characterized by appeasement, caution, rationality, distancing from adopting any radical and extremist position, and constant caution and avoidance of clashing with the British or French. King Faisal seeks to obtain his demands through negotiation and to conclude understandings, away from the option of revolution, force and violence.

Keywords---King Faisal Bin Hussein, Iraq, Arab nationalism.

Introduction

Faisal's experience in governing Syria was short in terms of the period of time (1918-1920), but it represented a qualitative importance, from his announcement of the formation of an Arab government in Syria with its natural borders after the entry of the northern revolutionary army into Damascus in October 1918, and the British-French reaction that divided the Syrian country into three regions: Palestine with British administration, the Syrian and Lebanese coast

under French administration, and Inner Syria stretching from Aqaba to Aleppo under the administration of Prince Faisal. Throughout his reign (1921-1933) of Iraq that was placed under the British Mandate (1920-1932), Faisal's gaze remained oriented beyond the borders of his kingdom, specifically to the western part of the territory of the Fertile Crescent: the Levant. King Faisal aspired for Iraq to be the base for a larger Arab union. He continues with this endeavor, the ambition of the Arab national movement that emerged and developed during the last era of the rule of the Ottoman Empire, to which he was close, and the movement that culminated in the Great Arab Revolt of 1916 AD, which was led by his father, Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali and his sons. Thus, for Faisal, unity represented a return to his rule in Syria, which was removed from him by the French following the Battle of Maysaloon on 24 June 1920, a return that was awaited by him and a large number of Syrian political elites at the same time.

The Significance of the Study

The importance of this study stems from the fact that it addresses a sensitive stage in the history of the Arab countries, as this stage witnessed the formation and emergence of Arab countries in the region, and has known important attempts to redraw maps and change the equations of borders, and efforts to unify and bypass Qatarism. The efforts of King Faisal Bin Hussein were one of the most important within this direction.

Purposes and Questions of the Study

The study aims at identifying how the Arab national awareness and orientation were formed by King Faisal Bin Al Hussein (1909-1933 AD). It also aims at identifying the trends of the nationalist and Arab unitary nature that King Faisal carried in an attempt to answer the following questions:

- How did King Faisal Bin Al Hussein's Arab nationalist consciousness and orientation form?
- What tendencies of the nationalist and unitary Arab nature did King Faisal Bin Al Hussein carry?
- What attitudes and policies of the Arab nationalist nature did King Faisal Bin Al Hussein adopt and practice during his reign?
- What are the motives and objectives of King Faisal Bin Al Hussein behind the adoption of Arab nationalism?

Statement of the Problem

The problem of the study lies in investigating the nature of the Arab nationalist thought and orientations of King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein as well as the positions and policies he adopted and practiced during his short reign in Syria, and then in Iraq from 1921 until his death in 1933. Moreover, it lies in investigating the extent that his thoughts and orientations were based on Arab unitary and nationalist motives.

Study hypothesis

This study was based on the premise that King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein had carried an Arab nationalist ideology and orientation, and that he was pursuing Arab unity in his positions and policies, especially at the level of the Fertile Crescent region, including the entire land of Palestine.

Study Limits

- Timeframe: From the arrival of Prince Faisal Bin Al- Hussein in Istanbul in 1909, representing the city of Jeddah in the Council of Envoys, until his death in London in 1933.
- Spatial Framework: The regions, cities and countries between which King Faisal moved and in which King Faisal was present and concerned, including the Hejaz, Istanbul, London, Syria, Palestine and Iraq.

Study Methodology

This study was based on the descriptive and analytical approach, which is the approach that starts from the characterization of the phenomenon first in a way that seeks accuracy and distance from impressions and bias, and then analyzes it into its basic parts and elements, and then begins to study the parts in terms of distinguishing between them and identifying their characteristics and classification, and then studying the links and relationships between them.

Previous Studies

There are some studies that have discussed the subject of study from multiple aspects such as: The Study of Gemayel, Sayyar (2021). "King Faisal I 1883-1933: His historical roles and renaissance projects". The study began by examining the problem of the ongoing debate over the frustration of King Faisal's project to establish a unified Arab state, which has been the subject of controversy among Arab historians. Between the trend that sees the Great Arab Revolt and betting on Britain against the Ottomans and the resulting formation of the Faisalianic government in Syria, and the trend that this option helped the British overthrow the Ottoman Empire, extend control over the region and facilitate the establishment of the Zionist entity in the heart of the region and its fragmentation, it was a necessary option for the Arabs to gain their independence and unity.

The study attempted to develop an approach to assessing Faisal's personality and his role in light of the major events in the Levant following World War I. The study provided a detailed presentation of the experience of King Faisal BnAl-Hussein, and the historical dimensions of the Arab renaissance roles and projects that characterized him. The study dealt with the events witnessed during the reign of King Faisal I, while reassessing his historical role in the political developments before and after the First World War until his death in 1933. The study of Al-Afif, Ahmed Khalif, and Mahafza, Mohammed Abdul Karim (2017). "King Faisal I and the administration of the Iraqi state 1922-1932". The study dealt with the role of King Faisal in the administration of the state in Iraq, during the period of the

British Mandate, based on the consideration of King Faisal's quest to build and establish an administrative system that would have a contribution to the organization of the tasks entrusted to the King and his relationship with the government, the people, and the High Commissioner. He tended to rely on those with competencies and experience in management, who showed adequacy and knowledge during their service under Ottoman rule, and in the Arab government in Syria, with the aim of establishing a strong Arab state that would be the base for the construction of an Arab unity state.

The study found that despite the restrictions imposed on the powers of King Faisal and the British High Commissioner's exceeding his powers stipulated in the British-Iraqi Treaty, and although the Iraqi government was not free from the pressure of the British High Commissioner, King Faisal was seeking to have an effective role in managing the affairs of the country in a flexible and realistic framework, striking a balance between the royal court and the British House of Credit. The study of Abu Dalla, Salem Hashim Abbas (2014). "King Faisal I's Position on the Arab Revolution and the Palestinian Cause of 1908-1933". The study found that King Faisal has played a key role in the region since the stage of the Great Arab Revolt, and that he has exerted his efforts to liberate Syrian territory from French occupation, and to determine the right of the Palestinian people and liberate them from the British Mandate, employing various political activities, such as international conferences, the formation of political associations, and the organization of popular protests. The study was divided into three sections: the stage of political activity of Prince Faisal Bin Al-Hussein (1908-1920), the stage of Prince Faisal's role in the Arab revolution and his position on the Palestinian issue, and the stage of King Faisal's position on Zionist activity in Iraq.

The study concluded that King Faisal was moving to prefer the direction of political maneuvering over confrontational revolutionary methods, which opened up prospects for him in the social and economic fields, which helped him build the modern Iraqi state and manage the helm of governance rationally. The Study of Shanafa and Sabah Naas (2013), "The role of King Faisal I in Iraqi foreign policy 1921-1933", dealt with the role of King Faisal in Iraqi foreign policy, from his accession to the throne in 1921, until his death in 1933. King Faisal played an influential role in the level of political development towards independence addressing Iraq's foreign problems. It proceeded from dealing with that historical phase as it had witnessed a change in the structure of international relations and conflicts, which directly affected the overall events witnessed in the region and Iraq, which also affected the personality and role of King Faisal, which should not be adapted to the standards of the current historical stage.

Concluding Remarks

This study was characterized by its focus on analyzing the positions and orientations of King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein regarding his position on Arab unity, specifically the approaches and orientations he adopted to unite both Syria and Iraq, as well as his position on the developments of events in Palestine. Thus, the study sought to analyze the nature of the approaches he adopted, and the

objectives that King Faisal sought to achieve from adopting the orientations and positions to which he adhered.

Study Structure

In answering the questions of the study, the study was divided into two sections:

- The first section: The formation of the Arab nationalist consciousness and orientation of Prince Faisal Bin Al-Hussein before he took over the Kingdom of Iraq (1908-1920).
- The second section: King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein's efforts and policies to achieve Arab unity since his accession to the throne of Iraq until his death (1921-1933).

The first section: The formation of the consciousness and Arab nationalist orientation of Prince Faisal Bin Al-Hussein before his accession to power in Iraq (1908-1920)

First requirement: the emergence of awareness and national orientation of Prince Faisal Bin Al Hussein Prince Faisal Bin Al-Hussein joined in 1909 the Council of Envoys in Astana (Istanbul) to be a deputy from the city of Jeddah, and during his stay there he gained experience and knowledge of the affairs and scenes of politics in the Ottoman Empire, and was a witness to the stage of the coup d'état of the Association "Union and Progress", and closely reported their policies and positions of a Turkish nationalist character and their orientation to the "Turkification" of the state and its inhabitants, including the Arab element, which contributed to enhancing awareness of the Arab nationalist orientation in it including increasing the keenness to maintain the interests, entity, identity, and independence of the Arabs (Rihani, 2021: 12).

On May 6, 1916, Prince Faisal Bin Al-Hussein was in Damascus when the Turkish governor Jamal Basha carried out executions in Damascus and Beirut against a group of Arab nationalists. Prince Faisal Bin Al-Hussein mediated with Jamal Pasha to pardon them, but Jamal Pasha did not respond and ordered their execution, so the prince was angry. Faisal, however, suppressed his anger, and these practices reinforced his sense of difficulty in the continuation of Arabs and Turks within a single political entity, and the increasing likelihood of the option of independence from the Turks (Aliwi, 2003: 27). Prince Faisal then continued to deal cautiously with Jamal Pasha, commander of the Ottoman Fifth Army and de facto Ottoman ruler of Syria at the time. Prince Faisal was careful not to raise any doubts about the efforts to prepare for the Arab Revolt that had begun to be prepared and planned by his father, Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali, and in coordination with the British, through the correspondence of Sharif Hussein McMahon (July 14, 1915 – March 10, 1916). Prince Faisal then asked Jamal Pasha a permission to return to Mecca, and the latter agreed and returned to Mecca a month before the Arab revolt was declared (Barr, 2018: 23). Prince Faisal was then engaged in the pre-Great Arab Revolt, in the underground Arab nationalist movement and activity, and was specifically connected to the nationalists in Damascus, and the Young Arab Society, whose core was in Paris,

and had members in Damascus, of which Prince Faisal was a key member (Barr, 2018: 22).

Second requirement: Prince Faisal Bin Al Hussein and his role in the Great Arab Revolt

In early 1915, figures from Al Fatah Al Arabiah Association and Al Ahed Association contacted Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali and informed him of his orientation towards a revolution with the aim of gaining independence from the Ottoman Empire. These people were Iraqi and Syrian Arab officers in the Ottoman army who sided with the option of Arab independence from the Ottoman Empire, specifically after the rise of the Union and Progress Assembly to power in 1908, and the growing disagreements with Turkish officers who denied the rights and demands of the Arabs (Namos, 2021: 16).

The members of Al Fatah Al Arabiah Association offered the leadership of the revolution to Prince Faisal, of which he was a prominent member, and handed him documents as he passed through Damascus by returning to Mecca to hand them over to his honorable father, Hussein Bin Ali, who in turn presented them to the English, known as the "Damascus Protocol", or the "Damascus Charter" (Namous, 2021: 17). The protocol included a map defining the borders of the Arab state that had been agreed upon to claim when negotiating with the English, namely the British government's recognition of the independence of the Arab countries within the following limits: from the north a line from Mersin to the Persian border, from the east Persia and the Arabian Gulf, to the south the Indian Ocean, and to the west the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. It also provided for the abolition of foreign privileges and concluded a treaty of defense alliance with Britain. Sharif Hussein adopted this protocol in his correspondence with Sir Henry McMahon, the British appointee in Egypt (1915-1917) (Gilvin, 2021: 209).

After the completion of Sharif Hussein McMahon's correspondence on March 10, 1916, the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement was signed between Britain, France and Russia in May 1916, published by the Bolsheviks in January 1917 after the Russian Revolution, and transferred by officer Aziz Ali al-Masri to the Arab leadership, and indicated that the allied powers planned to divide and occupy parts of Arab territory. Prince Faisal told his father "We refuse to continue the war with the Allies, because our purpose is the independence of the Arab countries, not to tear them apart and let foreign countries to take the place of Alturk in them". In turn, Sharif al-Hussein Bin Ali addressed the English government, and the response came "The news published by AlturK is false and Britain is still at its promise of independence for the Arab countries. Sharif al-Hussein sent Faisal that he considered him a traitor if he left fighting the Turk. Faisal was influenced by these words (Erskine 2013: 75-77).

With the start of the revolution on June 10, 1916, Prince Faisal assumed command of the Northern Revolution Army. The Arab Army formed during the revolution consisted of three sections: a section led by Prince Faisal, and was stationed in the area of "Al-Khayef" in "Wadi al-Safra", between Medina and Yanbu, a section led by Prince Abdullah Bin Al-Hussein was the "Eastern Army", and a section led by Prince Ali bin Al-Hussein was the "Southern Army" (Gemayel,

2020: 577). Prince Faisal advanced his army on the Red Sea coast towards the north achieving victories. In July 1917 his forces took control of Aqaba, and its capture was the end of the battles of the Arab Revolution in Al Hejaz and the beginning of the Arab Revolution in the Levant. Then they went to Ma'an, the center of the gathering of the Ottomans because it was located on the railway line, and took control of it, and then continued to advance until the Arab forces entered Damascus on October 1, 1918, and the Ottoman army withdrew. From there and from all the cities of Syria, Prince Faisal's entry into Damascus was met with a great popular reception (Arnaout, 2020: 82).

One of the results of the Great Arab Revolution was to bring the Arab cause into existence, as a proof of the Arab demands and its right to self-determination. This issue came out after it was a talk of secret clubs and councils. Moreover, Arabs of Asia meet on one goal, which is to get rid of the injustice of the Ottoman Empire, and end its political and military presence in the Arab countries. Hopes also revived for nationalism and Arab unity. One of the most important results is the establishment of Arab kingdoms from them such as the Arab Government in Syria (1918-1920). After the liberation of the Hejaz and the entry of the Northern Revolutionary Army led by Prince Faisal in 1918, Prince Faisal worked to form an Arab government in Syria, and the British-French reaction was to divide the Syrian country into three regions: Palestine under British administration, the Syrian and Lebanese coast under French administration, and the internal Syria stretching from Aqaba to Aleppo under Prince Faisal's administration (Freihat , 2020): 58). Prince Faisal established an Arab military government stretching from Aqaba to Damascus and Transjordan. However, the prince found himself facing many difficulties between international interests and what the Syrians advocated, who lack knowledge of the state of their country and colonial conspiracy (Directorate of Public Propaganda, 1945: 52-78).

Third Requirement: Defending the "Arab Cause"

In 1919, Prince Faisal participated in the Peace Conference in Paris representing Sharif Hussein Bin Ali to defend the rights of Arabs (Al-Qaisi, 2014: 46). Through his speech at this conference, Prince Faisal was the first Arab leader to present the Arab cause in front of the largest international forum at that time. In his speech to the conference on February 6, 1919, he stressed the independence of the Arabs, stating: "The Congress will not restrain the Arabs again with handcuffs from which they have just been liberated, they knew the meaning of slavery which is not known to the peoples represented in the conference hall, and that the Arabs have lived for four centuries under heavy military persecution, and as long as life runs in their veins, they refuse to return to what it used to be" (Yaghi, 2011: 106, and Directorate of Public Propaganda, 1945: 56).

Prince Faisal also defined the borders of the Arab state by saying: "I came as a representative of my father, who led the Arab revolt against the Turks in response to the desire of Britain and France to demand that the Arabic-speaking peoples of Asia be from the Alexandria-Diyarbakir line to the Indian Ocean in the south, recognizing their independence and sovereignty under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Stabilization of the already existing States in that region, adjustment of the borders between them and the Hejaz, and between them and

the British in Aden, and the establishment of new States as needed and the delimitation of their borders, and my Government will make detailed proposals in due course on these small points. I base my demand on the principles stated by President Wilson (Yaghi, 2011: 107). It was these borders mentioned by Prince Faisal in his speech, which encompass the entire Fertile Crescent (Iraq with the Levant) on which Faisal sought during his subsequent years of rule, in both Syria and Iraq, to achieve Arab unity.

The second section: King Faisal Bin al-Hussein's efforts and policies to achieve Arab unity on the throne of Iraq until his death (1921-1933).

First Requirement: Unification of Greater Syria

On April 23, 1919, prince Faisal left Paris to Syria and then gave many speeches in Damascus and Beirut in which he said that independence was taken and not given (Directorate of Public Propaganda, 1945: 67). Which he was able to obtain from the Versailles Peace Conference is sending the referendum committee; Therefore, preparations were made to receive the King-Crane American Committee, which is the investigation committee formed by American President Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921 AD), which aimed at finding out the views of the people of Syria and Palestine about the future of their country. The Committee's tour lasted 42 days, during which hundreds of delegations from villages that had not visited met and submitted a petition (1863), all of which called for independence and unity between Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan. After the completion of the Commission's work, its recommendations stated: "The Levant rejects foreign domination and proposes to impose a mandate system under the tutelage of the League of Nations since the Arabs are united on the condition that Prince Faisal be king of Arab lands without fragmentation of them." (McNamara, 2016: 238).

The Palestinian Conference, since its first meeting in January 1919, in Jerusalem, affirmed that Palestine is southern Syria and an inseparable part of Syria. As for the "General Syrian Conference", it was held on March 8, 1920 AD, in which the recognition of the independence of Syria with its natural borders, the selection of Prince Faisal as its king, the rejection of Zionist immigration and the Balfour Declaration (McNamara, 2016: 239), and (Governorate, 1973: 13). As a British-French reaction, the two countries held on April 24, 1920, the San Remo Conference in Italy, in which it was decided to place Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine under the British Mandate with the necessity of implementing the Balfour Declaration, and placing Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate (Tlass, 1978), p. 573 -578, and 589. France moved its army towards Damascus, after it landed on the Lebanese coast, and the French forces issued their ultimatum known as the "Guru Warning" to Prince Faisal on July 14, 1920 not to resist the French advance, hand over the railways, accept the circulation of French cash, demobilize the Arab army, and other things that would eliminate the country's independence (Halwani, 2021: 88).

Prince Faisal received Guru's ultimatum and he and his ministry hesitated between acceptance or rejection. Then most of them agreed to accept, sending a telegram to General Guru with approval. Prince Faisal instructed the dissolution of the army, in order to manage his inability to engage in military confrontation

with France, with the expectation that approval would at least lead to the preservation of the unity and entity of the country. However, Minister of War Yusuf al-Azma vehemently refused to agree to the French demands. He led his three thousand volunteer forces to the Maysaloon area west of Damascus on the Beirut road, where the Battle of Maysaloon took place on July 20, 1920. The Syrian forces were defeated by the French forces, which numbered nine thousand and were equipped with aircraft, tanks and cannons (Al-Halwani, 2021: 89).

The defeat at the Battle of Maysaloon was the actual end of the Arab government in Syria, after Faisal remained its crowned king for almost four months. Prince Faisal left Damascus to Daraa, then to the Palestinian city of Haifa, where he met British officials who might help him. He met the British ruler, Colonel Edward Stanton, who stressed that his country has not changed its position on him and still considers him an ally. However, this did not result in any financial and military support. Prince Faisal left to Sour and Port Said, then a tour of European countries where Italy, Rome, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and Britain returned as king of Iraq (Alawi, 2003: 117), and (Tlass, 1978: 573-578, 589, and Anthony, 1946: 388). (Aliwi, 2003: 117), and (Tlass, 1978, 573-578, 589, and Anthony, 1946: 388).

Second Requirement: Efforts to Unify the Fertile Crescent

Following the outbreak of the revolution of 1920 in Iraq against the British occupation and the loss of hundreds of casualties witnessed by the British army, voices began to rise in Britain demanding an end to British control over Iraq. In November 1920, Faisal's older brother, Prince Abdullah Bin al-Hussein, arrived in the city of Ma'an with accompanying forces, announced his intention to fight the French in Syria, and regained the throne of his brother (Deeb, 2013): 43). The task of Winston Churchill, the British Colonial Secretary in charge of the Middle East, was to find a solution to the turmoil in Iraq. Churchill appointed Thomas Lawrence, known as "Lawrence of Arabia" as his special advisor, who had a leading and important role in launching and following up the operations of the Great Arab Revolt, and they held a series of meetings with Prince Faisal in London after his arrival, and an understanding was made about making Faisal king On Iraq, so that it is approved by a popular referendum, and once installed, the king signs a treaty of friendship and alliance with Britain (Deeb, 2013: 45).

On March 12-28, 1921, the Cairo Conference was held, which lasted for two weeks, and was attended by Winston Churchill, the British Colonial Minister, in which several issues were considered, the most important of which was the situation in Egypt, Iraq, and Transjordan. At this conference, it was announced that the British government had changed its policy of shifting from direct colonialism to a national administration government under the mandate. Britain announced its desire to establish a kingdom in Iraq with Prince Faisal bin Al Hussein as king (Muhammad, 2014: 180). Sir Percy Cox was seconded to Iraq to prepare Iraqi public opinion to accept the idea of a planned Arab Government. On July 16, 1921, Cox broadcast the decision of the Iraqi Council of Ministers to call Prince Faisal King of Iraq. The coronation took place on August 23, 1921. At the time, a small percentage of Iraq's population knew Faisal, and with the help of British officials, he succeeded in his campaign among Iraq's Arabs and won

popular support among the Sunni minority, while the Shia majority was neutral about Faisal (McNamara, 2016): 196).

Faisal's first test came at the level of commitments between national unitary ambition and between British and French dictates and conditions when the Great Syrian Revolution (1925-1927) broke out. King Faisal's position was not to support it, pending understandings with the French to make him king of Syria again (Masalha, 1991: 682). King Faisal was trying to unite Syria and Iraq into one kingdom under his rule. In part, Faisal's search for this unity was motivated by the desire to provide internal support so that the proportion of Sunni Arabs in the population of his kingdom would increase, by annexing Syria to his kingdom, whose population is dominated by Sunni Arabs, and so as to overcome the dilemma of having a large percentage of Shiites and Kurds, who do not provide the necessary support and loyalty to him. Faisal looked forward to the day when more Sunni Arabs from the Fertile Crescent could join his rule. His Iraqi Shia subjects have historically sought protection from Persia, as it was during the Safavid-Ottoman conflict. Faisal understood that the base of his power was from Iraq's Sunni Arabs, who were a minority, and that if Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine were merged into his kingdom, Sunni Arabs would make up the majority of his subjects, making Arab Shiites and Iraqi Kurds minorities. Faisal's focus on Arab nationalist discourse in Iraq was, in part, an effort to overcome the historical division between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq, so that the constituents tend to embrace Arabism instead of sectarianism. Externally, Faisal wanted to strengthen his kingdom in the face of challenges coming from Turkey and Persia, two nation-states located directly on the border of his kingdom and superior in terms of area and population.

During the Great Syrian Revolution against French rule in Syria, Faisal was not supportive of the rebels, which was stated in part because of British pressure, as well as because of Faisal's appeasement and cautious nature, but the biggest motivation was the belief that the French would come to an end to the option of installing the Hashemite throne in Syria, to assume the responsibilities of governance and ensure the stability and interests of the country in Syria. This belief was reinforced by the beginning of 1925 with the outbreak of the Druze uprising, when the French government began to consult Faisal on Syrian affairs. Faisal's advice to the French was to restore Hashemite rule in Damascus (Masalha, 1991: 683). However, the fact of the matter was that the French were only maneuvering with Faisal because they wanted to give him the impression that he might be restored as king of Syria, with the aim of dissuading him from supporting the Syrian revolutionaries. Once the French had put an end to the Syrian revolution, they retreated from the idea of the return of Hashemite rule to Syria (Masalha, 1991: 683).

In order to strengthen the trend towards Iraqi-Syrian unity, King Faisal took several measures to encourage the arrival of Syrian exiles, or Syrians looking for work, to Iraq. Syrian doctors and teachers were employed in the civil service, including those who worked in the royal court such as Tahseen Qadri and Safwat al-Awa. He also called Faisal Sate' al-Husari, one of the symbols of Arab nationalism in the modern era, who founded the Syrian Ministry of Education in 1919 AD, appointed him director of the Ministry of Education and developed

educational curricula in Syria and Iraq (Tikriti, 1991: 277). When he began the implementation of the oil pipeline from Mosul towards the Mediterranean, King Faisal insisted in 1928 on its passage through the territory of Transjordan up to Haifa. The reason for this was his belief that if the pipeline passes through Syria, France will not be inclined to evacuate Syria in the near future. (Masalha, 1991: 684).

When the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed on June 30, 1930, which provided Iraq with a great deal of political independence, Faisal was seen as a turning point in strengthening his Arab nationalist policies. During the negotiations, Faisal insisted on setting a specific date for the treaty's expiration, and his thinking that the Iraqi treaty would be an example that the French would surely follow in Syria (Deeb, 2013): 45). In the summer of 1931, King Faisal sent Iraqi Prime Minister Yassin al-Hashemi to Syria to recruit Fares al-Khoury into the Hashemite camp, one of the leaders of the National Bloc in Syria who later became prime minister. Yassin al-Hashemi succeeded in his mission. Fares Al-Khoury became a loyal ally of the Hashemites for many years (al-Khoury, 1989: M2, 21). Al-Khoury agreed with Faisal on a strategy aimed at shifting the positions of the leaders of the National Bloc to accepting Faisal as the future king of Syria and Iraq. In September 1931, King Faisal went to Paris to visit a French exhibition, where he met with his Syrian comrades: Fares al-Khoury, Ihsan al-Jabri, and Lebanese Emir Shakib Arslan, and their meeting was the real goal of his trip, and he reportedly reached an understanding with them about a future Syrian-Iraqi union under his leadership (Masalha, 1991: 686).

In talks in Paris with French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, King Faisal stressed that the French are keen to negotiate a settlement with the Syrian National Bloc, with the aim of forming a government in Damascus headed by a president or king, and that this option is decided by the Syrians. After King Faisal's return from Paris, rumors began to circulate in Baghdad that Syria would soon unite with the Arabs (Masalha, 1991: 687). Subsequently, King Faisal sent Finance Minister Rustam Haidar, who is of Lebanese origin, to Damascus to provide a political and financial boost to the pro-Faisal propaganda. This coincided with the approach of the Syrian elections in December 1931 AD, and the Syrian press published a series of articles supporting King Faisal's candidacy for the Syrian throne. On the internal Syrian and Iraqi level, the merchants and bankers in Aleppo, Baghdad, and Mosul dreamed of wider geographical possibilities, and they were keen to give their political support to King Faisal in his quest to achieve the plan of Syrian-Iraqi unity (Haidar, 1988: 75).

King Faisal also tried to seize the initiative of a group of Arab nationalists, who wanted to hold an Arab national conference in the wake of the Islamic conference held in Jerusalem in 1931. Therefore, he proposed Baghdad as a venue, and sent Yassin al-Hashemi in November 1932 on a trilateral tour to Damascus, Cairo and Palestine to rally support for his proposal. Faisal demanded that his plan for Iraqi-Syrian unity be placed at the top of the agenda of the conference, but the idea was not realized (Masalha, 1991: 688). On the other hand, British policy at that time was set in the direction of opposing the scheme of the Iraqi-Syrian union under King Faisal. This position was expressed in a report issued by two committees: the Official Permanent Subcommittee on the Middle East and the

Committee for Imperial Defense. The report stated that Faisal is likely to reside in Syria, and leave a regent for the throne in Baghdad. From Britain's point of view, this would weaken his weak position in Baghdad. The result may be the usurpation of power in Iraq by radical nationalists, and the establishment of an Iraqi republic hostile to their interests (Masalha, 1991: 689).

Third Demand: King Faisal's Position on Developments in Palestine

King Faisal viewed Palestine as part of the Levant and the Fertile Crescent, and thus as part of the Arab land that he aspired to be united under his kingdom. However, what sparked the most controversy about Faisal's position on Palestine and the developments related to the Jewish presence in it was the "Faisal-Weizmann Agreement", which was signed on January 3, 1919 AD in London by Prince Faisal with Chaim Weizmann, the head of the Zionist Organization at the time and later the first president of Israel. The agreement included an understanding on cooperation between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, and stated: "Prince Faisal, representative of the Kingdom of Hejaz and acting on its behalf, and Chaim Weizmann, representative of the Zionist Organization and acting on his behalf, are aware of the kinship and ancient ties that exist between Arabs and the Jewish people. It is realized that the surest means to achieve the goal of their national goals is to take the maximum possible cooperation for the advancement of the Arab state and Palestine, and since they wish to further consolidate the good understanding between them, they have agreed that: to this end. When the constitution of the administration of Palestine is established, all measures are taken to provide the fullest guarantees for the implementation of the promise of the British government dated November 2, 1917 CE" (Al-Husni, 2010: 197).

Faisal was trying to reinterpret the Balfour Declaration in a realistic and conciliatory way, trying to reconcile Arabs and Palestinians with Jewish politics. When he arrived in Damascus from London, Faisal informed the Palestinian delegation that he did not see Arab and Zionist goals as unconvertible. The delegation seemed to take a good impression, and the intention was to invite the members of the Zionist Committee to visit Faisal, with a proposal to invite a few prominent leaders from Palestine to attend with a view to reconciling the two sides. Faisal considered that the correct interpretation of the "national home" of the Jews, as stated in the Balfour Declaration, would be to provide a safe haven for Jews in Palestine, but not an independent government and a "purely Jewish" state, which would lead to the expropriation of the Arab majority. Faisal's advice to the British government was to pressure the Zionist movement to accept this interpretation. At the same time, he argued that Palestinian Arabs who had promised independence under the Allied Declaration of 1918 should not demand that the British renounce the Balfour Declaration because it was not easy (Jabbar, 2017: 41).

Through his agreement with Weizmann, Faisal showed a pragmatic and utilitarian approach to Zionism. His vision of resolving the Arab-Jewish conflict was part of the plans for the Arab national unity of the Fertile Crescent, so that through the unification of Syria, Iraq and Palestine, Faisal's preferred solution to the "question of Palestine" would be Faisal's preferred solution. Faisal argued that

through the establishment of a federation that unites Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine under his leadership, Arabs and Jews will find a national home for them, given that both belong to the "Semitic race." Faisal saw the possibility of accommodating controlled Jewish immigration to Palestine, if it were part of the Arab-dominated Federation of the Fertile Crescent, in which case the Palestinian Arabs would be less afraid of becoming a minority. Britain initially reacted evasively to Faisal's plans for resolving the conflict in Palestine, but the response subsequently obtained was decisively negative. The British in those days were not ready to relinquish their Mandatory power in Palestine (Jabbar, 2017: 43).

When Heba al-Buraq broke out in Jerusalem in 1929, Faisal was a staunch supporter of the Arab position and pressured the British to resolve the Palestinian crisis. In a memorandum outlining his views on Palestine presented to the British High Commissioner, Sir Hubert Young on December 7, 1929, Faisal stated that he was prepared to accept the Mandate of Palestine as a "Jewish National Home", to which Jews fleeing persecution around the world could go, but he was adamant that there was no Jewish state. King Faisal considered that the best solution would be for Britain to grant independence to Palestine, which would be united in a union led by his brother, Prince Abdullah of Transjordan, and which would allow a Jewish "national home" under his rule. Faisal saw that what was required was a compromise whereby the Palestinians would abandon their opposition to Jewish immigration to Palestine in exchange for the Zionists abandoning their plans to establish a Jewish state in Palestine (McNamara, 2016: 128).

On his last visit to London, in July 1933, just before his death, Faisal expressed to the British his concern about the current situation of the Arabs that had resulted from the Arab-Jewish conflict and increased Jewish immigration to Palestine. He asked the British to limit Jewish immigration and land purchases (Jabbar, 2017: 41). In his last days, King Faisal wrote a memorandum to the British government on Palestine in which he requested that Iraq have access to the Mediterranean Sea through Palestine, which would contribute to the solution of the Palestinian question, but his death was faster (Faisal ibn al-Hussein, 2013: 135-136).

Conclusion and Findings

King Faisal Bin Al-Hussein, with his cards and tools, tried to support the option of achieving Arab unity by expanding his rule and kingdom, and annexing the Levant, including Palestine, to Iraq, so that Iraq would be a base from which to start to achieve Arab unity within the available range. In return, however, he faced internal problems and unrest, including the Kurdish separatist movement, as well as regional disputes, especially with Turkey, in addition to confronting British policy, which was bargaining, maneuvering and reneging on its promises. It allows the establishment of an Arab unity state that threatens its interests, apart from its clash with French interests and those of the Zionist movement. Faisal's task was difficult, and he faced successive challenges until his death in London in 1933, which was questionable and suspicions of a poison assassination charge hovered over it by the British, thus paying with his life for

his unitary and national endeavors incompatible with British interests. In light of answering the study questions, the study concluded the following findings:

- Faisal's pan-Arabism policy was driven by a variety of complex and intertwined factors, from personal and family ambitions to ideological, geopolitical, economic, and local considerations.
- Faisal's internal goals in uniting the Fertile Crescent under his rule were to move toward forming the largest loyal bloc of the people, specifically Sunni Arabs, and to overcome the problem of the opposition of Shia majority and the dilemma of the Kurdish minority with separatist ambitions.
- Faisal's external aims in achieving Arab unity at the level of the Fertile Crescent under his throne were to build an Arab state with a population mass and a larger area that would achieve geopolitical and geo-economic balance and parity with similar neighboring countries, especially Iran and Turkey.
- The nature of King Faisal's positions and policies was generally characterized by appeasement, caution, rationality, distance from adopting any radical and extremist position, constant caution and avoidance of clashing with the British or French, and seeking to obtain his demands through negotiation and the conclusion of understandings, away from the option of revolution, force and violence.
- King Faisal, in the twenties in particular, was expecting and betting that France would hand him power in Syria, considering that he would be the most preferred option by the Syrians and best able to control the country and achieve stability in it, and to be the ruler in it on behalf of France, and to guarantee its interests. Accordingly, he refrained from the option of supporting the Great Syrian Revolution (1925-1927 AD).
- Faisal tried to influence and gain influence among the political elite in Syria, bringing a number of Syrians closer and attracting them to Syria, and perpetuating contact with a number of others in Syria, so that by 1932 he was able to find a current within the Syrian national bloc supporting him and the option of handing over power in Syria at the stage of the formation of the first Syrian Republic.
- King Faisal was trying to reinterpret the Balfour Declaration in a realistic and conciliatory way trying to reconcile Arabs and Palestinians with Jewish politics. Faisal tried to reconcile a peaceful solution between the Arabs of Palestine and the Jews, namely the attempt to establish an Arab-Palestinian presence in exchange for the Jewish presence, but without recognizing the existence of a separate nation-state for Jews in Palestine. This is because he knows that the Zionist entity derives its political and military power from Britain, which provides support to the Zionists.

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